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T H E
M O D E R N P A R T
O F A N
Univerfal History,
F R O M T H E
Earlieft Accounts to the Prefent Time.

Compiled from
O R I G I N A L A U T H O R S .

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

V O L . X X X .



L O N D O N ,

Printed for C. BATHURST, J. F. and C RIVINGTON, A. HAMIL-
TON, T. PAYNE, T. LONGMAN, S. CROWDER, B. LAW, J.
ROBSON, F. NEWBERY, G. ROBINSON, T. CADELL, J. and T.
BOWLES, S. BLADON, J. MURRAY, J. NICHOLS, J. BOWEN,
and W. FOX.

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C O N T E N T S

OF THE

THIRTIETH VOLUME.

C H A P. LXXVII. Continued.

History of the Kingdom of Sweden.

- SECT. V. Containing the Reign of Gustavus Ericson, to his Death in 1566. page 1
- VI. Containing the Reign of King Eric XIV. 27
- VII. Containing the Reigns of John, Sigismund, and Charles IX. 48
- VIII. Containing an Account of the Swedish Affairs to the Year 1633, when Gustavus Adolphus was killed, 87
- IX. Containing the Reign of Christina to her Abdication, in the Year 1654, 122
- X. Wherein the Swedish History is deduced to the Accession of Charles XII. in 1697, comprehending the Reigns of Charles X. and XI. 171

SECT.

C O N T E N T S.

- SECT. XI.** Containing the Particulars of the War
with Denmark, Ruffia, and Poland. 198
- XII.** Containing the Particulars of the King's
Residence at Bender, the Difficulties
it occasioned at the Porte, the Affairs
of Sweden during the King's Exile,
the Advantage which the Northern
Powers made of this Accident, with
other Particulars, 240
- XIII.** Containing an Account of the King's
Conduct while a Prisoner in Turkey;
of his Escape; of the War in the
Swedish Provinces in Germany, &c. 267

C H A P. LXXVIII.

The History of Poland.

- SECT. I.** Containing a Description of Poland; of
the Manners of the People; the Re-
ligion, Laws, and Government; with
every interesting Particular relative to
its present State, 299
- II.** Containing the History of the first Class
of Polish Monarchs, from Lechus or
Lecht, to the tragical Death of Po-
piel, 324

SECT.

C O N T E N T S.

- SECT. III.** Containing the History of the second Class of the Sovereigns of Poland, concluding with the Extinction of the Posterity of Piaslus, in the Persons of Casimir III. and of Lewis, King of Hungary, elected King of Poland, 336
- IV.** Containing the History of the third Class of Polish Monarchs, or the Race of Jagello, extinct in the Person of Sigismund II. 1574, 395
- V.** Containing the Election and Abdication of Henry Valois, Duke of Anjou; together with the Reigns of Stephen Batori, and Sigismund III. King of Poland and Sweden, 423
- VI.** Containing the Reigns of Uladislaus, and John Casimir, 483

Section IV. Contents of the History of the Republic
 Chapter of the Republic of the United States
 Chapter of the Republic of the United States
 Chapter of the Republic of the United States
 Chapter of the Republic of the United States
 Chapter of the Republic of the United States

Section V. Contents of the History of the Republic
 Chapter of the Republic of the United States
 Chapter of the Republic of the United States
 Chapter of the Republic of the United States
 Chapter of the Republic of the United States

Section VI. Contents of the History of the Republic
 Chapter of the Republic of the United States
 Chapter of the Republic of the United States
 Chapter of the Republic of the United States
 Chapter of the Republic of the United States

Section VII. Contents of the History of the Republic
 Chapter of the Republic of the United States
 Chapter of the Republic of the United States
 Chapter of the Republic of the United States
 Chapter of the Republic of the United States

THE
MODERN PART
OF
Universal History.

C H A P. LXXVII. *Continued.*

The History of Sweden.

S E C T. V.

*Containing the Reign of Gustavus Ericson, to his Death
in 1566.*

GUSTAVUS was charmed with the zeal of the Swedes; he acknowledged that their affection exceeded his merit, and was more agreeable to him than the effects of their gratitude. He made some feint attempts, out of modesty, to refuse the crown; but he was over-ruled by the prayers and intreaties of the whole assembly. In a word, he ascended the throne, to which he had paved the way by his valour and perseverance; he was solemnly acknowledged king of all Sweden and the Two Gothlands, by the united voices of the senate, deputies, and people, who immediately took an oath of fidelity. The diet were pressing for his coronation at the same time; but this he wisely declined, under pretence of the necessity of immediately returning to the siege of Stockholm; but in reality because he did not think himself sufficiently

MOD. VOL. XXX. *to W. Bayle.* sufficiently

ficiently secure upon the throne, to decline those oaths which are usually exacted by the clergy, in confirmation of their rights and privileges.

*Stockholm
surrenders
to Gusta-
vus.*

The return of Gustavus to the camp was no sooner known in Stockholm than the governor sent deputies to him, offering to submit at discretion, and leaving his majesty absolute master of the terms of surrender. Gustavus received them graciously, and demanded that all the money, papers, and moveables, belonging to Christian, to his viceroy, archbishop Trolle, and admiral Norby, should be delivered into his hands. He permitted the garrison, in consideration of their brave defence, to march out with their arms, baggage, and the honours of war, but on condition that they should not carry arms against Sweden for the space of six months. He engaged to transport them to Lubeck, and promised the burghers that he would, with pleasure, inviolably preserve the privileges of the city. The terms were accepted, the garrison marched out, and Gustavus, accompanied by the senators, nobility, gentry, and officers, magnificently dressed, made his public entry. The consuls and magistrates met him at the gate, and on their knees presented the keys of the city to his majesty. The people crowded among the soldiers to behold their prince; the sky was rent with their acclamations; all were charmed with the sweetness and majesty of his air; and nothing could be heard but their shouts and cries. Gustavus next went to the great church, to return thanks to God for his signal mercies in blessing his arms with such extraordinary success; then he gave a grand entertainment to the senate, nobility, and general officers.

Gustavus had no sooner gained possession of his capital than he began to exert the functions of a king. Orders were issued to all the provinces to acknowledge his authority; governors were appointed, and garrisons draughted for the fortresses, with strict injunctions to all officers, civil and military, immediately to proceed to their several departments. Every hour in the day was employed in the business of the nation. He received persons of quality with respect, and men of merit with that peculiar graciousness that distinguished the patron and the friend. The people, oppressed with the severity of the last reign, began now to breathe; commerce revived, and Sweden, delivered from the cruel tyranny of her ancient enemies, enjoyed all the sweets of peace and liberty, under a generous, brave, and patriot monarch. Even the court was new-modelled; more taste and refinement, the consequence of felicity and wealth, were introduced, either with intention

to soften the barbarous manners of the people, or to draw the nobility from their forts and castles in the country, where they reigned independent, and attach them to the court by pleasures and preferments.

This harmony and unanimity were but of short duration. To clear off the large arrears due to the army, and several other incumbrances extremely burthensome to the people, Gustavus found it necessary to raise contributions on the clergy, and bring to the mint quantities of rich plate, that served no other purposes than those of luxury and ostentation. Gustavus justly imagined that piety, charity, and learning, constituted the true wealth of the teachers of Christianity, and the preachers of that doctrine, which, above all others, recommended these virtues, and the laying up of treasures in heaven. But true policy would have dictated different sentiments in the beginning of his reign, and the unsettled state of government. His conduct alienated the minds of the ecclesiastics: Brusk, bishop of Lincoping, in particular, broke out into open rebellion, instigated his brethren to follow his example, and accused the king of avarice and heresy before the pope's nuncio. Gustavus was too wise to despise the clamours of the church. He fortified himself against the effects of them, and at the same time firmly pursued his designs. An army was sent to Bleking, and that province reduced; while his fleet assisted the new king of Denmark in reducing the isle of Bornholm.

Gustavus incurs the displeasure of the clergy.

About this time the reformed doctrine was first introduced into Sweden by certain German merchants, who imported Luther's writings; by the German soldiers in the king's pay; and by some young gentlemen educated at Wittemburgh. The most celebrated disciple of Luther from the North, was Olaus Petri, born in the province of Nericia. This gentleman, after having studied several years under the celebrated reformer, returned to Sweden, where he first privately made profelytes, and afterwards preached his doctrine publicly, and disputed in the schools. The clergy, perceiving it struck at their temporal power, violently opposed it; and Gustavus expressed an inclination to be instructed in the subject of their controversy. The independency and freedom of this hero's sentiments formed not the least shining part of his character. His mind was too elevated to bear the shackles of superstition, or to regard as dangerous innovations whatever appeared consonant to reason. He easily penetrated into the views of the clergy, and perceived that their zeal for religion was inspired by their regard to their temporal interests. The situation in

The reformed doctrine of Luther preached in Sweden, and encouraged by the king.

which he stood with the emperor, who was secretly intriguing to reinstate the late king, and with the pope, who had taken part with the bishop of Lincoping, more readily inclined him to give ear to the scholars and preachers of the reformed religion. The ceremony of his coronation, so essential to an elective monarchy, was not yet performed. This could only be done by the clergy, and it was highly probable they would strenuously oppose it: but the reformed doctrine suggested a method for securing his government, and placing him above the reach of the church, or rather of reducing it within his power. He declined, however, divulging his sentiments, until the pope's nuncio, by express orders from the apostolic see, began persecuting the reformists, and in particular Olaus Petri, who boldly defended his opinions, and appealed to the king. His partiality to this person, who was detested by the clergy, involved him more than ever with the church. Matters at length came to such extremities, that either Gustavus must resign his crown, or the clergy some part of their power, and particularly that usurped right of persecuting whoever differed in sentiment from them. It must be acknowledged, that the nuncio, whether secretly gained over by Gustavus, or from his own natural good sense, behaved with a moderation rarely found in those representatives of Christ's vicar. The bishop of Lincoping urged him to carry matters to extremities, to condemn Olaus and his adherents as heretics, and even to thunder out anathemas against the sovereign; but these measures he declined, to the great disappointment of that violent and haughty prelate^a.

A.D. 1523.

Disputes with Denmark about the island of Gothland, and other territories.

While the kingdom was thus divided by religious disputes, Gustavus neglected nothing that could contribute to the temporal felicity and security of his subjects. Admiral Norby held the island of Gothland in Christian's name, but in reality for his own benefit. It had long been the subject of animosity between the kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark; and Gustavus believed this a seasonable opportunity for annexing it to the crown. He was likewise strongly solicited by the regency of Lubec to engage in this enterprise; and the more to encourage him, the republic agreed to defer the payment of the subsidy due to them for some years longer. Accordingly Bernard Melleen was sent with a fleet and body of forces to attempt the reduction of the island. In a short time he subdued the whole country, and then laid close siege to the city and citadel of Wisby, which Norby defended with great valour. In the end, perceiving

^a Vertot. tom. ii. p. 35, et seq. Loccen. lib. vi.

that he could not withstand the power of Sweden, he surrendered his charge to Frederic, king of Denmark, on condition that his majesty would permit him to hold the island as a fief of the crown of Denmark, and assist him against the Swedes^b.

Frederic had for some time cultivated the friendship of Gustavus. In appearance he was united to him in the strictest bonds of alliance, with a view of obtaining his assistance to subdue the adherents of the late king Christian: yet could he not resist the temptation of annexing the island of Gothland to the crown of Denmark. However, as he was unwilling to break with Gustavus, he disposed matters in such a manner, that it was agreed, through the mediation of the city of Lubeck, to hold a congress at Malmoe, for the final decision of all disputes between the two crowns. But nothing more was determined at this congress than that matters should rest in their present situation; namely, the Swedes in possession of the open country and city of Wisby, and the Danes of the citadel.

Frederic was besides using every expedient to gain the affections of the Swedes, in hopes of one day obtaining the crown; for he had been crowned, by archbishop Trolle, king of the three northern kingdoms. Gustavus penetrated his designs, and closely watched his conduct. At the preceding congress, he had procured an act, signed by the Danish commissioners, relinquishing any right of dominion Denmark might claim over Sweden; a concession highly displeasing to Frederic, though he concealed his resentment. At the same time he proved, that the isle of Gothland had always been annexed to the crown of Sweden, before king Valdemar took it by surprize; that the kings of Denmark had ever since that period violently kept possession, notwithstanding the solemn promise, made at their coronation, that they would restore it. Gustavus also affirmed, that not only Gothland, but Bleking, Schonon, Lyfter, Huen, and the province of Halland, belonged to Sweden; and that the Norwegians had mortgaged the province of Wyck to the Swedes for the sum of ten thousand ducats. After all, the determination at Malmoe, was to leave the dispute about the province to the decision of the Hanse Towns^c.

During the king's absence, a great number of German anabaptists arrived in Stockholm, whose fanaticism carried them to extremities, and occasioned loud murmurs against

^b Hist. de Dan. tom iv. Puffend. tom. i. p. 150.
supra citat.

^c Auct.

the government. They not only preached publicly a strange wild kind of doctrine, but pulled down the images, pictures, and other ornaments in the churches, and destroyed them with such fury, as terrified the papists from opposing them, and obliged the Lutherans to dissemble their sentiments, in expectation that this storm would terminate to their advantage. The populace, most of whom were rigid papists, and superstitious in proportion to their ignorance, attributed those troubles to the protestants, without distinguishing betwixt the mad enthusiasm of fanatics, and the reasonable alterations proposed by the followers of Luther. The seeds of disaffection began to spring up in the capital, and emissaries were sent to Dalecarlia, to light up the torch of discord by the catholics, who attributed all to the king. Gustavus no sooner returned than he ordered the leaders of the fanatics to be seized; and he reproached the Lutherans bitterly for not opposing, in time, those visionaries. He took effectual measures for settling matters in Dalecarlia; and permitted Olaus Petri to preach in the cathedral church against the doctrine of indulgences, and the pernicious consequences, both to religion and the state, of the celibacy of the clergy. He strongly insisted upon levying the proposed contributions on the clergy; urging, that as the church owed all its wealth to the crown, it appeared reasonable that part of it should be returned on pressing occasions. He permitted Olaus Petri to publish his literal translation of the sacred writings, giving orders to the archbishop of Upsal to prepare another version suited to the catholic opinion; which, he said, was the more necessary, as a variety of different sentiments were asserted concerning the very same texts, the truth of which could only be known by a careful comparison of both translations with the original. He likewise said, that as many of the clergy were ignorant of the Latin tongue, it was probable they might often misconstrue very important texts, which would open a field for new disputes. In a word, he said if they would conduct their flocks into good pasture, they must lead them with their eyes open, and not blindfold them, so that pits and precipices could not be avoided. At first the bishops violently opposed this order; but were in the end forced to submit. The books of the New Testament were divided among the bishops, each of whom was to translate a certain portion assigned him. Brusk, bishop of Lincoping, alone, of all the clergy, stood out with firmness. He published letters, exhorting the people to continue fixed in the religion of their ancestors; and complained loudly of the archbishop's permitting the sacred writings to be

The king orders the scriptures to be translated into the Swedish language.

be translated, saying, that our Lord Jesus Christ had left his doctrine to be interpreted only by his servants and ministers, in order to prevent disputes among the ignorant. He also exhorted the people to celebrate the jubilee ordained by pope Clement VII. In a word, he blew the coal of contention with all his might, and laboured with the utmost diligence to kindle a civil war in the nation.

Gustavus, however, went on with the pious work of reformation. He drew the incendiary priests out of Dalecarlia, and laid down certain rules for some of the Lutheran preachers, who seemed to deviate from the doctrine of their master, in preaching up faith alone, without respect to good works. At the same time he protracted their declaiming so unnecessarily and violently against the pope and bishops. But to stop the mouths of the catholics, he appointed a disputation between the two most learned doctors of either religion; at which were present the king and the archbishop. Olaus Petri remained master of the field, because he would admit of no proofs but those deduced from the sacred writings; whereas Peter Gallus founded his arguments on the decisions of councils, and the authority of the pope. Olaus justly affirmed, that it was absurd to urge proofs which he could not admit, when they had the sacred writings before them, on which both founded their doctrines, and each equally allowed to be the criterion and test of truth. Moreover, his version of the New Testament was received with applause, while that of his adversaries was rejected as false and spurious^d.

The archbishop of Upsal used every probable means to destroy the reformed religion, and persecute its preachers. He endeavoured to prevail on his majesty, to demand the princess of Poland in marriage, with a view to attach him the more strongly to the see of Rome; but Gustavus penetrating his designs, made light of his counsel. Hearing that the bishops had entered into a combination to persecute the reformists, the king told them, that their conduct would be more praise-worthy and useful to the state, if they applied their thoughts to the discharge of the public debts, and easing the people of those enormous taxes imposed by his predecessor. At length he determined to use more effectual measures. With a strong body of troops he went to Upsal, and publicly declared his resolution of diminishing the oppressive number of idle monks and priests in the kingdom; who, under pretence of religion, lived and fattened on the spoils and labour of his indus-

^d Loccen. lib. vi.

trious subjects: their revenues, he said, he would convert to the necessary and essential purposes of the state. But perceiving that his discourse was not relished by the people, he turned it to raillery, putting a crown on the archbishop's head, and making him king of the festival, in order that he might lodge himself and attendants in free-quarters upon him. He ordered a second disputation between Peter Gallus and Olaus Petri, which, like the preceding, terminated to the advantage of the latter: after which he published an edict, declaring himself head of the church, which was avowedly denying the pope's supremacy. The clergy remonstrated, but the king pursued his designs without regarding their resentment. The archbishop, in particular, became so violent, that his majesty found it necessary to have him arrested, but did not follow the advice of many of his courtiers, who were for putting him to death. On the contrary, he released, and sent him out of the way, under pretence of employing him as his ambassador in Poland; a commission which the archbishop never executed. Instead of proceeding to the court of Poland, he retired to Dantzic, and from thence recommended the care of the church to the bishop of Lincoping.

This prelate's gaining an accession of power, served only to render him more violent, and widen the breach between the king and the church. A scarcity of corn happened at this time, and the bishop endeavoured to persuade the people, that it arose from the increase of heresy, and the encouragement given to the false doctrines of Luther. To relieve the necessities of the people, Gustavus ordered great quantities of corn to be imported from Livonia, which he believed would prove more effectual than suppressing the growth of protestantism. He likewise gave directions for publishing the principal points in dispute between the papists and reformists, and again proposed a third public disputation. Brusk, bishop of Lincoping, would by no means consent to this, pretending, that as neither himself, nor the other bishops, entertained any scruples about the truth of their religion, it would be unnecessary, and even impious, to engage in controversies, and obscure truth with subtlety and refinement; that it was ridiculous to dispute the truth of a mode of worship which had flourished for so many ages, and been confirmed by the martyrdom of such a number of saints.

A.D. 1527.

*Intrigues of
the clergy.*

To divert the king from engaging in religious matters, they artfully prevailed on the son of a peasant, named

c Loccen, lib. vi. Vert. tom. ii. p. 54, et seq.

Hans, to personate Nils Sture, son to the late administrator. Hans repaired to Dalecarlia, a province in which the name of Sture was held in veneration. His arrival drew crowds of followers; and so considerable a party was formed in his favour, that the young impostor's ambition was fired, and his hopes were elevated with the thoughts of dethroning Gustavus, and succeeding to his crown. He was powerfully succoured by the archbishop of Drontheim in Norway, and at last the Dalecarlians broke out into open rebellion, determining to support the pretended Sture against all opposition, and even against the hero for whom they had so lately spilt their blood. Gustavus first opposed their folly by demonstrating, that the true Nils Sture had been for some years dead: the senate had wrote in the strongest manner, confirming what the king advanced, and cautioning the people from embracing the cause of an impostor, and being deluded by the machinations of certain persons, whose interest it was to involve the kingdom afresh in a civil war. Their remonstrances seemed to make an impression; the rebels were for some time quiet: but the impostor had, by this time, formed a very considerable interest in Norway, where he passed by the name of the gentleman Dalia, or Dali. Frederic, king of Denmark, likewise secretly supported him, or at least connived at this plot to ruin Gustavus, which he perceived would furnish him with an opportunity of reducing the province of Wyck, and possibly the whole kingdom of Sweden. He turned a deaf ear to all the Swedish monarch's remonstrances; but, at the same time, made professions of inviolable esteem and friendship. At last, however, he seemed to throw off all disguise, by permitting the impostor to marry a Danish lady of the first quality, and the queen his mother to present him with a gold chain on the day of his nuptials.

An impostor claims the crown.

Hans, upon these marks of royal favour, began his march with three hundred men, to reduce Sweden, and dethrone Gustavus. The very thoughts of acquiring a crown would seem to have disturbed his imagination; for he spoke with as much security as if the whole kingdom of Sweden had declared for him. His chief resentment was levelled against the city of Stockholm, which he threatened severely to chastise for the encouragement given by the inhabitants to heresy. Little regard, however, was paid to his impotent threatenings by the burghers, whose dislike to the Romish superstition increased daily, and carried them so far, as to overturn a monstrous statue of St. George, that stood in the great church. They likewise ordered, that the Lutheran

theran religion should be freely preached in all the churches, and divine service performed in the Swedish language. Of all the magistrates, only three had the courage to oppose these innovations; and their endeavours to stem the torrent were vain.

Gustavus declares openly in favour of the protestant religion.

Circumstances were indeed very seasonable for effecting a reformation, and Gustavus availed himself of the opportunity. The pope was besieged in the castle of St. Angelo by the emperor Charles V. He was too hard pressed, to pay all the attention to foreign affairs which they required. Gustavus, believing this a favourable opportunity to reduce the power of the church, and accomplish his designs, convoked an assembly of the states at Westeraas. Here he published a declaration, professing himself a disciple of that doctrine taught by Christ and his apostles, which violent ecclesiastics branded with the odious names of innovation and heresy. He acknowledged his dislike of several practices of the church of Rome; particularly, the granting indulgences, and that pernicious custom among the priests of enriching themselves, by practising on the ignorance and superstition of the vulgar. He ordered, that no one should be denied the sacrament of the Lord's supper on account of debts he might have contracted; but that all matters of this nature should be referred to the civil courts. That bishops should not inherit the effects of such ecclesiastics as might die intestate, to the great prejudice of the relations of the deceased. That they should surrender the crownlands they had long usurped, in order to free the king from the necessity of loading the people with exorbitant taxes. In a word, he proved the legality of the steps he had taken to reduce the clergy, by the example of his imperial majesty Charles V. who, incensed at the pride and ambition of the apostolic see, was at that time besieging Christ's vicar^f.

This declaration greatly altered the sentiments of the people with respect to the king's conduct. The mild and insinuating manner in which he treated the turbulent and credulous Dalecarlians, the tender regard he expressed for the ease and happiness of his people, as well as the manifest intention of the late ordinances, removed all the suspicions raised by the clergy, checked the growing inclination in favour of the pretended Sture, and fully convinced all sensible and moderate persons of the equity, the justice, and the good sense of his majesty's administration. To engage in his interest some lay-senators, who had hitherto

^f Vert. *ibid.*

sided with the clergy, he made a regulation that gratified their pride, at the same time that it humbled the arrogance of the ecclesiastics. This was, that they should take place, upon all public occasions, of the bishops, who had, till now, assumed that right, and from long custom claimed it as indisputably their due; to rank next to the sovereign. They were now reduced to the necessity of being second in precedence, the nobility were to hold the third, ecclesiastics of the lower order were to hold the fourth, and the fifth and sixth were assigned to the burghers and peasants.

To oppose this, and other encroachments on their liberties, the clergy met in St. Giles's church, and there took a solemn oath, never to countenance or suffer those indignities that were put on their sacred order; never to consent to the alienation of the church-lands, or any other of the late alterations made by the king, or contained in his declaration at Westeraas. This assembly was held with such privacy, that it never came to the king's knowledge till five years after, when the paper was found, signed by all those who had entered into the engagement. He went on, therefore, in the design of retrenching their power, representing to those who espoused their cause, how much the crown-revenues suffered by the weak indulgence and superstitious liberality of his predecessors to the clergy. He said, that most of the bishops had revenues superior to those of the sovereign; that they were risen to a height of power dangerous to the commonwealth; that they possessed castles and fortified places, which set them above dependence on the crown, enabled them to excite troubles in the kingdom, and proved the means of their enslaving Sweden to Denmark; that pomp and luxury had taken place of piety, learning, and morality among them, to the great prejudice of souls, and misfortune of those who, born ignorant themselves, relied upon the clergy for edification. He alleged, that the nobility complained of their being impoverished, and prayed that the superfluous wealth of the church might be applied to their relief, without which they must fall to the lowest abyss of misery. He concluded with observing, that, by a law passed in the reign of Charles Canutson, the clergy were bound to restore such lands and effects when claimed, as could be proved were bequeathed to them in prejudice to the lawful heirs, and their descendants. On these conditions he could ease the people of all their burthensome taxes, restore the nobility to their ancient lustre, and establish that equipoise of wealth
and

*Resolution
of the
clergy.*

and felicity, which could alone afford general content and satisfaction.

The great points which the clergy could not digest, were the sequestration of their lands, and the prohibition from granting indulgences, and receiving absolution-money. Bishop Brusk replied in their name, that restitution of grants by pious souls, could not be made without danger of incurring the Almighty's displeasure; nor indeed could any steps at all be taken, before the apostolic see should be consulted.

Hitherto the states declined giving their opinion, and had rather shewn a partiality to the clergy; while the king was supported only by the city of Stockholm, some of the nobility, and a great part of the army and common people. At last his majesty asked, whether they would positively consent to his demands, assuring them that in case of a refusal, he would abdicate the crown, upon being reimbursed in the estate and money he had spent in the service of his country. On receiving this, he said, he would leave Sweden, and never again set foot in an ungrateful infatuated kingdom, doomed to perpetual slavery, either from the despotism of its kings, or the tyranny of spiritual directors. Upon this declaration he retired to his palace, where he shut himself up four days, with the principal officers of his army. The grand-mareschal Thure Johanson, who was married to the king's sister, was the strongest stickler for the clergy: he plainly declared, that for himself he should never be prevailed on to embrace the Lutheran doctrine, and that he foresaw innumerable misfortunes to the king from his rashness. He was, however, over-ruled by the states, who, after having taken the matter into serious consideration, determined to conform to his majesty's will. Immediately the bishops were desired to surrender their castles; and some of them complied without hesitation. But Brusk desired that he might keep his castle of Manakebada during life; which request being refused, it was seized by the king's officers, and the prelate forced to give security for his fidelity, and to sign, with the other bishops, the resolution of the states. The chief articles of this resolution were, that the scriptures should be taught in the schools; that the church should be filled with ministers, learned in their conversation, and pious in their lives; that no church-preferments should be granted without the king's permission; that when a layman fought with an ecclesiastic, the former should not be excommunicated any

The king threatens to resign the crown.

The states accede to his proposals, and the privileges of the clergy renounced.

more than the latter, but the offender punished according to law; that the effects of a priest dying intestate should descend to his nearest relations, and not to the church; that persons who used matrimonial liberties with women, to whom they were betrothed, should be exempted from all church-censure on their marrying the party; that all disputes between laymen and priests should be determined before the secular courts; that mendicants should not be permitted to collect alms above twice in the year; that they should not be absent from their convent above two weeks at a time; that they should not meddle with civil affairs, or excite seditions among the common people, but employ themselves in their spiritual functions, and preaching the pure word of God, in the vernacular tongue.

As soon as the assembly was prorogued, his majesty examined all the grants and letters of donation to the several sees, churches, and monasteries, re-annexing to the crown all grants made since the year 1454. He then seized upon a variety of other valuable effects, appropriating to himself the rich moveables in religious houses. Thence arose prodigious sums, that greatly increased the royal revenues, filled the treasury of Gustavus, and enabled him to transmit vast riches to his successors. Many of the chief lords of the kingdom, angry that they did not share in the spoils of the church, remonstrated to the king; but he paid little regard to their complaints, and disappointed all their intrigues^b.

Gustavus had now established the highest reputation as a politician and soldier, at home and abroad. Frederic, king of Denmark, had long meditated an attempt to unite the three crowns; but struck with the power, the wisdom, and the bravery of Gustavus, he found it necessary to live in terms of amity with him. All the prudence of the king could not, however, quiet the minds of the turbulent Dalecarlians. Instigated by the bishops they again took arms to support the pretended Nils Sture. To demonstrate to them the imposture, Gustavus sent them a letter, written by the mother of the true Nils Sture, but it produced no effect. He therefore ordered a powerful army to march against them, on the approach of which they begged a truce, and promised to remain faithful subjects, on condition that his majesty would not force them to embrace Lutheranism; that neither he himself nor his officers should wear furred and slashed habits; that he would burn all who eat flesh on Friday; and that he would grant a safe retreat to

*Revolt of
the Dale-
carlians.*

^b Loccen. lib. vi.

the impostor, whom they called Nils Sture. Of these four articles his majesty acceded only to the first and last. The impostor fled first to Norway, afterwards to Rostock, and at last joined the partizans and adherents of the late king Christian; though the Danish writers allege, that he was beheaded at Rostock, by order of Gustavus, who threatened to detain the shipping if the magistrates refused. It may be worth observing, that about this time several of the discontented lords and the bishops joined in a request to Sigismund, king of Poland, descended by the mother from Valdemar, king of Sweden, to accept of the crown, which he wisely refused, knowing how impossible it would be to unite kingdoms so distant, and not chusing to give up the certainty of his present crown for the uncertain hopes of acquiring one perhaps more brilliant.

A.D. 1528.

As soon as the clergy were sufficiently humbled, his majesty resolved to proceed to the ceremony of his coronation, hitherto deferred from a variety of contingencies. It was thought that this would put a stop to the great number of rebellions, and restore the tranquillity of the kingdom. Gustavus was accordingly crowned at Upsal on the 12th of February, immediately after which ceremony he sent an army against the Dalecarlians, who had again appeared in arms. When the king's army entered the province, notice was given to the rebels, that they must either surrender the ringleaders of the sedition, or stand the consequences of a battle, and see their country destroyed by fire and sword. They chose the former part of the alternative, laid down their arms, promised submission, and surrendered their chiefs, who were immediately put to death. It was after this expedition that his majesty convoked an assembly of the clergy at Ocrebro, where he first publicly renounced several of the tenets of the church of Rome, substituting in their place those of the Lutheran religion. Here he likewise ordained, that a professor of theology should be established in every diocese, to expound the Scriptures agreeable to the Protestant doctrine. When the professor at Stura first entered upon the duties of his office, by explaining the evangelists, he with difficulty escaped being murdered, at the instigation of the bishop and chief nobility of West Gothland, who had all entered into a league to extirpate the Protestants and dethrone Gustavus, founding their hopes on the general discontent of the clergy, and their influence over the minds of the people. Such were the difficulties with which the great Gustavus struggled, in establishing that freedom of thought permitted by the reformed religion, and breaking the fetters and bondage enforced

*Lutheran
professors
established
in every
diocese.*

forced by the church of Rome. They openly accused the king of introducing heresy in the kingdom, of despoiling the monasteries and churches of their ancient privileges, and robbing them of their effects; adding, that he permitted monks to marry, suffered mass to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, diminished the number of sacraments, and soiled their dignity and lustre: in a word, that he abolished the ordination of priests, auricular confession, and extreme unction, and the invocation of saints. They concluded, that it was absolutely necessary to dethrone him and extirpate heresy for the preservation of the true religion †.

Among the discontented, the chief was Thure Johanson, *A fresh rebellion.* who wrote to his sons in Upland to raise the people in arms against Gustavus. The sons, however, as senators of the kingdom, preferred their duty to their king and country to the injunctions of a rash bigotted parent, delivered the letters to Gustavus, promised him the utmost fidelity, and intreated that their father's crime should not be imputed to them. George, the third brother, provost of the cathedral of Upsal, however, followed a different course; he engaged in his father's sentiments, and raised considerable disturbances in the territory of Roslagen. Thure Johanson himself acted the same part in Dalecarlia and Smaland, where the people massacred the king's officers, seized his sister in her return from Germany, renounced all obedience to Gustavus, obliged the Ostrogoths to follow their example, threatening to destroy their country if they refused, and resolved to elect for their sovereign Magnus Breyni-fon, a person of great consideration, remarkable for his eloquence. Denmark encouraged the disaffected, and placed great confidence in the popularity of Johanson, who declared his interest was so powerful, that with three thousand men he could reduce the whole kingdom. By his assistance the Danes thought to re-annex the Swedish crown to their own, or at least to recover the province of Wyck. But Gustavus concerted matters so well, that the Ostrogoths laid down their arms, and promised inviolable fidelity, provided they were secured in their ancient religion; and the disaffected lords finding themselves deserted by the people on whom they depended, were forced to take refuge in Denmark. Gustavus complained of the countenance shewn them, as a breach of the treaty subsisting between the two kingdoms; but instead of any concessions, Frederic, intoxicated by the great promises of the fugitive Swedes, demanded restitution of the province of Wyck, and pay-

† Loccen. lib. vi. Vertot, ubi supra.

ment of a sum of money which he alleged was due to him from Gustavus, because the Swedish commissioners did not appear at Lubec at the time stipulated by the treaty of Malmö. To this haughty demand Gustavus replied with firmness, accusing Frederic of mean intrigues, and declaring to him, that peace or war with a prince whose word could not be depended on, was to him a matter of indifference. Surprised and mortified with this answer, the Danish ambassador returned; and Gustavus, having dispersed the troops raised by George, provost of Upsal, and taken him prisoner, applied seriously to dissipate the discontents excited by the clergy. He pardoned the inhabitants of Smaland and Visigoth, and restored to his favour the chapters of Skara and Lincoping. These, charmed with his moderation, wrote bitterly to their bishops, summoning them to appear in Sweden to justify their conduct. In a word, matters were in a fair way of being happily adjusted on all hands, when a fresh accident had almost again embroiled the nation^u.

The subsidy promised by Gustavus to the regency of Lubec was still due; for the payments of which the states agreed to give his majesty all the useless bells of the churches and monasteries. The people were shocked at the sacrilege, and the Dalecarlians, in particular, expressed their love for religion, by chusing to rise in rebellion against their king, renounce the most solemn engagements, and involve their country in a civil war, rather than part with those superfluities of religion and appendages of weak superstition. Gustavus, in his usual manner, had first recourse to lenity and argument; but finding these ineffectual, and that the Dalecarlians had the presumption to summon twelve persons from each province to meet at Abroga, to deliberate on the present state of the kingdom, he hastened to break their measures, and crush rebellion in the bud. Having assembled the states at Upsal, he marched with a powerful army to the frontiers of the provinces, explained his reasons for applying the bells to the purposes of the state; and, when he found them untractable, gave a feigned order to his troops to fire on the members of the illegal assembly, by which they were so intimidated, that they fell at his feet, and implored his mercy. Upon their solemnly promising eternal fidelity, he once more pardoned the Dalecarlians, at the intercession of the senate; but was no sooner departed, than, unmindful of their obligations, they had again recourse to arms, engaging not to lay them down until his

^u Vertot, ubi supra.

majesty should promise not to approach their frontiers with above a certain prescribed number of attendants.

His majesty was diverted from punishing the perfidious Dalecarlians by a treaty of marriage, in which he was engaged with Catherine, daughter of Magnus, duke of Saxe Lunenburg. This lady he espoused before the public tranquillity was restored, installing Laurence Petri, a Protestant, in the archbishoprick of Upsal, that the ceremony might be performed with the more dignity by a prelate of the reformed church, and giving him, at the same time, a guard of five hundred men, to render him more respectable to the canons and chapter. By these means the canons were not only humbled in a short time, and obliged to surrender all their plate and lands, but turned out of their places, and supplanted by young students of the Protestant religion.

Christian, in the mean time, was making preparations to recover his throne. He had formed a powerful interest in Norway, and was at the bottom of almost all the tumults excited in Sweden. By the intrigues of Gustavus Trolle, he became so formidable as to engross the king of Sweden's most serious attention; for he put to sea with thirty ships and ten thousand land forces, with intention to invade Sweden. His fleet was, however, overtaken by a violent storm, in which ten ships perished, Christian being forced with the rest to the coast of Norway. From thence Trolle wrote to the Dalecarlians, beseeching them to take arms against Gustavus, as a person determined to root out the true religion, and destroy public liberty. He besides intrigued with the inhabitants of Nylose, about surrendering their city to Christian, whose troops had already gained possession of the citadel of Oluffsburg, in the province of Wyck.

Christian makes preparations to recover his crown.

These attempts were alarming, as there could be no security for the affections of a people who had so often rebelled, and who were now recalling a tyrant dethroned by the unanimous voice of the whole kingdom. Gustavus, therefore, resolved upon vigorous measures. He sent the grand mareschal Sigefon and Soren Kyl, with a considerable body of troops, to Lodesse, to cover that frontier. These generals attacked and defeated Christian's army near Bahus, a circumstance which so incensed that prince, that he bitterly reproached Thure Johanson with having misrepresented the state of affairs in Sweden; and, three days after, that nobleman's body and head were found separated in the streets, by order, as was supposed, of the bloody Christian. After this cruel action he gained a considerable advantage over the Swedish army by means of a stratagem,

which evinced his abilities in war. Sigefon, however, stopped his progress, and blocked up the passes to Halland and Schonen, so that he was obliged to return to Norway, where he capitulated with the Danish generals, surrendered himself to them, and was treated by Frederic as a prisoner, without regard to the articles of the treaty^f.

He is made prisoner.

Gustavus seeing himself thus happily delivered from an enemy that had always raised apprehensions in his mind, cost much trouble, and occasioned various insurrections in the kingdom, took the Dalecarlians once more to task, seized the chief mutineers, put some to death, and shut up the rest in dungeons in Stockholm; after which rigorous proceedings we hear no more for some time of their seditious humour.

A.D. 1532.

It was about this time that disputes arose between the Flemings and Hanse Towns, about the commerce of the Baltic. The former rose in wealth and power in proportion as the latter declined, and from the same reasons. The Hanse Towns were in a manner the carriers of Europe, supplying all the Southern and Western states, with not only the commodities of the North, but those of the East likewise. The discoveries made in navigation not long after, the compass, the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, and the vast improvements in the art of sailing, in geography and astronomy, first led the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, and other nations, to share the trade with the Hanse Towns and freestates of Italy. The Dutch, in particular, pushed the advantage with a peculiar spirit of perseverance. They carried on an immense trade, not only to the East and West, and even at this time endeavoured to share the trade of the Baltic with the Lubeckers, which endeavours the latter regarded as an encroachment on their rights: hence arose new matter of trouble to Gustavus. The Lubeckers demanded the sole privilege of this commerce, and insisted upon the king's excluding the Flemings in particular. This demand Gustavus refused, as unreasonable in itself, and prejudicial to his subjects. The Lubeckers were incensed and disappointed; they demanded the remainder of the money due to the republic, and Gustavus desired they would prove their claim. Matters rose to such a height, that the haughty Lubeckers publicly declared, that as they were the instruments of his election, so they would now punish his ingratitude by dethroning him. Accordingly they made preparations, united themselves with the disaffected Swedes, and entered into every cabal and intrigue formed against the

Quarrel between the Hanse Towns and the Dutch.

^f Loccen. lib. vi.

king. They corrupted certain burghers of Stockholm, conspired with them against the life of this great prince, and in the design of rendering this capital a free state, united in interest, and upon the same footing as the Hanse Towns. The scheme was to place a train of gunpowder under the king's throne in the great church, to blow him up, together with the principal personages of his court, and to put the city under the government of the regency of Lubec, until a proper scheme of administration could be devised. Happily, the plot being discovered, the conspirators were seized, and punished with the severity their crime merited. Lastly, the republic invited Suante Sture, of the family of the late administrator, then at the court of Saxe Lawenburg, to conduct the enterprize against Gustavus, imagining that his presence would bring a great number of persons to espouse their cause. On his refusal they addressed themselves to John, count of Holstein, who harboured some discontents against Gustavus; and he, fired with ambition and revenge, listened to the proposals of the regency.

Frederic, king of Denmark, was now dead, and his successor thinking an alliance with Sweden necessary to insure peace to the first years of his government, sent ambassadors to Gustavus, by whom he was informed of the combination against his life. A treaty of alliance was accordingly concluded between the two courts; then Gustavus ordered all the Lubec merchantmen in his ports to be seized. The Danes perceiving that a war between Sweden and the Hanse Towns would necessarily involve them likewise in disputes, offered their mediation, which the Swedish monarch accepted. As to the republic, so assured was she of the great monarchy sketched out for herself in the North, that she sold Denmark to Henry VIII. of England, who is said to have actually advanced twenty thousand crowns of the purchase money, and stipulated to pay the remainder as soon as the conquest should be completed, and delivery made. The projects of the republic being so vast and extensive, no wonder the mediation of Denmark, deemed already a conquered country, should be rejected. To prosecute the plan, it was necessary Christian should be set at liberty, as that prince had still a great number of adherents both in Sweden and Denmark. For this purpose Christopher, count of Oldenburg, who was entirely ignorant of the private designs of the regency, was chosen to set his kinsman free by force of arms. Their operations were to begin with Denmark, not doubting but Sweden would necessarily follow the fate of that kingdom. At first the Lubeckers met with considerable

A D. 1534

able success; but the Danes electing Christian III. who was married to the sister of the queen of Sweden, that prince demanded assistance of his brother-in-law, and was powerfully succoured. Thus Sweden, instead of being a principal in the war, became only an auxiliary; and Denmark, that seemed to be entirely out of the quarrel, and was acting the part of mediator, now became principal.

As we have already related the particulars of this war, we shall here touch upon such circumstances only as immediately concern the kingdom of Sweden. Gustavus sent a reinforcement by sea and land to Christian. The former was unfortunate; several of the transports fell into the hands of the enemy; and admiral Fleming, in particular, with five hundred sailors, was made prisoner, and carried to Dantzick. The land-forces met with better success. They marched through Halland, took the cities of Helmstadt and Laholm, besieged Waerburg, passed through Schonen, and joined the inhabitants to make head against count Christopher. They engaged that prince, took Mark Meyer, burgomaster of Lubec, prisoner, and confined him in Waerburg, where, by stratagem, he made himself master of the citadel.

A conspiracy formed against the king's life.

In the mean time, Gustavus received advice from several of the German princes, of a conspiracy formed against him by the burghers of Stockholm. Incensed at this second attempt, he ordered the conspirators to be seized and put to death. It is said that Olaus Petri had learnt the particulars of the plot, from a person who came to confess himself; that he communicated it to Luez Anderson, chancellor of the court, but that neither of them discovering it to the king, they were both condemned as accomplices, but redeemed their lives with a great sum of money. This story, inconsistent in itself, was probably propagated by the Romish clergy, in order to prejudice the reputation of these two favourites; we say inconsistent, because both the chancellor and Olaus were protestants, and neither could receive information by auricular confession ¹.

The war still went on, and the Lubec fleet was defeated by the combined squadrons of Sweden and Denmark.

After this success, Christian III. contrary to the advice of his council, made a voyage to Stockholm, with intention to discover to Gustavus the intrigues of Charles V. who, under pretence of seating Frederic, count Palatine, on the northern thrones, had no other view than to acquire the superiority of the northern and Baltic seas. He was likewise

¹ Loccen. lib. vi.

desirous of expressing his gratitude to Gustavus, for the powerful succours he afforded, and of inducing him to continue his good offices. His reception was such as might have been expected from a great and magnanimous prince, too generous to seize all the advantages which the occasion offered, or to distinguish himself a deep politician, by approving himself a bad man. The Danish writers, indeed, drop obscure hints, which seem to reflect on his character, or deprive him of the virtue of hospitality at least; but had they known any thing to his prejudice, they would have certainly expressed themselves with more precision.

A. D. 1536.

*Jealousies
between
Denmark
and
Sweden.*

It was some time after that Gustavus had reason to be displeas'd with his Danish majesty, when this last struck up a peace with the city of Lubeck, without acquainting the king with his intentions, or so much as once mentioning his name in the treaty. This it was that oblig'd him to recall his forces and fleet from Denmark, that set Christian upon making apologies, and convinc'd Gustavus that his design was no other than to effect the conquest of Sweden. To prevent his being surrounded by enemies, his Swedish majesty concluded a peace for sixty years with the Russians. At the same time he married Margaret, daughter of Abraham Erickson, governor of West Gothland, whose interest was very powerful, with intention to establish the internal tranquillity of his kingdom. His former queen had been dead some time before, and he preferred this to foreign alliances with good reason, as afterwards appeared from the services done to duke John.

Hitherto the kings of Sweden and Denmark had preserv'd the exteriors of friendship, but there were secret jealousies and suspicions, which broke out into open war at the death of Gustavus. Denmark could never forget its former superiority, nor lay aside all thoughts of re-annexing Sweden to that crown; but the character of Gustavus intimidat'd the Danish monarchs from attempting it openly. They satisfied themselves, therefore, with intrigues and cabals to disturb his peace, and alienate the minds of his subjects. An instance of this disposition now occurred in Smaland, where the inhabitants were excited to revolt by the intrigues of Christian. Their rebellion, however, did not remain long unpunish'd. Gustavus, with his usual rapidity, march'd against them, oblig'd them by the terror of his name to lay down their arms, and then granted an amnesty.

A. D. 1540.

As the emperor Charles V. had openly espous'd the cause of the count Palatine, son-in-law of Christian II. then prisoner in Denmark, Gustavus endeavour'd to fortify himself against all attempts, by foreign alliances. After having cast

Gustavus forms an alliance with Francis I.

his eyes all around, he perceived none more favourable to his designs than the friendship of France. Thither Gustavus sent his secretary to pave the way for a treaty, by proposing certain commercial regulations for the mutual advantage of both kingdoms. The ambassador was instructed to offer, that the Swedes would trade directly to France for wine and salt, instead of taking them as usual of the Flemings, his majesty intending to establish magazines; and sell these commodities at a certain price to his subjects. This project never took place, but we are left in the dark with respect to the causes of its miscarriage. The French court received his majesty's propositions favourably; the Swedes were permitted to buy salt, without paying the usual duties; and a treaty of trade and navigation was concluded. Afterwards Francis I. made a particular enquiry into the state of Sweden, a kingdom very little known at that time among the southern states of Europe; and being well informed of the character of Gustavus, and of the warlike dispositions of his subjects, he readily consented to the alliance proposed. Gustavus accordingly sent a magnificent embassy into France, in order to impress a high opinion of his power; both kings engaged mutually to assist each other against all their enemies, with twenty-five thousand men and fifty ships of war; and a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive was solemnly concluded.

A.D. 1542.

Gustavus secures the crown in his own family, by the act of hereditary union.

This treaty being finished, Gustavus resumed his great design of confirming himself and his family on the throne. Assembling the states at Westeraas, he prevailed on them to make the crown hereditary in his house; and found no great difficulty in obtaining whatever he desired. He had before made overtures to the same purpose, but the situation of affairs at that time was unfavourable. Now his power was established, the nation sensible of his merit, and their own obligations. He had delivered them from the cruel yoke of Denmark; he had rescued them from the tyranny of priesthood; rendered Sweden happy at home and respectable abroad; they could not therefore refuse to reward these services by an act of gratitude, which should at the same time most effectually exclude all future claims of the Danish monarchs, and attempts to unite the crowns. Thus it was that the young prince Eric, then eleven years of age, was chosen successor to his father's throne, with this extraordinary privilege, that his descendants in the male line should successively inherit the crown; with this restriction, however, that whenever the male line became extinct, the election of a new king should devolve on the senate and states. In this assembly the states took an oath to maintain the

the true evangelic religion, according to the tenets of the reformed church, and never to tolerate any other in the kingdom; so that from this time we may date the entire extinction of the Romish religion in Sweden.

The king of Denmark received with chagrin and astonishment the news of the act of hereditary union, as it was called. It absolutely cancelled the treaty of Calmar, and cut off all prospect of re-uniting the crowns; yet could not Christian persuade himself altogether to relinquish his claims. He therefore ordered the Swedish arms to be quartered with his own, as a public declaration of his right. Gustavus sent ambassadors to him to complain of this insult; but he could procure no redress from this young and ambitious prince, elated with the late advantages he had obtained over the Lubeckers. by which he gained entire possession of Denmark. His Swedish majesty, far advanced in years, and broke with care and fatigue, dissembled his resentment. Unwilling to enter upon a new war in the decline of life, he chose to preserve his authority rather by his reputation, than by arms. He knew how vain the pretensions of the Danish monarch were, without the power of enforcing them, and contented himself with fixing the crown, by a solemn act of the diet, in his own family. It was necessary, however, that some measure should be taken to quiet the jealousies that threatened a rupture between the two kingdoms. Accordingly a negotiation was set on foot; the two kings had an interview at Bromsebroo, and it was agreed to defer the decision of their differences, or the renewal of their disputes, for the term of fifty years.

Gustavus having now established the public tranquillity on a solid foundation, applied his mind to the arts of peace, the encouragement of science and commerce. The cities were beautified by useful edifices; men of genius in every profession patronised; ships built and constructed upon a new plan; merchants of every country invited to trade with Sweden; the army and navy put on a respectable footing; in a word, every measure was sedulously pursued that could render his people happy, and himself powerful. To settle the affairs of his own family on the best footing possible, he assigned portions for the younger children. To John, the second son, he gave Finland; to Magnus, the third, the province of West Gothland; and to Charles, his fourth son, Nericia, Sundermannia, and Wermeland, were given, as portions, for which they did homage to the crown. Each of the children had one hundred thousand crowns in money, besides other valuable moveables. To Eric, his

He applies his mind to the pacific arts.

eldest son, he assigned the province of Smaland, to maintain his household until he should ascend the throne; after he had first signed an instrument, promising fidelity and obedience to his father and the states; to employ all his power in defending the frontiers of the kingdom; to form no alliances but with the consent of the king and the states; to communicate all letters he should receive from foreign princes and states; with a variety of other articles, which shewed the caution and prudence of Gustavus.

He proposes a treaty of marriage between prince Eric, and queen Elizabeth of England.

Next he thought of strengthening his family by some considerable alliance. He apprehended that the powerful interest of the younger children, and the promising genius of duke John, in particular, might one day create trouble to Eric, and excite civil commotions. To preserve them in their obedience, he imagined no step would be more conducive than marrying prince Eric into some powerful family, whose interest and connections would be able to suppress all attempts to disturb the government. In this view, no alliance was so desirable as that of Elizabeth, queen of England. Her great qualities, her dignity, and dominions, made this princess the object of the ambition of every aspiring young prince in Europe; but none stood a fairer chance than Eric, on account of the reformed religion now established in Sweden. Philip of Spain's dominions were vast; but this very circumstance, together with his religion, was an unfurmountable objection. The same objection might be made to the duke of Anjou; but with respect to Eric there could be none, except what depended on her own inclinations, abstracted from motives of policy. Eric's person too was graceful; he was distinguished by an air of empire and majesty; and a certain impetuosity in his disposition was easily mistaken for valour and courage. However, his father had private reasons for not permitting him to pay his addresses in person to the queen of England. Gustavus was extremely jealous of the honour of his family; and he perceived somewhat in his son's temper, which rendered it necessary to keep him at home. In fact, his good qualities were obscured by violent gusts of passion, which sometimes rose to a dangerous height, obliterated every trace of reason, and rendered him little better than a maniac. This consideration had once made Gustavus resolve to bestow the crown on his second son; from which design he was only deterred by the fear that a civil war might ensue. It now, however, determined him to refuse his son's earnest request to go personally to England, and rather to negotiate the marriage by ambassadors. However, to satisfy the prince

prince, he consented that his brother duke John should visit London, under pretence of travelling for his education, pay his compliments to the queen, and demand a positive answer. The ambassadors had before spent some time at the court of London, without making any progress in the treaty of marriage. The artful queen had treated them, in her usual manner, with the utmost civility, but industriously avoided an explanation on the subject of their embassy. All kinds of diversions were contrived to divert their attention from this object; while the queen gratified her own vanity, with entertaining lovers at her court, and at the same time regarded her interest too much to share her power and authority with any husband whatsoever.

Duke John, on his arrival, was caressed, magnificently entertained, and treated with the utmost respect, by Elizabeth. The young prince shewed equal liberality. His public entrance was extremely pompous; and not content with the magnificence and splendor of his appearance, he threw large sums of money among the populace, to impress them with a high opinion of the power and generosity of his country. After a short residence, he returned to Sweden, assuring his brother, that nothing more was wanting to complete his desire than personally to appear at the English court; however, as he brought with him no sort of proofs in writing, the penetrating king soon discovered, that his son had mistaken compliments for the queen's real sentiments, and was, in fact, the dupe of her superior policy.

A.D. 1550.

In this opinion he assembled the states, to deliberate on a matter so important to the kingdom; and here he confirmed not only the succession in his own family, but likewise the will he had made in favour of his younger children. As the nation had been at great expence in the late embassies to England, Eric was constrained to promise to the states, that, provided he ever became king of England, he would always support Sweden, when attacked, with all the power of that kingdom; and that, in case he failed in his pursuit of obtaining the queen's consent, he would reimburse his brothers in the sums expended in this design, as soon as he should ascend the throne of Sweden. Encouraged by these promises, the subject of a treaty of marriage was again resumed, great sums were advanced to support the prince with splendor at the court of England, and he proceeded on his journey as far as Lodesse, where he proposed to embark, when the melancholy news of the king's death made him lay aside all thoughts of the voyage and marriage.

Gultavus

Gustavus was attacked with a slow fever at Stockholm. His strength declined insensibly; but after the change in his constitution became visible, he could never be persuaded to relax in the least in his attention to public affairs. As if he had foreseen how little time he had to live, his application was redoubled, to leave the kingdom in the best condition possible at his death. Determined to reign to the last moment, he sent for Eric Stenon, secretary of state, and related to him some matters that concerned the most secret affairs of his government. He then ordered his children to be called; and strongly recommended to them unanimity and brotherly affection. The last moments of his life were employed in prayer; and he died a Christian, as he had lived a hero, on the 29th day of September, in the year 1560, aged seventy. His body was interred at Upsal, and his funeral obsequies were celebrated by the tears and praises of his subjects¹.

*Death of
Gustavus.*

*His cha-
racter.*

Thus died the great Gustavus Vasa, who obtained the crown by his valour, and rescued the nation from slavery by his perseverance in virtue and patriotism. His character was indeed very extraordinary, if we consider the circumstances of the times when he flourished. In an age of ignorance he became learned; in a country the most barbarous, perfectly civilized; in every thing he excelled the rest of mankind, uniting all the accomplishments of the gentleman, foldier, and statesman. His person was graceful, his air noble and majestic, his eloquence rapid and nervous, and his address irresistible. The stream of his policy flowed clear, and unpolluted with mean intrigue and low cunning, in which too frequently consists the wisdom of princes. In a word, he found the nation enslaved to Denmark; he restored public liberty; he set the consciences of men free from the tyranny of spiritual thraldom: he made commerce and arts flourish, raised the power and reputation of his crown, rendered his people happy, secured their affections, and acquired the esteem of all Europe. He lived the admiration of mankind, and died the idol of his own subjects, founding the surname of Great, not in blood, but on all those noble arts that ennoble humanity, and truly constitute the hero.

¹ Loccen. lib. vi. Puffend. tom. i. p. 384. Vertot. tom. ii. p. 249.

S E C T. VI.

Containing the Reign of King Eric XIV.

ERIC ascended the throne of Sweden at the age of twenty-seven, after having completed his education, and acquired the reputation of a finished gentleman. His accomplishments were rather striking than solid. He spoke the modern languages, danced gracefully, performed the manly exercises like a prince, was eloquent, easy, and polite; but withal so imprudent, that his misconduct cost him his crown and scepter. Scarce were the remains of the great Gustavus interred, when Eric incurred the displeasure of the younger children, by refusing to refund, according to agreement, the money expended in embassies to England. He likewise disputed resigning the lands assigned them by their father, under pretence that they had already received more than an equivalent, by the sequestration of churchlands, which properly belonged to the crown, as they originally flowed from the liberality of his ancestors. Even the possession of the duchies specified in the will of Gustavus, and confirmed to them by an act of the diet, Eric clogged with certain disagreeable restrictions and limitations, that could not but prove displeasing to the dukes, notwithstanding they were constrained to sign them at a general diet at Abroga^k.

Now the treaty of marriage with queen Elizabeth was again resumed, and considerable sums granted for his majesty's voyage to England, where he proposed appearing with all the magnificence becoming a great prince. The diet entered the more cheerfully upon this resolution, from an apprehension that the king might be prevailed on to marry one of his mistresses, a woman of beauty, ambition, and intrigue, but of mean extraction. In the next place, regulations were made concerning the government of the kingdom in his absence. He endeavoured to abolish certain superstitious ceremonies still remaining in the church, and condemned by the reformists. This step was taken at the persuasion of his tutor, Dennis Beurre, and by the advice of certain English gentlemen, with whom he had contracted an intimacy. Possibly it might be with a view to compliment queen Elizabeth; but he could not succeed, so powerful was the opposition of the bishops. A.D. 1561.

^k Loccen. lib. vii.

*War in
Livonia.*

The visit to England was postponed; on account of some troubles that arose about the commerce of Livonia. The Lubeckers and Russians came to blows, and this province was made the scene of bloodshed and confusion. In these circumstances, the bishop of Oesel surrendered his diocese to the king of Denmark, who presented it to his brother duke Magnus; and the grand-master, having ceded Livonia to Sigismund, king of Poland, reserved only Courland to himself, which he held as a fief of that crown. The city of Revel, finding itself unprotected, both on account of the distance of these princes, and the impossibility of carrying on trade in Poland and Lithuania, which was already engrossed by Riga, formed the resolution of declaring to the grand-master, that as he was no longer in a condition to afford their city protection, they would chuse the king of Sweden for their patron; a proposal to which the nobility of Esthonia immediately assented. The grand-master refused to comply, and Eric determined to support the city of Revel and the Esthonians with a fleet and army, which he dispatched under the conduct of Nicholas Horn, with instructions immediately to invade the grand-master's territories. Horn was received with great joy by the burghers of Revel and the Esthonians, who immediately united themselves to the crown of Sweden. However, Gaspar Oldenbach refusing to surrender the cathedral church of Revel, it was attacked, and forced in the space of six weeks to capitulate^l.

His Polish majesty beheld with jealousy these changes. He sent count Lunscky to Stockholm, to demand restitution of Revel; but Eric replied, that he had the same right to protect Revel and Esthonia as his Polish majesty had to the rest of Livonia. Upon this declaration, the grand-master besieged the city, with a view to reduce it under the power of the crown of Poland; but he was forced to relinquish the enterprize: the Swedish garrison made so vigorous a sally, that one wing of his army was wholly defeated, his camp and artillery were taken, he himself being obliged to retreat with precipitation^m.

This advantage encouraged Eric to fresh attempts. He complained to the king of Denmark of the presumption of quartering the Swedish arms with those of Denmark; but, obtaining no redress, both courts began to make preparations for war. Unseasonable as the occasion might appear, Eric now determined to set out for England, and accord-

^l Loccen. lib. vii. Puffend. tom. i. p. 390.

^m Ibid. p. 391.

ingly embarked with his brother Charles, and several persons of distinction, while the world imagined he intended to invade Denmark. He never once reflected on the prejudice public affairs would sustain from his absence, nor on the uncertainty of succeeding in the pursuit. All advice was disregarded; he set sail, was overtaken by a furious storm, and, after having narrowly escaped shipwreck, forced into the first port the ship could make. As the convoy was numerous, amounting to forty vessels, most of them ships of war, the loss and damages were considerable, and the king was ever after deterred from the thoughts of committing his life to the capricious elements. Whether this accident had cooled his passion for Elizabeth, or the inconstancy of his disposition made him drop the pursuit, certain it is, that he thought no more of her; but began now, and with more reason, to entertain a passion for Mary, queen of Scots, the most beautiful and accomplished princess of that age.

Eric sets sail for England, and is shipwrecked.

About this time the king assembled the states at Jene-coping, where he passed a decree that proved highly displeasing to the nobility. It was to regulate the time each was to serve in the field, the sums he was to advance, and the force he was to maintain for the king's use, in case of any domestic or foreign war, of a dangerous and pressing nature. The nobility looked upon this act as servile, and derogatory of their dignity; but they could not prevent its passing. It must be owned, that several strokes of spirited conduct appear in the short course of Eric's government. One instance of this is the vigour with which he treated the Lubeckers. They demanded an open trade to Sweden; it was granted, on condition they allowed the same privilege to the Swedish merchants. They insisted on having the whole trade of Russia; they were refused, and confined to that branch of commerce by the way of Revel and Wiburgh. They carried their complaints to the emperor, and Eric put to sea a squadron to support his refusal, with orders to take all the Lubeck vessels that should presume to trade directly to Russia, or by any other method than what he allowed. Thus a war was kindled with Lubeck; Denmark took part with the king's enemies, and made use of a frivolous pretence, which demonstrated the inclination of his Danish majesty to come to a rupture. Duke John, the king's brother, had, in the heat of youth and passion, broke in pieces a looking-glass on the stern of a Danish ship in the port of Stockholm, because it had quartered the Swedish and Danish arms, which he deemed an open insult. Some persons imagine, that John had deeper designs in this action,

Eric incurs the displeasure of the nobility.

He quarrels with the city of Lubeck and the Danes.

action, and that he wanted to involve his brother as much possible, in hopes of fishing to advantage in troubled waters. It is certain there was no good understanding between the king and him, and that he was strengthening his interest by all the powerful alliances he could make^o.

A.D. 1562. Eric no sooner found himself engaged than he chose to divert his thoughts from that object, by substituting one more agreeable. With the senate's consent, he dispatched ambassadors to Scotland, to demand queen Mary in marriage; but, from a surprising inconstancy in his temper, scarce were the ambassadors gone, when he sent other ministers to the emperor, to demand the princess of Lorraine, daughter to Christian II. with whom he fell in love from the description of some of his courtiers. The last ambassadors returned with a favourable answer; but Eric had changed his mind before their arrival. His passion for the princess of Lorraine and queen of Scots had vanished, and he resumed his former affection for Elizabeth, queen of England. In this manner did he incur the contempt of all men, and squander in fruitless negotiations the vast treasures which Gustavus had amassed with such care and prudence. Duke John, in the mean time, displayed more steadiness of conduct. His interest induced him to seek in marriage the princess Catherine, daughter of Sigismund, king of Poland; his address and policy obtained her. He set sail for Dantzick, arrived at Cracow, where his nuptials were solemnised with great pomp^o.

He comes to a rupture with his brother, duke John.

This marriage widened the breach between the king and duke John. His majesty harboured suspicions, and these were heightened by the artful insinuations of his creatures, who pretended to discover a dangerous intention in this last measure of the duke's. Eric complained bitterly of his brother; and imagining a war with Denmark, as well as disputes with duke John, would follow, he exacted from the nobility the money and services imposed by the late decree of the states. Nothing could be more unseasonable than any step to provoke this powerful body, when he most wanted their attachment and loyalty; but Eric, pursuing only his own passions, and the counsels of worthless minions, shut his eyes to all consequences. The quarrel with John rose to so great a height, that the duke was cited to Stockholm to vindicate his conduct, particularly his allying himself with Poland, and disposing of certain castles in Livonia to that crown, for the sum of twenty thousand

A.D. 1563.

^o Loccen. lib. vii. p. 349.
p. 400.

^o Idem ibid. Puffend. tom. i.

crowns. John gave a short and spirited answer to the ambassadors; refusing at the same time to obey the citation, unless proper security should be given for his safety. In a word, perceiving that matters were come to a crisis, he fortified himself by all the alliances possible, put his castles in a state of defence, and received an oath of fidelity from the Finlanders, who were attached to his interest^p.

Eric endeavoured, on the other hand, to form powerful connections; but he could not succeed. His unsteadiness frustrated the effect of every negotiation, and princes were afraid to place confidence in a monarch so fickle, that he seemed not to know his own sentiments. The czar of Muscovy refused his alliance, even against their common enemy the king of Poland. He was duped by Frederic, king of Denmark, and his ambassadors were detained by violence at the court of Copenhagen. His Danish majesty excused this breach of the law of nations, by asserting, that the Swedish ambassadors were so insolent and outrageous, that it was necessary to put them under arrest, for the security of the state, and the safety of their own persons. Eric demanded their liberty; but the king of Denmark, instead of complying, ordered all the Swedish merchants and ships in his ports to be seized: in order to support this violence, he equipped a formidable squadron, and formed an alliance with the czar of Muscovy, the king of Poland, and the city of Lubec^q.

A confederacy formed against Eric.

This confederacy was formidable, but it did not dispirit Eric. He wanted indeed nothing but steadiness and uniformity of conduct to withstand, and even break, the combination against him. He began the war in Livonia, and had the good fortune to deprive Sigismund of eight cities and castles, all garrisoned with Polish troops. An army was sent to Finland, with orders to seize duke John and his wife, to bring them living or dead to Stockholm, and to reduce the inhabitants of that province. But unhappily Eric embarked in new exploits of gallantry, while he was thus deeply engaged in war. He sent ambassadors to Hesse Cassel, to demand the landgrave's daughter in marriage; a prince whose alliance could be of little service at this juncture. The ambassadors were charged not to return without the princess; and to escort her with safety, a squadron of twelve men of war were put to sea under the command of admiral Jacob Bagge. This officer met the Danish fleet off the island of Borkholm; an engagement ensued, and after an obstinate conflict the enemy were defeated, though greatly superior in number; the Danish admiral, seven

He demands the princess of Hesse Cassel in marriage.

His fleet defeats the Danes.

^p Loccen. lib. vii. p. 351.

^q Id. ibid.

captains,

captains, and nine hundred men were made prisoners, four ships taken, and about six hundred officers and marines killed. The remainder of the Danish fleet, greatly shattered, was forced to put into the first port; and the Swedish admiral having sent his booty to Stockholm, proceeded on his voyage, without offering the least violence to the Danish commerce^r.

Eric was no sooner informed of this action than he sent ambassadors to Copenhagen, to complain of the violence offered to the Swedish flag, previous to any declaration of war, while the nations lived in profound peace. The ambassadors were likewise instructed to end the dispute in the way of negotiation, and favour an exchange of prisoners; but the Danes, piqued at their defeat, continued their preparations for war. A great number of German troops came to their assistance; the Lubeckers joined the Danish fleet with twelve men of war; in a word, an army of thirty thousand men took the field, and a fleet of fifty ships covered the ocean. An irruption was made by the Norwegians into the provinces of Daly, Wermland, and Helsingia. Matters took a serious turn, and the Swedish ambassadors strove in vain to accommodate them amicably. The landgrave of Hesse, who did not relish the terms proposed to his daughter, desired the treaty of marriage might be deferred to a more seasonable and pacific occasion; but he readily offered, in conjunction with the duke of Saxony, to interfere as mediator to reconcile the courts of Sweden and Denmark^s.

The Swedes reduce Abo, and duke John is made prisoner.

In the mean time the Swedish troops reduced Abo by a stratagem. Duke John, his wife and family, were conducted prisoners to Stockholm; he himself, and all his domestics, were accused of rebellion, and condemned to death, without hope of pardon, except from the king's clemency. The states were obliged to sign this sentence. Almost all the native domestics suffered the punishment which had been decreed; the foreigners were sent out of the kingdom; and as for the duke himself his life was saved, but his whole estate was confiscated, and his person condemned to perpetual imprisonment; in which his duchess voluntarily accompanied him, and continued near four years. Here he passed every day in imminent danger of his life; for Eric, who pretended to a smattering in astrology, prognosticated that the pardon which he granted to his brother would one day become fatal to himself. It is reported, that the king went frequently to the prison with

^r Loccent. lib. vii.

^s Puffend. p. 394.

intention to murder his brother; but was always upon seeing him melted into pity, which made him throw himself at the duke's feet, and confess his bloody intention. Often had he told the duke, that the crown of Sweden was destined for him, and intreated that he would pardon his errors whenever that event happened. Hence we may collect the weakness of his disposition, the truth of that suspicion of insanity harboured by Gustavus, and the eternal apprehensions he ever was under that his brothers would rebel. We may likewise perceive, that his natural disposition was humane and tender, though perverted with superstition, and a prey to the evil counsels of certain intriguing worthless minions and favourites. His misfortune was, that the nobility, disobliged by the late act against them, and connected by alliance with the duke, refused to communicate their advice to the king; a circumstance which forced him to throw himself into the arms of those pests of society, the sycophants and parasites of his court^t.

The Swedish arms were successful in Livonia. After the reduction of Abo, the king's admiral surprised and defeated the armament sent by his Polish majesty to relieve that place. Almost the whole province was subdued; but the same good fortune did not attend his majesty's enterprises against Denmark. King Frederic encamped before Elfsburgh; some say he besieged that place, but was forced to raise it. Certain it is, that, disappointed in his expectation of exciting a revolt in West Gothland, he discharged his choler upon the unfortunate inhabitants, with a fury fatal to them, and prejudicial to his own character, however the Danish writers may palliate his conduct. He used every expedient to draw Eric to a battle; but that prince contented himself with harrassing the Danish army, until an opportunity should offer of attacking it to advantage. To effect this purpose, he divided his army into three bodies; one he sent to Wermland and Daly, under the command of Peter Broke; another was detached under the conduct of Gustavus Steenboek, with orders to enter West Gothland; and the third he led in person to Smaland. About the same time an emissary was sent to his brother duke Magnus, to prevail on him to sign the sentence passed on duke John. That prince at first refused to comply from some scruples of conscience, which were soon quieted, upon Eric's assurance, that in case he died without male issue, Magnus should succeed to the crown. Magnus signed the sentence; but it is said he could never quiet the

*Further
success of
the Swe-
dish troops.*

^t Loccen. *ibid.*

pangs of conscience, which wore out his constitution, and brought on his death prematurely^u.

The operations of the war between Denmark and Sweden were prosecuted with vigour for the whole summer-season, though nothing can be more obscure and unsatisfactory than all the relations of their historians, who content themselves with relating a few unimportant events, and fill up the remainder of the year with Eric's gallantries and courtships, which he never once relinquished amidst the tumult of arms and din of war. The Swedish garrison at Elfsburgh surrendered that place upon honourable terms, after a vigorous resistance; but the approaching winter, and march of the Swedish army, stopt the progress of the Danes, and obliged them to go into winter-quarters in Schonen.

To revenge the loss of Elfsburgh, Eric made an attempt on Bahus and Helmstadt, but succeeded in neither. The garrison of the latter place amused him so long with the hopes of surrendering, that the frost coming on, obliged him to raise the siege, and return to Sweden. In his march he divided the army into two columns; the left of which was attacked by the Danes. The Swedish infantry faced about, and fought with the utmost gallantry; but being deserted by the cavalry, they were compelled to retreat, with the loss of three or four hundred men. Eric was enraged at this insult; and to revenge it he entered Halland and Bleking, which provinces he ravaged without mercy. His troops likewise gained possession of Drontheim, in Norway, the castle of Steenwickholm, with the adjacent territory; but he did not long maintain his conquests, for the viceroy advanced against them with a greatly superior force^x.

Frederic began to think, that the little success which had hitherto attended his arms boded but trifling advantages from the continuance of the war. He therefore wrote to king Eric, proposing to terminate their disputes by negotiation. In concert with the regency of Lubec, he invited the emperor, the French king, the elector of Saxony, and duke of Brunwic, to intercede as mediators. In effect, a congress was appointed, but acts of hostility did not cease. Eric laid siege to Elfsburgh with a powerful army, and put to sea a fleet of forty ships, which was entirely dispersed in a storm, and destroyed. The small remains, consisting of the admiral's, and two other ships, fell in with the enemy's squadron off the island of Oeland, and finding it im-

The Swedes lose Elfsburgh.

Advantages gained by the Swedes in Norway.

A.D. 1564.

The Swedish fleet lost in a storm, and the brave admiral Bagge taken by the Danes.

^u Idem *ibid.*

^x Hist. de Dan. tom. iv.

possible to escape, resolved upon a gallant defence. After having fought with the most desperate fury for several hours against a Squadron ten times their own number, they were surrounded by the enemy, forced to strike, and the brave admiral Bagge was taken prisoner. It is reported by the Swedish writers, that Bagge would have extricated himself, notwithstanding the enemy's superiority, had not the powder-room unfortunately taken fire; an accident which obliged him to quit the ship ^y. She blew up a few minutes after, and the Danes lost the most important consequence of their victory, the finest ship at that time in Europe.

The more inclined Eric perceived his Danish majesty was to an accommodation, the less disposed did he seem to terminate their disputes by treaty. His ambassadors never appeared at the congress; a failure which he excused by the frivolous apology that he had mistaken the time. He likewise alleged, that it was not customary to conclude treaties between crowned heads in any of the Hanse Towns, but that congresses for this purpose ought to be held on the frontiers. Thus the negotiations were broke off, and Frederic resumed his military operations, by prevailing on the emperor to prohibit the Hanse Towns from supplying Sweden with warlike stores. The city of Lubec, connected with Denmark by treaty, alone obeyed his imperial majesty's edict; the rest of the cities in general replied, that as Denmark had begun a war upon a slight foundation, it was unreasonable that the free cities should be deprived of the right of commerce, merely for the sake of a people with whom they were no way allied or connected.

Eric, assured of receiving supplies from the Hanse *Eric's last projects.* Towns, resumed the war with a full intention to enlarge his dominions. He resolved first to reduce the isle of Gothland, and re-annex it to the crown. Next Schonon, Halland, and Bleking, were the objects of his ambition. Then he thought of nothing less than conquering Norway; a kingdom which the Danes had violently wrested from Charles Canutson. To accomplish these great designs, it was necessary to extricate himself from a war with Poland, in which he was engaged; but the negotiations on this subject were fruitless, because the king of Poland made it a necessary preliminary, that duke John and his wife should be released.

The first military operations of the summer happened at sea. Nicholas Horn, the Swedish admiral, fell in with a *Success of the Swedes at sea.*

^y Loccen. lib vii. ibid.

fleet of Lubec merchantmen, richly laden, of which he took six, together with three hundred seamen. He next gave battle to the Danish fleet off the isle of Oeland, and after a sharp engagement obliged the enemy to sheer off, with the loss of four capital ships. Pursuing his success, Horn made great havock among the Danish merchantmen. At last, he was a second time attacked by the royal squadron, and with the same success as before. Nor was Eric idle by land; perceiving the difficulty of reducing Elfsburgh, he turned his arms against Bleking, and took the city of Lyckeby. He summoned the inhabitants of the province to submit; but they refusing with marks of contempt, he ordered that all who had attained the age of manhood should be put to the sword. Next he pillaged and laid waste Schonon; after which exploits he returned to Sweden.

The Danes profited by Eric's retreat. They soon retook Lyckeby, and demolished the fortifications the Swedes had erected. They attempted penetrating into Smaland, but were driven out by the peasants with great loss. On the other hand, the Swedes committed cruel ravages in Norway, where they pillaged Drontheim, Uddewalla, and Kongfal, without meeting any opposition. Towards the end of this year, his Danish majesty sent plenipotentiaries to Calmar, to treat not only of a peace, but of Eric's marriage with the princess of Hesse. The Swedish ambassadors likewise attended, but the conference was broke off without concluding either business; and the princess was soon after married to the duke of Holstein. Thus every attempt to procure Eric a queen in foreign countries proving abortive, the states assembled at Upsal, consented that he should marry a lady of his own country. However, he seemed to relax in his violent inclinations for matrimony, in proportion as he found the obstructions to it removed^z.

Early next year Eric marched with his army, in three divisions, towards Norway and the province of Halland, laying waste the country with fire and sword. The enemy made reprisals, and ravaged Smaland with the same barbarity. This was a horrid and cruel method of waging war, happily abolished among the more civilized nations; but it struck at the sinews of the state, and by disabling the peasants, destroying the corn, and ruining the husbandman, frequently put a speedy issue to the most cruel wars. The Danes attempted to raise the siege of Elfsburgh, which was again renewed; but after being twice repulsed, they

*Ravages
committed
in Norway
by the
Swedes.*

A. D. 1565.

*The Danes
make re-
prisals.*

at last threw in a strong reinforcement into the place, having forced one of the Swedish posts.

In the spring, Nicholas Horn put to sea with a squadron of forty sail. Near Stralsund he fell in with some of the enemy's ships, which he would have infallibly sunk, had not the duke of Pomerania strongly interceded for their safety, promising to detain them in his ports until the war should be ended. Horn afterwards steered his course towards Falsterboo, where the Lubeck squadron lay waiting to be joined by the Danes. On sight of the Swedish admiral, they made all the sail they could for Copenhagen; and the Swedes, now masters of the sea, entered the Sound, and took two hundred and fifty merchantmen, homeward-bound from the western ocean. At length the Danish fleet being ready to put to sea, resolved, in conjunction with the Lubeckers, to go in quest of Horn, and revenge the insults and losses they had lately sustained. Horn did not refuse battle, but waiting for the enemy between Wafena and Rostock, both fleets began a furious engagement on the 4th of June, which continued all day, without any apparent advantage on either side. The calm that ensued next morning prevented their renewing the fight; and on the third day, as the Swedish fleet was bearing down to engage, the Danes returned to the Sound. Such is the account given by the Swedish historians; and it is supported with probability, as the Lubeckers shewed but little inclination to renew the combat, and the Danish admiral Trolle was dangerously wounded. Notwithstanding the loss was very considerable on both sides, and particularly on that of the Danes, nothing decisive flowed from this battle. Horn indeed, after having given chase to the enemy, made a descent on the island of Mona, and put all the inhabitants to the sword^a.

The Swedes are masters at sea.

An engagement between the fleets.

In Livonia the Swedish affairs proceeded less successfully. They lost Pernaw; but had the good fortune to raise the siege of Revel, on which the Poles made several abortive attempts.

Progress of the war in Livonia.

In the winter, negotiations for a peace were renewed as usual; but Eric's late advantages made him rise so much in his demands, that his Danish majesty resolved to continue the war. Eric marched to give battle to the Danish army in the neighbourhood of Elfsburgh. The Danes retreated at his approach, and the Swede poured out all his vengeance on Warberg; however, the first assault, which the garrison withstood with infinite spirit, cooled his ardour,

Eric begins his Warberg.

^a Puffend. tom. i. ibid.

and determined him to pass to West Gothland, to view at a distance the operations of that siege. His retreat greatly dispirited the soldiers, who concluded that either the danger was very great, or his majesty too careful of his own person; but the arrival of duke Charles restored their spirits, and encouraged them to prosecute the siege with vigour. The town was set on fire by bombs and ignited balls, the breach in the wall stormed, and after an obstinate dispute, for the space of five hours, carried with great slaughter ^b.

*It is taken
by storm.*

All the northern quarter of Halland was thrown into the utmost consternation by the loss of Warberg, and submitted to Eric. The citadel, however, still made a gallant defence; but was likewise forced to surrender, after the defeat of the forces which were sent to raise the siege. The Swedish writers allege it was taken by assault, and the officers, who sought refuge in the women's apartments, saved at their intercession. These signal advantages were followed by other successes at sea. The Danish fleet was defeated off Bornholm, the admiral and chief officers were taken prisoners, and several ships sunk and destroyed, but not without the loss of many men and ships on the side of the Swedes.

Sea fight.

After the reduction of Warberg, the Swedish army retired to Sweden; and the Danes laid hold of that opportunity to lay siege to the place, with a view to re-conquer it, before the breaches made in the late siege could be repaired. But the vigorous conduct of Mornay, the governor, who repulsed them in three successive assaults, and the approach of the royal army, obliged them to relinquish the enterprize. A detachment from the king's army, having intelligence of their route, resolved to intercept them, as they were attempting to cross the river Swartera. This obstruction threw the enemy into despair; they lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven, imploring the divine protection; and the Swedes construing this behaviour into fear, and relying on their own superiority, made no doubt but they would all surrender. The post the Swedes occupied was advantageous; but their security made them leave it with indifference, in order to attack the enemy on more equal terms. Instead of throwing down their arms, the Danes began the engagement, and fought for several hours with such desperate fury, that the Swedes were forced to retreat with the utmost precipitation, having left about six thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners upon the field ^c.

*Swedes de-
feated.*

^b Hist. de Dan. ibid. Loccen. lib. vii. ^c Auct. supra citat. ibid.

Eric was extremely irritated at this defeat, which he imputed to the cowardice of the German cavalry, as well as to the imprudence of his general. To punish the former, he ordered Nils Sture to put all to death who had fled out of the field before the retreat was sounded, and to destroy the houses of certain bailiffs in West Gothland, who had shewn, by their conduct, a secret partiality to the Danes. Sture refused to obey such rigorous orders, and drew upon himself the royal displeasure. All the king's suspicions against this only remaining branch of the ancient family of the administrators was roused, and he persuaded himself that Sture was engaged in a conspiracy to release duke John, and place him upon the throne. He ordered this nobleman to be conducted in the most ignominious manner to Stockholm, mounted upon a peasant's horse, with a crown of straw upon his head, and exposed all the way to the scoffs and derision of the populace. From this imprudent conduct we may date the source of his misfortunes, and of those domestic broils which again brought the nation into great danger. Such an indignity to the character of a nobleman of the first rank and merit, alienated the minds of great numbers of men, and was never to be erased out of the memory of his friends, notwithstanding the king so far restored him to his favour, as to send him ambassador to Lorraine, to negotiate a marriage with a princess of that house.

*The king's
behaviour
to Nils
Sture.*

The late advantage gained over the Swedish troops had so elated the king of Denmark, that, at the conference held in the winter, he proposed such terms of accommodation as it could scarce be expected his Swedish majesty would have complied with, after repeated losses. They could not therefore fail of appearing unreasonable to a monarch, who regarded himself as victorious, upon the whole, notwithstanding this check to his conquests: they were therefore rejected with disdain; upon which his Danish majesty repeated his instances to the imperial court, to prohibit the Hanse Towns from supplying Sweden with ammunition and warlike stores. The emperor accordingly wrote to king Eric, pressing him to listen to terms, and accept of him as mediator between the Northern crowns. The messenger sent with this letter being detained in Sweden, he then published the prohibition required by the king of Denmark and regency of Lubec, but to no effect ^d.

*Negotia-
tions for a
peace.*

The following year was ushered in with unhappy pre-
sages to Eric. He lost a great number of troops before

A.D. 1566.

^d Puffend. tom. i. ibid.

Pernaw, which place he was desirous of retaking; and a plague creeping into his army, swept off the greater part of his forces: nevertheless his fleet put to sea in quest of the enemy, and with a view to open the passage of the Sound, which the Danes had blocked up. The enterprize was successful; many ships were taken in sight of the enemy's fleet, who durst not hazard a battle; and the Swedish merchantmen were convoyed safe under the very flag of the Danish admiral. Off the island of Mona the Swedes fell in with a fleet of two hundred merchantmen, which they forced into the ports of Sweden, to sell their goods, and particularly salt, at the market-price. At last the two fleets came to an action, which terminated to the disadvantage of the Danes, who were forced to sheer off with considerable loss. To complete their ruin and disgrace, they were soon after overtaken in a storm; several ships were cast away on the rocks, among which were the Danish and Lubec admirals, and the whole loss amounted to, about nine thousand men and sixteen large vessels; in consequence of which disaster the Swedes remained masters at sea for the remainder of the year.

Advantages gained by the Swedish Fleet.

Nor were the Danes more fortunate by land. A detachment from the main army made an irruption into West Gothland, where they were attacked by Mornay, governor of Warberg, defeated with the loss of two thousand men slain, an equal number of prisoners, and all their booty. Mornay, flushed with success, ventured to lay siege to Helmstadt, but was obliged to relinquish the attempt on the approach of the enemy, who were greatly superior to him in numbers. Thus ended the campaign of 1566, in which the advantage by sea remained wholly on the side of the Swedes, while that by land was pretty equal; so that upon the whole Eric seemed to have the better, and accordingly raised his terms at the negociation which was again brought upon the carpet in winter. It is probable indeed that he would have extricated himself with honour out of this war, but for the unfortunate expedition to Norway, undertaken at the persuasion of Ennon Brunck, who passed for one of the principal personages of that kingdom, and pretended that he was sent with an invitation to Eric from the chief inhabitants of the country. He said they were earnest to shake off the Danish yoke, and would receive him with open arms as their deliverer. Eric, without further enquiry, ordered his army to march through Dalecarlia to Norway, under the conduct of Sigefon, over the high mountains that divide that kingdom from Sweden, and through woods almost impervious. On the arrival of Sigefon

An unfortunate expedition against Norway.

A. D. 1567.

son in Norway, he found the people disposed very differently from what was represented. He was every where attacked and harrassed by numerous troops of peasants; the country was laid waste, and his army reduced to great extremities. Fortunately he surpris'd Hammershuz, where his troops found some subsistence; then he undertook the siege of Azlo, but was obliged to relinquish it for want of heavy artillery to make approaches in form. In a word, the Swedish army, returned home disappointed, harrassed, fatigued, and broken *.

Domestic troubles were now grown to such a height, that Eric had no time to attend to foreign wars. Among his concubines was Catherine, daughter to a peasant of Meldepad, who had gained an entire ascendancy over his spirit. When a little girl she used to sell fruit about the city, and being one day observed by Eric, he was so struck with her beauty, that he took her under his care, and caused her to be genteely educated. At a proper age he made her his mistress, and grew so passionately fond, that he not only dismissed all his other women; but at last made Catherine queen of Sweden. It was reported she had given the king philters and love-potions; a notion that arose from his unaccountable and blind passion for a woman descended from the very dregs of the people. These violent transports of passion, which often rose to insanity, were attributed to these potions; though in fact this misfortune had been taken notice of very early by his father Gustavus. Others imagined that the king's intense application to astrology, and the ridiculous whims and superstitions imbibed from this vain science, had impaired his natural faculties, and disturbed his reason. Certain it is, that he became obstinate, suspicious, jealous, and vindictive, furious in the paroxysms of jealousy, and so outrageous, that constraint on his person was often found necessary †.

Among the many extraordinary prejudices entertained by Eric, the most unfortunate was his hatred to the Sture family. He had but lately taken Nils Sture into favour, and sent him in quality of his ambassador to Stralsund; he now became once more the object of his abhorrence, probably because he was jealous of the favour shewn him by Catherine. To this were added a thousand other whims, all arising from the same cause. He conceived that Sture was conspiring against his life and crown, in order to enjoy the latter with Catherine; though in fact Sture heartily despised that favourite lady. He laboured to convince

* Loccen. lib. vii. Puffend. tom. i. p. 432.

† Idem ibid.

the states that Sture carried on dangerous intrigues at Stralsund; that he was ambitious of recovering the dignity possessed by his ancestors, and earnest to revenge the late affront which had been offered to his pride. His old governor Beurre, who hated Sture, confirmed his suspicions, and told him, when the body was too full of blood, phlebotomy was necessary; meaning that Sture ought to be put to death. It was not difficult to determine the king to extirpate the Sture family. He put every expedient in execution to find foundation sufficient for a process. After having long tried in vain, at last a page of Sture's was found armed with a pistol at court; upon which he was seized, put to the torture, and every means were practised to force him to acknowledge that he was employed by his master to assassinate the king. The faithful domestic, however, continued firm; and neither promises nor the power of torture could prevail on him to accuse his master; upon which he was put to death.

*Eric's vile
stratagem
to ruin this
family.*

This scheme being frustrated, Eric fell upon another stratagem equally mean and perfidious. He corrupted a young Pomeranian merchant to declare, that he was told by a gentleman of that country, that Nils Sture was taking measures to dethrone the king. This attestation was confirmed by the testimonies of a physician, and the king's organist; to which were added several forged letters, supposed to have been written by Sture and his adherents. Full of expectation from such undeniable documents, Eric assembled the states, under pretence of consulting upon measures for suppressing the many alarming conspiracies now forming in the kingdom. He removed his court to Swartfio, as if he did not think himself secure at Stockholm, and to give an air of credibility to the pretended conspiracy. Soon after he caused Swante Sture, with his sons Eric, Steen Ericson, Steen Banier, and Ivar Ivarson, to be arrested. Several other lords, whom the king suspected, underwent the same treatment. Swante Sture was examined before the king at Swartfio, and circumstances appeared so favourable, that Eric could not avoid declaring him innocent; notwithstanding which he was cited, with several other persons, to plead his defence at Upsal. With respect to Nils Sture, every circumstance appeared so clear, so open, and candid, that the king complimented him on the occasion, and hoped he would endeavour to forget the suspicion entertained against his loyalty. He visited Swante and Eric Sture in prison, and apologised for his conduct; but a few days after he stabbed Nils Sture with a poignard, who, pulling the weapon out of his side, kissed it, and presented

sented it to the king. This moderation, however, did not prevent his being put to death by the guards, who were ordered by the king to fall upon him with their halberds. All the rest of the prisoners were cruelly massacred, and their death carefully concealed, until Ivar Peerfon had obliged the states to condemn capitally those persons who were already dead, by which expedient he hoped to save the king's honour ^g.

Eric, notwithstanding this success, could not resist the pangs of his own conscience. He grew frantic, and, in a fit of despair, took shelter in the woods, where he prowled about like a savage, in the habit of a peasant. At last he was found, and brought back by the influence of his wife Catherine, who prevailed on him to take some food and repose. A new scene now opened. He distributed large sums of money among the states to engage them in his interest by his liberality. He poured out all his generosity on the friends and relations of the deceased, and laid the whole blame of his cruelties on Peerfon, who had seduced him to this bloody action. Peerfon, therefore, was tried, and condemned for this and other high crimes and misdemeanors; particularly for having put to death twenty-six persons, without consulting the king or the senate ^h.

Eric runs mad.

However the friends of the deceased lords might pretend to be satisfied with the atonement made by Eric, they still harboured an implacable resentment against him, and watched the opportunity for revenging the injury. Nor did Eric much rely on external appearances; he knew that his crimes were of such a nature as could not be heartily forgiven. To try their sincerity, he put the government into the hands of a regency, chosen out of the senators, pretending he would no more intermeddle with public affairs. This step he imagined would furnish them with an opportunity of expressing their resentment, if they harboured any, of forming conspiracies, and entering upon intrigues, which he might quash by resuming the reins of government ⁱ.

His Danish majesty beheld with pleasure these rising commotions in Sweden, which he hoped to turn to his own advantage. He made all possible preparations for attacking Eric, in expectation that his attempts would be greatly assisted by the strong party of malcontents in Sweden. Eric penetrated his designs, and believed they could only be frustrated by plucking up the roots of civil discord, and re-

^g Hist. de Dan. tom. v. p. 92.
fend. *ibid*,

^h Loccen. iib. vii,

ⁱ Puf-

uniting himself to his brothers. In this opinion he was confirmed by the perpetual exhortations of his brother duke Charles, his mother-in-law, his wife, and the noblesse. The friends of the deceased lords, though they mortally hated Eric, yet joined in this request, as imagining it necessary to the public security. Persuaded by their arguments, the king agreed to set John at liberty upon certain conditions. He was accordingly released, to the great joy of the Swedish nation, who had always expressed the utmost affection to this prince, the favourite of their darling monarch, the great Gustavus.

*Duke John
set at li-
berty.*

*The king's
intrigues
with the
czar of
Muscovy.*

To understand the king's proceedings on this occasion, it is necessary to have a retrospect to his negotiations with the czar of Muscovy at the beginning of the war. Eric had often solicited the czar to form an alliance against Sigismund, king of Poland, to whose daughter duke John was married. The Russian had before paid his addresses to this princess, but met with a repulse. He now demanded as a preliminary article of the treaty, that she should be restored to him; and this Eric knew he could not perform without endangering a civil war, and the life of the duke his brother. Unable to determine how to act, the negociation was protracted for some years. At length he resolved to gain the czar at the expence of his honour, his natural affections, and humanity. He agreed to surrender the duchess, and for this purpose a splendid embassy arrived from the czar. The massacre at Upsal had so embarrassed him, that he thought he should stand in need of the powerful alliance of that prince to defend him against his own subjects. When the ambassadors arrived, Eric began to meditate how he should fulfil his engagement. He was still more disconcerted by intelligence that the Danish army was approaching the frontiers, a circumstance which he feared would excite an insurrection, in case he detained duke John in prison. This was a very critical situation, and, to make the most of it, Eric removed the duke from Gripsholm to Wenteholm, obliging him to sign an instrument, whereby he renounced all claim to the crown, and acknowledged Eric's son, by Catherine, as the legitimate heir; to swear in his own and his duchess's person, to forget all injuries done to either; to promise that he would always pay that fidelity and obedience that was due to the king his elder brother; to use his whole interest in mediating a peace between Sweden and Poland; constantly to oppose Denmark with all his might; and in case Frederic and the regency of Lubec were comprehended in the treaty of peace, to resign the provinces of Halland and Schonon, with his conquests in

in Livonia, to the crown of Sweden. He likewise obliged him to engage, that Poland should not conclude a peace with Russia without comprehending Sweden in the treaty. John acceded to all the conditions, with a full determination to break them as soon as an opportunity should offer. His conscience could easily answer an infraction of terms, unjust in themselves, imposed by force, and accepted through necessity. However, he renewed his promises without scruple in the king's presence, and no sooner obtained his liberty than he proceeded to acquit himself of his engagements, by endeavouring to bring the king of Poland to consent with a peace with Sweden. Peerfon, however, who was also set at liberty, notwithstanding the sentence of death passed upon him, began his old practices. He again insinuated himself into the king's favour, and obtained such an ascendancy, that when his secretary, Martin Helsing, honestly advised his majesty to beware of this artful person, the king stabbed him with his own hand. At Peerfon's persuasion it was that the king proposed assigning his brothers certain lands in Livonia, as an equivalent for those granted them by their father Gustavus; as it was in their refusal to accept of his proposals, that he finally resolved to surrender the duchess Catherine, John's wife, to the Muscovite ambassadors. This design he determined to execute on the day appointed for the solemnization of his marriage with his mistress Catherine, for hitherto he had not publicly acknowledged that lady for his queen. His intrigues were discovered by the dukes, and they immediately deliberated with the friends of the lords who had been massacred at Upsal, in what manner they could avert the blow. At last it was unanimously resolved to dethrone Eric; and, to prevent the Danes from traversing their designs, an ambassador was sent to Copenhagen¹.

A. D. 1662.

*The dukes
John and
Charles
retreat.*

Eric was all this while bent on the execution of his project, which he imagined lay concealed, and the solemnization of his nuptials. When the day arrived, he espoused his mistress Catherine, but failed in the attempt to spirit off the duchess, who had taken effectual measures to disappoint him. In the mean time, the dukes John and Charles having raised a considerable force, and made themselves masters of sufficient treasure to prosecute the war, attacked the fortresses of Wadstena, Stekeburg, and Leckoo, which they took, obliging the garrisons to swear allegiance to them. At the first of these places they seized the treasure of duke Magnus, which they re-coined in their own

¹ Loccen. & Puffend. *ibid.*

names. They afterwards wrote to the king, demanding the execution of the late treaty, and exhorting him to govern the kingdom with more wisdom; and conduct himself with more prudence and circumspection than he had lately shewn. They particularly intreated him to remove Peerfon from his councils; but the king returning a haughty answer, they declared war, and published their reasons for this proceeding in a strong well-drawn manifesto.*

Eric finding himself involved in domestic troubles, when he expected a perfect reconciliation with his brothers, determined to put an end, if possible, to the foreign wars in which he was engaged. With this view he assembled the states, and communicated several proposals for accommodating all differences with Denmark. But so rapid was the progress made by the dukes, that the king found no leisure to enter upon negotiations with foreign powers. Full of hope to crush Eric at one blow, they were in rapid march, at the head of a powerful army, towards Upsal. His majesty immediately put himself at the head of a body of troops to oppose them. He several times attacked the enemy's advanced guard, and burnt Nikoping, which belonged to duke Charles.

A. D. 1568. This, however, was all the advantage he could obtain.

*Stockholm
besieged.*

The dukes, having traversed Sundermania, and dispersed all the detached royal parties, appeared before Stockholm. Numbers of the inhabitants and soldiers of the capital came out to join them, and, among the rest, the duke of Saxe Lawenburg, who had been lately married to the king's sister, upon information that Eric had formed a design against his life. His majesty, finding that force would not avail him, had recourse to other expedients, which proved equally ineffectual. When the duke's army were seen encamped at Norder Malm, Joram Peerfon told the king, "If your majesty had followed my advice with respect to duke John, you would not now be besieged in your capital." Previous to opening the trenches, several overtures for a peace were made from one side and the other, which came to nothing, as the dukes made it an essential article of their agreement, that Peerfon should be surrendered to justice, to suffer the punishment due to the crime of misleading his sovereign, to the destruction of the commonwealth. At last, however, Eric perceiving matters coming to a crisis, consented that he should be delivered up to the dukes. Peerfon was instantly seized, with his mother, who passed for a witch; and now appeared as abject as he had been insolent before,

* Loccen. lib. vii. p. 374.

while he basked in the sunshine of the royal favour. When he was put to the torture he confessed the most abominable crimes, and, among others, a project formed by himself and the king of pillaging Stockholm, stripping all the wealth of the city, and putting it on board vessels in the harbour, to which they proposed setting fire, and then steering with the rest of the squadron for Narva. This discovery determined the dukes to break the treaty, and push the siege with vigour, in hopes of saving the city. The trenches were opened, and the batteries began to play with fury; but the king opposed all their attempts with equal skill and intrepidity. Furious sallies were made every night, and the camp of the besiegers kept in perpetual alarm. His majesty sent an express to demand succours of his Danish majesty, and offered very advantageous terms; but the express was taken at sea, and put to death, after having thrown his dispatches overboard¹.

Eric, now destitute of succours and advice, began to despair of his affairs. He secreted a hundred and fifty thousand crowns, with intention to levy forces to reconquer his dominions. He formed a thousand other ideal projects, but was in the mean time forced to yield to the inclination the people expressed of opening their gates to the dukes: but Eric lost all hopes upon seeing Peerlon executed on a high gibbet before the walls, and proclaimed a robber, adulterer, assassin, incendiary, and traitor. He endeavoured, however, to pacify the senate and inhabitants, and encourage them to support the fatigues of a siege some days longer; but they had agreed to admit the enemy privately in the night. A postern was opened to duke Charles, who entered with a body of troops, and immediately pillaged the house of Peerlon, from which he could not restrain the soldiers. His design was to seize the king's person; but the alarm raised by pillaging Peerlon's house, gave his majesty the alarm, and enabled him to escape to the citadel. Here he was immediately invested, and forced to capitulate, after a very short defence. He consented to yield up his crown, and desired no other terms than that he might be confined in a prison suited to his dignity. Upon this agreement he was given to the friends of the nobility who had been massacred at Upsal, on the supposition that they would guard him with the utmost vigilance; the senate renounced their allegiance; their resolution was soon followed by the states, and duke John solemnly elected king. Thus ended the glory of Eric, a prince doomed by the fickleness

23th Sept.

*The king
surrenders,
and is de-
posed.*

¹ Puffend. tom. i. p. 446.

and inconstancy of his nature to misfortune; and yet endowed with talents which might have rendered himself and people powerful and happy. In one circumstance there appeared a steadiness of disposition; namely, in chusing favourites hateful to his subjects, and skreening them from the just punishment of their crimes, and the resentment of their injured fellow-subjects ^m.

S E C T. VII.

Containing the Reigns of John, Sigismund, and Charles IX.

J O H N.

JOHN had no sooner ascended the throne than he ordered the authors of the horrid massacre at Upsal to be tried, condemned, and executed. He raised his uncle, Steen Ericson, to the dignity of a baron, which he extended to his heirs male. Among the first proceedings of his reign was the embassy sent to the czar John Basilowitz, to announce his elevation, and acquaint him with the resolution he had formed of concluding a peace with Denmark. Finally, to declare, that his inclination to live in good understanding with the czar, had prevented him from using his ambassadors, who were found at Stockholm, in the manner they deserved, considering the pernicious designs they were plotting against him.

*Disputes
with Den-
mark.*

In the next place an embassy was sent to Copenhagen to finish the peace between the two crowns, which had for some time been in agitation. The conduct of his ministers reflected dishonour on John; they signed a peace at Roschild, which was shameful to Sweden. It was stipulated that John should pay the Danish forces for the whole time they refrained from hostilities against Sweden; that all the Danish shipping should be restored; that Jemptland, Oesel, Sonneburg, Leahe, Hepsal, Lode, and Warburg, should be ceded; that John should renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Norway, the isle of Gothland, and the provinces of Schonen, Halland, and Bleking. Finally, that he should quietly permit his Danish majesty to wear the arms of Sweden; that he should indemnify his losses during the war, and pay an old debt due to the regency of Lubec from his father Gustavus. These were terms which necessity only could grant, and a series of victories impose. The people suspected the ambassadors were corrupted, and

^m Loccen. lib. vii.

John was so displeas'd at their conduct, that he assembled the states to deliberate, whether so injurious a treaty to the kingdom ought to be ratified ⁿ.

The first proceedings of this assembly were formally to renounce their allegiance to Eric, and swear obedience to John; to destroy all the writings and instruments, whereby they were bound to fealty; to condemn that unhappy prince to perpetual imprisonment; to declare his children incapable of succeeding to the crown; to reverse all his judgments and decisions, and to oblige him to appear publicly in the high court of justice to hear his sentence pass'd (A). As soon as this business was finish'd, the treaty of Roschild was canvass'd, when, after mature deliberation, it was resolv'd rather to renew the war than ratify a peace so injurious and disgraceful to the kingdom.

In the mean time the czar Basilowitz treated Sweden with great respect, and sent passports to the Swedish ambassador; but he was secretly labouring to seduce the magistrates of Revel, and gain possession of that city. His endeavours, however, were frustrat'd by John's policy, who in spite of the civil factions within the walls, kept the inhabitants firm in their allegiance. It was the principal object of the king's administration, to confirm his authority in all the provinces. With this view he sent ambassadors to Denmark, to solicit terms of peace more equitable than those sign'd at Roschild. To gratify duke Charles, he granted him Sundermania, Nericia, and Wermland, agreeable to the will of Gustavus, reserving only to himself the

ⁿ Loccen. lib. vii.

(A) When Eric came into court, he maintained long disputes with his brothers, before the states denounc'd sentence, and discover'd a subtilty and keenness of wit, that astonish'd the whole assembly. His behaviour on this occasion gain'd him at least the compassion of a great part of the audience; but it could not alter the intention of his judges. They proceed'd formally to renounce their allegiance and pass sentence; upon which he was recommit'ted to

prison, where he was us'd with great severity by his keepers, the friends of those persons who had been massacr'd at Upsal. Besides the opprobrious language, the scoffs and insults, they were brutal enough to bestow, they likewise made him feel cold and hunger. Oluf Steenboek proceed'd even to beat and wound him, afterwards refusing him the assistance of a surgeon, and leaving him for several hours weltering in his blood (1).

(1) Loccen. *ibid.* Puff. *ibid.*

right of sovereignty. Lastly, he ordered himself and queen to be crowned with the usual solemnity at Upsal.

A.D. 1569.

*War with
Denmark.*

The Swedish ambassadors had no sooner arrived with their rich presents at Moscow, than they were arrested by the czar's orders, imprisoned, and confined to live on bread and water; nor was John more successful on the side of Denmark. Frederic haughtily refused to relinquish any of the articles of the treaty of Roschild. Instead of listening to any new propositions, he laid siege to Warberg, which was vigorously defended by the Swedish garrison, but at length taken by treachery^o, after the Danish general had been slain before the walls. Duke Charles in revenge made an irruption into Schonon, where he committed terrible ravages, which were at last ballanced by the cruel depredations of the enemy in West Gothland. There was besides a Danish army in Smaland, where among other places they reduced Wexlo to ashes; while the Swedes retaliated these violences of war in Norway, burning, pillaging, and destroying all that fell in their way. This savage method of proceeding, produced one happy effect, by obliging Frederic to hearken to more reasonable propositions, and relax from the severity of a conqueror, which before he assumed. But the desire of both kings to put an end to this destructive war met with a variety of obstructions. A new subject of contention arose; the duke of Holstein endeavoured to annex Livonia to the crown of Denmark, and his intentions were seconded by the eager inclinations of the people, who expected the return of the golden age under a German king. The opposition given by the Swedes and the city Revel to the duke of Holstein, who had been created king of Livonia by the czar, excited new troubles in that quarter, obliged the czar to raise an army in support of the new king, and afforded Frederic a prospect either of continuing the war with success, as great part of the Swedish forces would necessarily be employed in Livonia, or of ending it advantageously. However, a congress was agreed upon and appointed in the city of Stetin, at which attended ambassadors from the emperor Maximilian, from Charles IX. of France, Sigismund king of Poland, the czar, the kings of Sweden and Denmark, the elector of Saxony, and several other princes: after warm altercations had been carried on for the space of five months, neither side would relinquish certain points insisted upon by the opposite party. His Swedish majesty demanded restitution of Schonon, Halland, and Bleking,

^o Puffend. tom. ii. p. 8.

and that the king of Denmark would no longer quarter the Swedish arms. Frederic would not accede to these propositions: while the two kings were disputing, the Russians, under the conduct of the duke of Holstein, laid vigorous siege to Revel and Wittenstein, refusing to admit any propositions made by king John; upon which he sent a squadron to attempt raising the siege, or at least to throw provisions into Revel. The duke, however, pushed his operations so briskly, and fired with such fury upon the city, that John finding himself hard pressed on one side by the Russians, and on the other by the Danes, resolved to stop the progress of misfortunes, by the best peace he could obtain. Accordingly the negotiations were recommenced, and John ceded his right to Norway, Halland, Bleking, Jemptland, and Hermdaln. As to the disputes about Livonia, these were referred to a future discussion, since adjusting points so intricate required time and deliberation ^{P.}

The czar besieges Revel.

Peace with Denmark.

In this manner was the peace of Stetin huddled up, that John might be at liberty to push the war against the Russians, and take ample vengeance on the czar for his brutal usage of the Swedish ambassadors, and irruptions into Livonia. It was likewise discovered, that the czar was managing certain intrigues to procure king Eric's liberty, and reinstate him on the throne. This discovery obliged John to remove the unfortunate prince to the citadel of Abo, for the greater security, where he was more closely confined than before, watched with more vigilance, and used with more rigour.

While the czar was preparing a mighty army to invade Livonia and Finland, the Tartars, at the instigation of his Polish majesty, entered Russia, took, pillaged, and laid the city of Moscow in ashes, after having put above thirty thousand souls to the sword. This produced a negotiation; but the czar's haughty insolence was not subdued; he still talked high, made unreasonable demands, and threatened, if they were not accepted, to over-run, not only Finland and Livonia, but all Sweden. John made all possible preparations to resist the fury of this barbarian. He sent Mornay to solicit assistance from queen Elizabeth of England, and the king of Scotland; but this embassy had almost proved fatal to his interest. Mornay was secretly a partizan of the late king Eric; he ardently wished for his restoration, and found the queen of England in the same sentiments. Intrigues were carried on between them; and

A.D. 1570.

John solicits assistance against the czar, from queen Elizabeth.

Puffendorf scruples not to affirm, that the queen endeavoured to animate the ambassador to assassinate king John⁹: but this assertion wants proof. The same author adds, that Mornay would have executed his design by means of the king's fencing-master, with whom he used to play for exercise; but the man struck with horror at the attempt, with-held the blow he had meditated, just as it was ready to fall. Some time after the plot was discovered to the king by a Scotchman; but as the accuser could corroborate his assertion by no kind of proof, he was be-headed for endeavouring to traduce a faithful servant in high employments, and the particular favourite of his majesty.

John's embassy to England and Scotland producing no effect, he determined to rely upon his own subjects, and accordingly sent strong detachments to Livonia, which at first acted with great spirit and success against the Russians; but the czar in person entering the province, at the head of a numerous army, stopped their conquests, took Wittenstein, plundered, destroyed, and put to the sword all that fell in his way. He afterwards reduced Karckhusen, made an irruption into Esthonia, laid the province waste, defeated a sally from the city of Revel; but was at length attacked by six hundred Swedish horse and one thousand foot, who fought with such desperate valour, that they defeated the whole Russian army, and struck the czar with so much consternation, that he immediately sued for peace, and wrote to the king in the most humble and obliging strain^r.

*The czar
sues for
peace.*

A.D. 1573.

John received the czar's letter with the due respect, and returned an answer, that he was ready to accommodate matters; but insisted that their negotiations should be in some frontier town, and at the same time reinforced his army with five thousand Scotch, whose arrival obliged the czar to renew his solicitations, and supplicate peace in the most abject manner. One peculiarity in his temper appeared amidst his consternation: eager as he was for peace, he would listen to no terms, unless John consented that the treaty should be negotiated at Newgarte; whereas the king was equally determined the ambassadors should meet at Softerbeck upon the frontiers. Both maintained this punctilio of honour with such obstinacy, that the flames of war were again kindled in Livonia with redoubled fury. The Swedes besieged Wessenbergh and Telsburgh, but were foiled in the enterprize. Another accident of a more fatal nature contributed to the king's losses. A quarrel arose

^r Puffend. tom. ii. p. 17.

^r Loccen. lib. vii.

between the German cavalry and Scotch infantry in his service. Both flew to arms, and engaged with so much fury, that out of five hundred Scotch, not twenty-five came off the field. Happily, however, the main body of the Scotch was not present, or it is probable the affair might have still been more bloody. This was followed by divers other misfortunes, which entirely altered the face of the campaign, and turned the advantage wholly on the side of the Russians. A body of German and Swedish cavalry was surpris'd and cut to pieces by the enemy; the Russians and Tartars ravaged Esthonia, and the king's fleet suffer'd greatly by storm before Narva.

An accident in John's army determines the czar to continue the war.

While Livonia felt all the horrors of war, ambassadors from both sides were negotiating a peace. The czar at last consented that a congress should be held on the frontiers; but his demands rose so high with his prosperity, that nothing was concluded except a truce, to which the Russians paid very little regard. Nor did this truce extend farther than to Finland, the czar refusing to include Livonia, which he doubted not would soon fall into his possession.

What prevented king John from pushing the war in this country, was the change he endeavoured to effect in religion, at the instigation of his queen. Lutheranism had for some years been universally embraced in Sweden; but the court now meditated the restoration of popery, merely on the queen's account; for his majesty as yet had not publicly professed his own sentiments. The clergy, who hoped to regain their former authority, readily joined with the court, and laid a plan plausible enough for accomplishing their end, because it propos'd gradual measures, and rejected all violence. The archbishop drew up certain articles, in which he affirm'd that Anascarius and his disciples had preach'd the true doctrine of Christ in Sweden; that his tenets, abstracting from a few external ceremonies, were the same now taught by the church of Rome; that the fathers were the best interpreters of the sacred writings; that faith and good works were inseparable; that auricular confession and mass were necessary; that, in administering the sacrament of baptism, exorcisms, the sign of the cross, and white surplices, ought not to be neglected or laid aside; that the host was a ceremony which produced a happy effect on the minds of the people, with a variety of other particulars, the aim and intention of which were very apparent. These articles were read to the general assembly of the clergy, and approved: in a word, the form of worship propos'd by the archbishop was order'd to be observ'd in all the churches. It was in the preceding year that

John endeavours to effect changes in religion favourable to popery.

John had formed the resolution of bringing about a change in religion; which proceeded from reading books wrote by the Romish clergy, and the conversation of his queen: he became in fact a convert, and warm advocate for that religion. He was for purging it of certain superstitious ceremonies; but he believed, that at the bottom it was the true primitive faith, and hoped to reduce the religion of Sweden to the simplicity of the earlier ages of the gospel. However, these notions he carefully concealed from the clergy, whom he proposed making the instruments of his design. To execute this vast project, John called in the assistance of his secretary Peter Fecten, and made use of certain learned Jesuits who remained in disguise in the country. As soon as he thought matters ripe for execution, he assembled the clergy, under pretence of filling some vacant sees, and particularly the archbishoprick, which was void by the death of Neritius. He opened the assembly by a pathetic speech, representing the fatal consequences of the growth of heresy and schism over all Europe, particularly in Germany, England, and the Netherlands. He said that with respect to the confession of Augsburgh, theologians themselves were of very opposite sentiments; it was therefore the most safe to adhere to the catholic and apostolic faith, confirmed by the testimony of sacred writ, and the blood of so many martyrs. He said, that when their predecessors endeavoured to destroy the errors of the church, they at the same time abolished good and wholesome ordinances. Luther had besides, he said, established a great number of articles of faith not at all consonant to the true Christian religion, and quite opposite to the liturgies of St. James, St. Basilus, St. Chrysoftom, St. Ambróse, and St. Gregory. He concluded that it was therefore necessary to restore some fundamental articles abolished by Luther, and to deduce the just ceremonies from a pure and unpoluted source; namely, the writings of the fathers, and not the muddy rivers that flowed from modern enthusiasts and religious projectors.

His majesty's address, the ambition of the clergy, the queen's influence, and a variety of other circumstances, all contributed to gain the ready assent of the clergy to his propositions. Several of the ancient customs and ceremonies of the church were restored; and the king, to reward the zeal and obedience of the ecclesiastics, suffered them to proceed to the election of prelates to fill the vacant sees. But he artfully declined confirming the new bishops, until they had first signed certain articles, serving to promote his general scheme of restoration, or rather of reformation.

After

After this transaction, several meetings of the bishops, and general convocations of the clergy, were held by the king's order, and certain disputed points among the different sects of Christians taken into consideration. For the space of three years the kingdom was in the utmost confusion with theological disputes, and common sense seemed to be wholly extinguished by the violence of bigotry and enthusiasm. Instead of effecting the scheme of pure reformation, the Romish religion, and all the superstitious ceremonies, abolished by the sensible and free-spirited Gustavus, were again creeping in, and daily gaining ground. The old archbishop dying, his brother, who had been tutored at Rome in all the cunning and intrigue of the apostolic court, was elected in his room. Duke Charles and his dependents opposed the measures of the king. All the clergy within the jurisdiction of this prince held an assembly, and signed articles whereby they declared they would never abjure or depart from the confession of Augsberg. Party heats were inflamed to violence, and probably would have terminated in a civil war, had not the queen wisely interposed, and consented rather to permit liberty of conscience than involve the kingdom in scenes of blood and confusion. The duke found means to influence the states; for when they met, a remonstrance, in very strong terms, was made to the king upon his scheme of restoring popery. They requested his majesty to confirm publicly the doctrines of the church of Sweden, as established by their glorious monarch Gustavus, in order to stop the rapid progress of schism. They intreated, that, to avoid suspicion of favouring popery, he would prohibit the importation of the writings of the Romish clergy; that he would appoint in all the schools able masters attached to the established religion; and that he would place the prince apparent under protestant tutors, to be educated agreeable to the confession of Augsberg. This conduct alone, they said, would confirm him in the affections of the people, and quiet the apprehensions left, on his coming to the throne he should endeavour to restore popery. Besides, the states admonished the king to conclude a peace with the Russians, and to be careful that the Poles should not anticipate him, by signing a separate treaty.

Duke Charles opposes the king.

John received their advice and remonstrances with deference; but he pursued his first intentions, though in a more cautious manner. A nuncio from the pope was admitted, and a great number of Jesuits privately introduced into the kingdom, to poison the principles of the people.

What the consequence might have been, had it not pleased the Almighty to remove the queen by death, is hard to conjecture. This event, however, produced an immediate change; the Romish religion fell into disrepute, the king pushed his project with less ardor, and the states resumed their remonstrances, in behalf of the reformed religion, with more zeal and spirit. They exhorted prince Sigismund to declare openly in favour of the established religion, and even to abjure popery, the better to secure his right of succession; but his constant answer was, that he preferred a crown in heaven to all earthly honours. The queen his mother had bred him up in the superstition of her own faith, and besought him, with tears in her eyes, on her death-bed, never to relinquish the Romish religion. The states again exhorted the king not to destroy the tranquillity of the kingdom, by innovation, and the introduction of religious disputes, which generally ended in persecution, and the ruin of public virtue. Their admonitions were now heard with more attention, and better regarded, because his majesty perceived the powerful influence of duke Charles his brother, and apprehended the consequences of the negotiations that prince was carrying on for the support of protestantism, in which he saw England, the German princes, and all the reformed states, combined. He observed how seldom he had of late appeared at court, and the popularity which he daily acquired. This consideration determined him to end the dispute about religion, the war with Muscovy, and by every means possible confirm himself in the esteem and affections of his people. Accordingly, he openly discountenanced the Romish clergy, banished all the Jesuits, and prolonged the truce with Russia, which had for several years been very indifferently observed^b. Such were the public transactions and the state of the kingdom for the space of twelve years, except a few occurrences, which we could not mention without interrupting our narrative.

John resolves to put an end to the civil divisions occasioned by religion.

Among the principal of these was the death of king Eric, which happened on the 22d of February, 1578, in consequence of a dose of poison administered by the king's order, who apprehended that the religious contentions might excite a desire in the people to restore him. Another remarkable event was the execution of Mornay, upon some proofs which had lately appeared to confirm the accusation of the Scotchman, who had been beheaded some years before. He

^b Loecen. lib. vii. Hist. de Dan. tom. iv. Puffend. tom. ii. p. 28, et seq.

had likewise attached himself to duke Charles, and thereby incurred the king's resentment. It ought not to be passed over, that notwithstanding the truce between Sweden and Russia respecting Finland in particular, the czar had made frequent irruptions into that province at the head of numerous armies, laying all waste with a truly savage barbarity. He had likewise excited the Tartars to over-run the province, and that lawless people poured in with such impetuosity as bore down all resistance. This irruption, among other reasons, it was, that induced the king to enter upon fresh negotiations with the czar, and tie him down by more explicit and strong articles than those of the former truce.

We now return to domestic affairs, and a farther view of the growing differences between the king and duke Charles, as well as the circumstances which opened a path for that prince's elevation to the throne. Duke Charles seeing the king rid of all foreign enemies, and assiduous to gain the affections of his people, sent ambassadors to court, to solicit a reconciliation, without which, he foresaw his own ruin would ensue. King John, however, either disapproving of the overtures made by his brother, or unwilling, for some private reasons, to heal up their divisions, convoked the states at Wadstena, and summoned his brother there to justify his conduct. Upon this occasion he made use of a stroke of policy that had not the desired success. Apprehending that so ignominious a citation would greatly affect the people, who strongly espoused duke Charles, and be looked upon as a snare to get him into his power, he ordered it to be published in all the churches, that the sole intention of the summons was to oblige the duke to declare the cause of his discontent, and the reasons that induced him, in contempt of the royal authority, to fill up certain vacant sees, over which he usurped a sovereignty, and right of patronage. Notwithstanding this public declaration, and several other assurances, Charles disobeyed the summons, and immediately assembled a body of troops to oppose any violence that might be offered to his person. With these he marched to the neighbourhood of Wadstena, and thereby obliged the king also to levy troops, to protect himself and the diet assembled at that place. The states interposed. They besought the duke to appease the king by craving his pardon, and prevailed on his majesty to pass over all that was passed, and grant a general amnesty to his brother and army, provided he would sign the terms imposed by king Eric on his brothers John and Magnus, in 1561. His majesty expected that the duke might now be brought to accept the new liturgy;

The disputes about religion and the quarrel between the king and his brother renewed.

but

but he, with all his clergy, positively refused subscribing to it, upon any consideration.

*Prince
Sigismund
stands a
candidate
for the
crown of
Poland.*

In this situation stood the affairs of Sweden, when the king of Poland, brother-in-law to John, yielded up his last breath. His queen, sister to her Swedish majesty, laboured with all possible diligence to fix the crown on the head of prince Sigismund, her nephew. As soon as she had gained a sufficient number of the nobility, and particularly the chancellor and great-marshal, she dispatched an account of her proceedings to Sweden. Upon mature deliberation, John sent an embassy to Poland, to solicit the payment of an old debt, and the election of his son. Their instructions, however, were, to mention nothing of the money, in case they found the other object of their embassy in a favourable train. On their arrival, their success was so extraordinary, that prince Sigismund was elected by a great majority, and on the following conditions; that there should subsist a perpetual alliance, offensive and defensive, between the crowns of Poland and Sweden; that prince Sigismund should, at the death of his father, succeed to the crown of Sweden; that on urgent occasions he might, with the consent of the states, return to that kingdom; that he should maintain, at his own expence, a fleet for the service of Poland, when required; that Sigismund should cancel the old debt due from the crown of Poland to that of Sweden; that, with the consent of the states, he should build five fortresses on the frontiers of Poland; that he should have liberty to introduce foreign soldiers into the kingdom, provided he maintained them at his own expence; that, after his accession to the crown of Sweden, he should not make use of Swedish counsellors in Poland; that he should have his body guard entirely of Poles and Lithuanians; and that he should annex to Poland that part of Livonia now subject to Sweden.

Thus we see honours conferred on prince Sigismund at the expence of the kingdom of Sweden. Advice of his election was no sooner arrived than king John sent notice of it to duke Charles, in order to sound his opinion. He likewise ordered, that not only the duke, but the states should take a fresh oath of fidelity, the better to secure his own family in possession. The duke declared, that he was ready to pay all due respect to the prince; but as to the obligation required, he was at a loss for the proper form: that for the rest, he would never consent that Esthonia, and the Swedish possessions in Livonia, should fall into the hands of foreigners. At the same time he sent ambassadors to prince Sigismund, to congratulate his accession to the crown of Poland. Charles's
decla-

declaration obliged the king and prince Sigismund to protest to the Polish ambassadors, that they never would consent to alienate any of the Swedish dominions, or to accept of the crown of Poland upon terms in the least prejudicial to Sweden. But this protest was not made before advice was received, that the Poles had elected the archduke Maximilian. It was, however, determined; that Sigismund should support his election by a fleet, provided the Poles would give up that article of the conditions respecting Esthonia: A fleet was accordingly equipped, and just as the prince was ready to embark, the Swedish senate perceiving to what a height of power he was likely to arrive, persuaded king John to join with the prince in signing the following articles. That on the prince's arrival in Poland, he should maintain no greater number of Romish priests about his person than he was allowed in Sweden: that they should be suffered to enjoy no greater privileges than what were granted in Sweden: that they should give no disturbance to his protestant servants in Poland on account of religion: that he should promote none but natives to posts in Sweden, unless they embraced the established religion: that he should introduce no innovations in the present established mode of worship: that he should retain in his service the same priests that attended him in Sweden: that he should persecute no one on account of his religion: and, finally, that the pope should exert no spiritual power, and have no supremacy over the church of Sweden. To these articles, in support of their religion, they annexed several others for the security of their property, prohibiting the prince from alienating the crown lands; establishing a perpetual alliance between the two kingdoms; obliging him, in case of marriage, to settle the queen's jointure mutually at the expence of Sweden and Poland: with a variety of other conditions, which we need not recite. Sufficient it is to observe, that many were deemed unreasonable, and thought to indicate the senate's design of excluding the prince from the succession, under pretence that he had broken some of the articles. It was indeed universally suspected, that the Sture family secretly aspired at the crown, and first suggested these hard conditions.

*Difficulties
about his
election.*

On the prince's arrival in Poland, great disputes arose. The Poles insisted upon his ceding Livonia, and granting the articles specified in his election. Sigismund, and the Swedish ambassadors, absolutely refused these terms, as inconsistent with the conditions imposed by the Swedish senate. At last it was proposed, to defer the dispute until Sigismund should, at his father's death, succeed to the crown of Sweden; but
even

even this expedient was not satisfactory to king John's ambassadors. They therefore intreated the prince to give them a letter, declaring that he would never consent to annex Esthonia to the crown of Poland; and that his sole aim in thus accommodating matters, was to procure peace, and the quiet possession of that crown. They requested, that he would send written orders to all the governors in Esthonia, not to obey his orders in case they should be inconsistent with the interest of Sweden. Sigismund consented to all they required; nevertheless, king John was highly incensed at the conduct of his son, for ballancing a minute between the interest of his native and a foreign country. The young king, to satisfy his father, declared publicly to the Poles, that he had rather abdicate their throne than surrender the smallest village belonging to Sweden; what then must they think of his relinquishing a large province that had cost such seas of blood!

A weak and arbitrary edict published by king John.

Satisfied with these excuses, John now renewed the subject of the new liturgy, and published manifestoes, declaring all the clergy who should oppose it, guilty of high treason. This blow was in particular levelled at the clergy of the duchy, who had all, to a man, refused to subscribe to the new form of worship. He went farther, calling them servants of the devil; he threatened to banish them, unless they retracted their errors, and submissively asked pardon for their disobedience.

John never deviated so much from true politics as in this declaration. He treated men of spirit with too much haughtiness, and prescribed with a despotism he ever had reason to repent, to the consciences of men born to freedom, who had but lately abjured the slavish doctrines of the church of Rome. The clergy of the duchy immediately wrote to duke Charles, desiring to know if they might vindicate their conduct in a public manner; and told him, they were ready to answer the king's accusation, before the states, senate, and throne. The duke's answer was favourable; upon which they refused, in public writings, all the calumnies laid to their charge; refused again, with more solemnity, their assent to the new liturgy; appealed to the scripture, the confession of Augsburg, and the catechism of Luther for the truth of their doctrine, and prayed his majesty to revoke the severe and unjust sentence passed upon a body of men, equally loyal in their politics, and conscientious in their religion. Their remonstrances served only to increase the king's indignation. He resolved to recall his

A.D. 1589.

1 Vide auct. citat. lacis citat.

son Sigismund to his assistance in so difficult a conjuncture, and deeply regretted that he should have parted with his only son, to make way for the intrigues and cabals of his brother the duke. The conduct of the clergy, and the hard conditions imposed on Sigismund by the senate, the king charged wholly on duke Charles; and thus the breach between the two brothers grew every day wider¹.

This year the truce between Sweden and Russia expired; upon which John assembled the states, to deliberate whether he ought to renew it. The czar refused to conclude perpetual peace on any other terms than his majesty's resigning the provinces he had conquered; and the states offered to afford his majesty the means of recommencing the war, if he thought it adviseable. On the other hand, as civil dissensions daily increased, the king thought it necessary to provide against consequences. He sent a message to his son, desiring an interview with him at Revel. He hinted that from thence he might easily pass to Sweden, and never more return to Poland, the possession of which crown, he feared, would deprive him of that of Sweden. Sigismund followed his father's advice; the two kings met at Revel, spent a month there together in that city, and then Sigismund acquainted the Poles of his intention of making a visit to his native country. The Poles were dissatisfied; they recollected the affront they had formerly sustained by the abrupt departure of Henry de Valois, and positively opposed the king's resolution. King John, in order to satisfy them, gave them the most solemn assurances, that the whole design of the journey was to secure his succession, by going through the ceremony of the coronation; but the Poles would by no means consent, until he had solemnly sworn he would return within a limited time¹.

The truce with Muscovy expires.

Intrigues with respect to Poland, and the king's interview with Sigismund.

With respect to the Swedish senate, they requested that his majesty would defer the king of Poland's return to a more seasonable opportunity. They promised, that as soon as they found a person who would accept of the crown of Poland, they would send an embassy to solicit Sigismund's return, to assist in his majesty's counsels, and comfort his old age. They represented, that if his majesty effected his return in the manner proposed, it could not fail of incensing the Poles, obliging them, perhaps, to chuse the czar of Muscovy for their king, or at least of forming an alliance with that prince, highly prejudicial to Sweden, in the present state of the kingdom, loaded with debts, rent with civil

¹ Puffend. tom. ii.

¹ Loccen. lib. vii.

dissensions,

diffensions, threatened by Denmark, and now on the eve of a war with Russia. They proved to a demonstration, the inconveniences which would attend this measure; but perceiving their arguments made no impression on his majesty, they so incensed the officers of the army against the king, that they went in a body, and threw down their commissions before the palace, protesting they would never take up arms in his service if he recalled the prince, at a time so critical and dangerous to the state.

Both are recalled to their dominions.

An incursion which the Tartars made into Poland, the pressing instances of his subjects that Sigismund would return to the defence of the kingdom, the resolute conduct of the Swedish senate, and in particular, this last act of the officers of the army, obliged the two kings to lay aside their schemes, and take a last farewell. One circumstance, in particular, compelled king John to return with the utmost expedition to Sweden. He received letters from Hogenchild Bielke, who was appointed regent during his absence, that duke Charles had broke out into open rebellion; but finding on his arrival at Stockholm, that this was only a feint to recall him, he poured out his vengeance upon Bielke, and accused him and other senators of high treason. They had conspired, he said, against the royal family, and with that view advised him to send prince Sigismund to Poland. They had fomented divisions between him and the duke, in hopes of disappointing Sigismund of the succession, after the two brothers should have weakened themselves by civil war. Fully persuaded of the justice of these sentiments, his majesty recalled the duke, invited him to Stockholm, and after being perfectly reconciled, intrusted him with a share of the government ^m.

A.D. 1590.

By the duke's advice the king assembled the states, to deliberate on the punishment to be inflicted on the accused lords, and the measures to be taken with respect to Russia. The czar had offered to purchase all the conquests made by Sweden in Livonia; but finding that, notwithstanding the truce had been prolonged for three months, the Swedish army continued their ravages, he raised a powerful army to oppose them, and marched at the head of one hundred thousand men to Narva. With respect to this last affair nothing could be determined in the assembly; but the accused lords were stripped of all their preferments, and rendered incapable of serving the king in any public employment. On this occasion his majesty likewise revoked the edict passed against duke Charles, under pretence that it

^m Idem ibid.

had been suggested by the senate, in order to sow dissension between him and his brother. He continued him in the government of all Sweden, and passed an act, confirming the succession in the male line; whereby Charles should succeed to the crown, in case Sigismund died without male issue. Just as the assembly was on the point of breaking up, the news arrived of the surrender of all the Swedish fortresses in Ingermania. John resolved to recover them by force of arms, and for this purpose hired a body of Germans, who deserted a few weeks after, for want of pay. Thus duke Charles, who entered the province at the head of these auxiliaries, was forced to return without retaking a single town. About the same time the Russians invested Narva, and battered it with great fury. The Swedish garrison behaved with the utmost gallantry; but their numbers daily decreasing, Horn, the governor, entered into an agreement with the enemy, whereby he surrendered into their hands Ivanagorod and Corporie, on condition that they should raise the siege of Narva. Thus the Russians came into possession of the Swedish fortresses in Ingermania. The senate was incensed at the loss, at the disappointment of duke Charles, and the conduct of Banier, who commanded the Swedish army, and of Horn, governor of Narva. Banier was accused of having afforded no assistance to Narva; and Horn was blamed for surrendering two cities to the enemy before he had consulted the senate, and was himself reduced to the last extremity. Eric Sture was also accused of having promised the province of Esthonia to the Poles, on condition they would elect prince Sigismund: and these three lords gave in such answers to their accusation, as prevented their being either condemned or acquitted. Duke Charles countenanced them all that was possible, king Sigismund interceded for them, and the king, at last, consented they should be released; but he was taken off by a sudden death, before the act for their enlargement had passed (A).

*Progress of
the Rus-
sians.*

(A) We should mention within the transactions of this year, previous to the king's death, the marriage of duke Charles with Christina, daughter to the duke of Holstein. The alliance was by no means agreeable to king John, both on account of his brother's having promised not to marry, and because he feared

the children of this marriage might possibly dispute the succession with the children of Sigismund. The young king of Poland had paid his addresses to this princess, and made her considerable presents; but the lady preferred duke Charles. Sigismund, therefore, espoused Anne, daughter to the archduke of Austria (1).

(1) Loccen. *ibid.* Puffend. *ibid.*

*King John's
death and
character.*

The king's death was sudden: he was seized with a disorder in his bowels, and in a few hours fell a victim to the ignorance of the physicians. At that time, philosophy and physic were but little understood in Sweden. John died esteemed, but not much beloved by his subjects. The obstinacy of his temper made him persevere in measures which he knew were wrong; yet would he yield every thing to the opinion of his queen. Had he lived, his superstitious and imprudent adherence to the absurd scheme of religious reformation, would have involved him in disputes with his subjects, which might have terminated fatally to both; happily, for his glory and peace, death prevented an open rupture. That he permitted prince Sigismund to be educated in the principles of the church of Rome; that he obliged him to offer himself a candidate for the crown of Poland; that he suffered him to accept the crown upon terms injurious to Sweden; and that he afterwards persuaded the prince to affront the Polish nation, by abdicating the crown, and making his escape by flight, will always be looked upon as blots in king John's administration.

For two days the king's death was kept concealed, to furnish those about him with an opportunity of pillaging the treasury; the reproach of which rapine fell chiefly on the queen. Even duke Charles, then at his seat at Tellie, was not made acquainted with an event so important to the kingdom. Before his arrival at court every thing was plundered; the wardrobe quite despoiled; nor could all the diligence of the duke recover what was lost. Charles highly blamed the senate for their conduct, and insinuated, that they had concealed the king's death from him, only to make a prey of the public money. He began his administration as regent, with releasing the imprisoned lords, and granting a general amnesty; then he took an exact inventory of all the king's remaining effects, and having put the public affairs on the best footing possible, acquainted king Sigismund with his father's death. He desired he would return with all possible expedition, and promised to govern with the utmost fidelity, until he should arrive to direct the reins with his own hands. At the same time that he was shewing his obedience to Sigismund as king of Sweden, he did not forget that he was king of Poland, in which capacity he might be induced to oblige that nation at the expence of Sweden. To prevent his ceding Esthonia, he wrote to the governors, that should they receive orders from the king

*Duke
Charles
takes the
administration
until
the arrival
of Sigis-
mund.*

▪ Loccen, lib. vii. Puffend, tom; ii.

to open their gates to the Poles, they were upon no account to obey commands so prejudicial to their country; but that he might not seem to act clandestinely, he made Sigismund acquainted with his proceedings. However, count Axel Lewenhaupt regarded this action of the duke's as a signal of his intentions to aspire at the crown, took occasion to admonish the West Gothlanders to remain steady in their allegiance to Sigismund, and laboured to alienate their affections from the duke. He proceeded in the same manner in Finland, and Charles threatened to punish him as a disturber of the public tranquillity, if he did not immediately repair to Stockholm, to make the proper submissions. But the count, not caring to put himself in the duke's power, fled to the king, in Poland, and returned with a letter of protection from his majesty. As the duke now apprehended that the king might create the count governor of Finland and West Gothland, he wrote to the principal inhabitants not to acknowledge his commission, in case he should be appointed to that government. Oluf Steenboek, in like manner, fled for the king's protection, and obtained it. He had endeavoured to infuse suspicions into his majesty's mind, and to excite jealousies of the duke's ambition. The duke summoned him to answer for his conduct in a public trial; he refused; and from hence we may date the first appearance of the troubles that soon broke out.

Disturbance in the kingdom.

After the regent had performed the funeral obsequies of his late majesty, he entered upon a treaty with the senate, whereby, on account of prince John's minority, he was declared the most ancient of the royal line (B), and in that quality acknowledged regent in the king's absence. The senate promised obedience, and to assist him in every undertaking for the glory of God, the protection of the established reformed religion; the preservation of the rights and privileges of the nation, but without prejudice to the allegiance sworn to king Sigismund: on the other hand, the duke gave the strongest assurances, that he would undertake nothing of importance, without their advice and consent. An agreement to this purpose was signed and sealed, after which, in conjunction, they convoked the states, to deliberate by what means they could entirely put an end to the scheme of introducing a new liturgy, and stop the growth of popery. This step they believed was absolutely necessary before Sigismund's arrival, who, as he had embraced

A. D. 1593.

(B) This prince was the son of king John by his second queen, born not long before his father's death, and at this time but a few month's old.

the Romish religion, would probably endeavour to restore it. A convocation of the clergy was likewise assembled, and an archbishop, sincerely attached to the protestant religion, elected. His majesty, being acquainted with these transactions, sent over letters, filled with promises that he would preserve the people in all their rights, and suffer no one to be oppressed for the sake of conscience; in a word, that he would introduce a second golden age. He enjoined them to obey the duke in whatever respected his majesty's and the people's interest; but being informed by the duke's enemies of the letters he had sent to Finland and West Gothland, he dispatched certain Swedish lords, who were attached to him, to take the command of the fortresses in Sweden and Esthonia; at the same time he sent John Sparre, to exact an oath of fidelity from the Finlanders. These orders were the sparks which soon lighted up the torch of discord, and enflamed the whole kingdom.

Sigismund obtains leave of the Polish diet to return to

The diet of Poland being met, Sigismund obtained leave, without much difficulty, to return to Sweden; but on condition, that that he should stay no longer than was necessary to regulate the affairs of the kingdom, and that he would afterwards fix his constant residence in Poland. This last article proved highly displeasing to duke Charles, and is said to have furnished him with the first thoughts of aspiring at the crown. Thuron Bielke was sent to Poland, with orders to obtain from the king, in writing, a full and explicit confirmation of the privileges of the state, and security of the protestant religion; he had likewise directions to advise the king to bring with him as slender a retinue as possible, on account of the miserable state of the Swedish finances. Secretary Suercherfon likewise presented to his majesty the acts passed by the states and synod of the clergy, for the security of their privileges and religion; but the king declared, that, as they were made without his consent, so they could not now meet with his approbation; an answer that gave great offence to the states and clergy. However, he said he was determined to act agreeable to what was required in those acts, although he would ratify nothing that was passed, from a dissidence in his conduct. He gave notice to the senate of his intention to begin his voyage on a certain day; upon which a fleet and ambassadors were sent to receive him at Dantzic. On the 30th of September he arrived in Sweden, and was met by the duke and the senate. All ranks of people were delighted with seeing their king; but it threw a considerable damp upon

He arrives in Sweden, but soon excites great disturbances.

their joy, that they saw him accompanied by Malaspina, the pope's nuncio, to whom he presented thirty thousand ducats, to defray the expences of his journey to Sweden.

Among the first acts of his reign he betrayed his affection for the religion in which he had been bred, by insisting warmly that one church for papists should be permitted in every town and city; by annulling the decrees of the synod of Upsal; disputing the election of the present archbishop, under pretence that he was an enemy to the late king, and chosen without his consent; and lastly, by refusing to be crowned by a protestant bishop; and insisting that ceremony should be performed by the pope's nuncio. The states and senate violently opposed the king's resolution, and the convocation of the clergy sent to intreat his majesty to desist from a design that would prove fatal to the tranquillity of the state; but he was deaf to their entreaties. The clergy, knowing they would be protected by duke Charles, began to declaim against Sigismund and his council from the pulpit; and Suercheron helped to blow the coals of dissension, by revealing in the consistory all that passed in the palace. On the other side, the Jesuits and popish clergy, about court, declaimed and preached against the protestants; a circumstance which produced no other effect than to inflame the nation against his majesty.

Amidst these altercations some acts of violence occurred. When any of the Poles died, the protestants allowed they should be buried in the church of Ridderholm, a privilege that was denied the Swedes in Poland; but the popish clergy, not satisfied with this indulgence, demanded the use of the pulpit, to pronounce the funeral orations of the deceased. When this was refused, they endeavoured to extort it by force. At a certain burial they appeared in arms, seized the pulpit, and wounded some persons who opposed them. This outrage occasioned such tumults and riots among the populace, that the king was forced to reprehend the papists for proceedings equally illegal and ungrateful, considering the little indulgence shewn to the protestants in Poland, and the civilities afforded to the natives of that kingdom in Sweden. In vain, however, did the nobility exhort him to execute more severe justice on the criminals; this conduct he declined, on pretence that all the churches had been built and adorned by the papists, who had consequently a right in them. In vain did the states remonstrate to the same purpose, and request that he would give ample security for the safety of the protestant religion, before his coronation; the king sought to amuse

*The source
of the civil
divisions.*

A D 1594.

them with general assurances. Hence his coronation was a long time deferred, while the king listened every day with more attention to the counsels of his Polish ministers, who flattered him, by insinuating that he was above the laws, and born to govern without controul ^P.

All this time duke Charles kept aloof, expecting the issue of these dissensions; but as the states were well assured of his sentiments, they opposed the king with courage and resolution. Every one perceived that this young monarch was plunging headlong into destruction; yet had no one the honesty, prudence, or courage, to warn him of his danger, and direct him better, except Livin de Bulou, a page, who presented several sensible and loyal memorials, which were disregarded and thrown aside. About the beginning of the next year the states sent deputies to duke Charles, at Gripsholm, praying him to use all his influence with the king, to prevail on him to grant their just and reasonable requests, and to come in person to the diet at Upsal, to assist their endeavours to promote the peace and felicity of the kingdom. Charles was sensible that nothing could be expected from gentle remedies; however, he did not care to refuse a request made by the states. He counselled the king, by letters, to grant the intreaties of his faithful subjects, and in particular to secure their religion, without which it was to be feared they would come to extremities. The king answered his letter in very polite terms; he exhorted him to stand up in defence of his nephew and the royal family, and not listen to the false accusations, the complaints and murmurs, of a turbulent and aspiring faction; but the duke's reply was by no means agreeable to his wishes. His advice came now accompanied by menaces; and the king, hearing that he was assembling troops, was resolved to go to Upsal at the head of a strong corps. From this resolution, however, Banier dissuaded him, by representing that so numerous a retinue could not find subsistence in the city. The king went only with his usual guard, and next day the duke arrived with a few attendants, but left orders for his troops to follow with the utmost secrecy and expedition.

The states now pushed their pretensions with great warmth; and the nobility presented strong remonstrances, which regarded their own peculiar privileges. Sigismund promised to give them satisfaction upon certain conditions. He demanded that both the states and nobility should implicitly rely on his promise, and be directed by his will;

and that, if for the present they would not tolerate the Romish religion, they should at least suffer it to be preached, conjointly with the Lutheran, as soon as they were better instructed in the principles of that faith. But the states would hearken to no conditions that tended to abolish the established form of worship, and introduce innovation; and the king persisted in requiring those concessions, before he granted any favours. The states therefore began to deliberate whether they should acknowledge his sovereignty. Many individuals were for offering the crown to duke Charles, and in case of his refusal, placing it on the head of the infant duke John; but duke Charles and the senate rejected this opinion. The former charged himself with the important business of prevailing on the king to give satisfaction to the states; and went with this view to the palace, where the high words between him and the king must have ended in blows, had they not been parted by some of the nobility. This conference, however, made such an impression on the king, that he was perfectly reconciled to the duke before the departure of the latter. He promised all that was required; but as he had no intention to perform his promises, it was not possible their agreement could be of long duration.

As soon as the duke perceived the king's real intentions, he entered upon a treaty with the states for the preservation of their rights and the security of religion; then he reviewed the troops and militia at Upsal. Besides, the senate desired an interview with the Polish lords that were about his majesty. To these they complained so pathetically of the king's obstinate temper, of the absurdity of his designs, and the fatal consequences of his perseverance, that the foreigners unanimously resolved to enter into their measures, and use every expedient to prevail on his majesty to grant their just requests. To succeed the better, they told the king, that promises extorted by force were not obligatory; he might therefore revoke them as soon as he found himself in a condition to support his design by force. Persuaded of this truth, Sigismund granted every thing required; but stipulated that he should have the free exercise of the Romish religion, which might likewise be publicly preached in his own chapel.

While matters were thus happily compromised, to outward appearance, the king had formed the base design of murdering duke Charles at the Italian comedy, which was acted the night after his coronation; but the duke, having

The civil divisions seemingly quietted, but soon renewed with more violence.

intimation of the plot, escaped. The disappointment irritated the king so much, that, without reflecting on his own powers, he resolved to use force to accomplish his designs. His scheme was to introduce a Polish army, and he accordingly gave orders for the march of the troops. Relying upon their speedy arrival, he broke through all his engagements to the states, and began building Romish churches in divers parts of the kingdom.

In the mean time the states met again at Stockholm, to deliberate on a proper form of government in the king's absence, as he now talked of going to Poland; and the prolongation of the truce with Russia. The bad understanding between them and the king made these points of great difficulty and importance. The Poles, who were about his majesty's person, advised him to leave the kingdom in its then present disorder, and renew the war in Russia, to prevent the Swedes from dividing into factions, and taking measures against his government. In this situation of affairs the Polish army arrived on the frontiers, directing their march strait to the capital. However, as the force was not considerable enough to undertake any enterprise of importance, the states seemed but little alarmed. The Poles, perceiving no attempts to resist them, grew more daring; they pillaged, plundered, and laid waste all before them, as if they had penetrated into an enemy's country. Complaints being made by the protestant clergy to the senate, no other reply was made, than to abstain from those bitter reproaches and invectives which had incensed the catholics, until the king's departure, when they should be at liberty to act with more freedom. At length this period arrived; the king set sail for Dantzic, leaving the administration in the hands of duke Charles, and the citadel of Stockholm under the command of Eric Brahe, notwithstanding the remonstrances made by the senate against placing a papist in a trust so important.

The king returns to Poland.

A.D. 1595.

The origin of the civil commotions preceding Sigismund's deposition, and the accession of his uncle Charles to the throne.

The senate gave immediate notice of the king's departure to duke Charles. They acquainted him with the king's intention that he should direct public affairs during his absence; they described the confusion in the government, and the necessity of an able head and steady hand to manage the helm of state; they promised to lend him all possible assistance, and concluded with requesting, that he would immediately take upon him the administration. The duke politely declined a burthen too great for his strength: the truth is, there were certain restrictions imposed by the king, which were disagreeable to him. The senate therefore voted, that the form of government prescribed by his majesty,

majesty, to be observed during his absence, and the limitations of the regent's authority, were directly opposite to the oath he had taken, of governing by the advice of duke Charles and the senate. They also resolved, that every article of the late treaty with the king should be rigidly executed, and of consequence the popish religion abolished. Stockholm first led the way in enforcing the decrees of the senate. The burghers absolutely refused to acknowledge the governor's authority, or regard his commission, because he professed the Romish religion. They forbade, under severe penalties, the exercise of that worship, within the jurisdiction of the city and suburbs; while duke Charles was at the same time, caressing the protestant clergy (A).

In the assembly of the states at Sunderkoping, the public disorder began to break out with greater violence. The senate and duke had apprised the king of the necessity of convoking the states; but receiving no answer, writs were issued out for this purpose, without his consent. After having voted that their meeting was necessary to the welfare of the kingdom, and conformable to the constitution, to ancient custom, and to their late engagements with the king, the states proceeded to the business of religion, resolving that no other mode of worship should be tolerated except that professed by the confession of Augsburgh; that no natives of a different religion should be capable of holding posts and preferments; that all Romish priests should quit the country in the space of six weeks; that all children should be educated in the protestant religion; that children nurtured in different principles, whether born in or out of the kingdom, should be rendered incapable of inheriting; but that with respect to those who had professed the Romish faith before the accession of Sigismund, they should be allowed to remain in the kingdom, yet without exercising their religion, or holding preferments under the government. It was farther resolved, that the duke should be made governor of Sweden, upon such terms as he

(A) We may observe, that soon after the king's departure was born the renowned Gustavus Adolphus, son of duke Charles; an incident which afforded the highest satisfaction to the Swedish nation, as thereby the succession was strength-

ened, and duke Charles now looked upon as sovereign, though he had declined the regency. It is said, that the nativity of the young prince was cast by the famous astronomer Tycho Brahe, who declared he would one day ascend the throne (1).

(1) Loccen. lib. vii. p. 420.

thought equitable; that no appeals should be made to the king during his residence in Poland; that no edicts or ordinances sent by his majesty from Poland, should be valid, before they were approved by the duke and the senate; that all vacancies should be filled up by the duke and senate jointly; that the king should not have power to turn any person out of his place, before the affair was approved by the duke and senate. To take away all suspicion of their having rebelled against the king, the states again renewed their professions of fidelity, in confidence that his majesty would rest satisfied with their assurances and verbal promises of loyalty. Then they obliged all men to subscribe this resolution, under pain of being treated as traitors to their country, and disturbers of the public tranquillity. Many of the nobility accordingly signed it, though they avoided being present at the vote, from an apprehension of incurring his majesty's displeasure. By the duke's order it was published in Latin, Swedish, and German, with intention that the whole world should be acquainted with the equity of the proceedings of the diet.

It was not long before all these spirited resolutions were put in execution. The Romish clergy were banished, and kindly received by Nicholas Flemming, governor of Finland, who was promoted by the king to the dignity of veldt-mareschal, in reward of his services on this occasion. He likewise gave him the command of the forces that had served against the Russians, whom he ordered to be quartered upon the peasants. This step produced great disorders. The soldiers behaved with all the licentiousness of troops who imagined themselves necessary to the sovereign, and protected by him; while the peasants, ruined by their tyranny and rapine, carried their complaints to the duke. Charles took the peasants under his protection, and made the circuit of the kingdom, to see that the decrees of the states were rigorously observed in every province. His majesty was highly offended at the expulsion of the clergy, and, to regain the affections of his people, wrote letters to the inhabitants of Uplandia, requiring them to pay no duties or taxes, but by an order from him. He exhorted them to defend the honour of their sovereign, to adhere to their loyalty, and to pay no obedience to the duke; adding, that he hoped soon to reward in person their zeal and fidelity. As he inherited the wealthy treasury of the princess Anne, his aunt, he determined to enter immediately upon coercive measures, and to reduce the power and insolence of the duke and senate.

During

A.D. 1596.

During these transactions the duke was taking the necessary steps for restraining the insolence of the soldiers in Finland, and reducing Flemming, as well as punishing his attachment to the king. The senate, dreading a civil war, opposed his design, and the duke highly resented their conduct. He suspected them of holding secret intelligence with the Finlanders; and this was the first spring of the discontents that ensued between him and the senate. However, to give his highness some satisfaction, they wrote in a spirited manner to Flemming, and threatened him, if he persisted to disturb the peace; but Fleming disregarded their menaces, and returned a haughty, insolent answer, telling them their heads should pay for their disloyalty.

About this time ambassadors arrived from Poland, who bitterly upbraided the senate for the resolutions taken at Sunderkoping. The senate endeavoured to shift the blame on the duke, and he accused the senate of having too much power; of embezzling the public money; of fomenting quarrels between the king and him; and of an intention of ruining both, in order to engross the whole authority. He added, that as his toil and labour for the service of the state was repaid with ingratitude, he would lay down his commission. None of the senators attempted to dissuade him from this resolution, and their coldness still more irritated him, insomuch that he retired to Gripsholm in disgust. However, that he might not leave the state entirely without a pilot, he sent Oluf Suercherfon to assist at the conference appointed between the Swedes and Russians, about the cession of Kexholm. This Suercherfon was a cunning artful person, who ballanced between both sides, and trimmed with so much address, that while he appeared the most faithful of the duke's servants, he was betraying his secrets to the king. To him it was owing that the breach between the duke and senate became so wide, that several of the nobility fell off from his party; that the archbishop in particular sided with the senate, and was restored to the king's favour; and that the embers of discord were again raked, and blown up to a civil war in several parts of the kingdom. The first insurrection appeared at Osterborn, where the peasants took arms, massacred the troops quartered upon them, entered Carelia, pillaged all before them, and burnt the villas belonging to Flemming.

The king was no sooner informed of the quarrel between the duke and senate, and of the resolution of the former, than he devolved the whole power on the latter, absolutely

*Quarrels
between
the duke
and the
senate.*

*The king
devolves
the admin-
istration
on the
senate.*

* Loccen. *ibid.*

excluding the duke from any share in the government, and strictly enjoining all his subjects to aid and assist the senate, in case the duke should make any attempts to subvert or oppose their authority. In opposition to this measure, the duke called an assembly of the states at Abroga, and declared all who absented themselves guilty of high treason against their king and country; notwithstanding which declaration many of the principal members did not appear, and, of the whole body of the senate, only Axel Lewenhaupt attended. The assembled states passed a decree, confirming the decrees of the synod of Upsal, with respect to religion, and the treaty between the duke and the states at Sunderkoping. They also declared his highness sole governor of Sweden, without a rival in power, during the king's absence. They resolved to send an embassy to his majesty, to devise means for checking the insurrection in Finland. Finally, they resolved to make a tender to the absentees, of confirming the above resolutions, and of declaring all who rejected them culpable and punishable according to the duke's pleasure. Before the diet broke up a league was formed, whereby they agreed to stand by each other, in case any of their number should be molested on account of their attending at this assembly.

When the duke proposed the articles of the assembly to be confirmed by the senate and absentees, they fled out of the kingdom, believing that their persons were in danger if they staid, and that their loyalty would be questioned if they accepted the terms proposed. The chancellor, Eric Sparre, was the first who retired, with his wife and family. The rest staid for some time, amusing the duke with fair speeches, and at the same time secretly exhorting the king to send them succours. His highness, the duke, extremely resented the chancellor's retreat. One of that lord's domestics being seized, informed the duke, that all the other senators and noblemen, who absented themselves from the diet, were likewise on the point of quitting the kingdom, with intention to return with a powerful army. A servant of Flemming's declared, that his master had two thousand five hundred horse on foot, with a fleet of ten sail, expecting every day to be joined by a powerful reinforcement from Poland; and that with these forces he proposed invading Sweden, where he hoped to be joined by a great number of friends, particularly Arfwed and Steenboeck, governors of the two Gothlands and Smaland.

* Loccen. *ibid.*

Upon this notice the duke assembled some forces, and marched directly to Gothland, to sound the disposition of the inhabitants. After having taken some fortresses, he assembled the states of the three provinces, and exacted an oath of fidelity from them. Notwithstanding these hostilities he still wrote to the king, requesting him to compose the troubles of the kingdom; but he never received the least answer. On the contrary, his majesty complained bitterly to the senate of the duke's conduct, and even authorised them, if other methods failed, to take up arms to suppress his licentiousness, defend the honour of the sovereign, and the tranquillity of the kingdom. But as these menaces had no effect on the duke, the other absentees pursued the safest method, that of quitting the kingdom. Upon this retreat they were prosecuted by the duke, who laid immediate siege to Calmar, and obliged Steenboeck, the governor, to surrender prisoner of war. In the same manner he subdued all the other fortresses of the kingdom, and then turned his thoughts to the affairs of Finland and Esthonia, resolving to oblige the states of these provinces to sign the treaty of Sunderkoping. To facilitate his design he called a diet of the states at Stockholm, where the absent senators were cited to appear. All the arguments contained in this citation were answered by the king, so that it came to nothing. After the breaking up of the diet, the duke entered Finland and Revel, to oblige the inhabitants of Esthonia to acknowledge him as governor, and sign the treaty of Sunderkoping; but not meeting with the desired success, he retired with a great number of prisoners and ships, which he had taken in the different ports.

*The duke
assembles
an army.*

In the beginning of the following year an ambassador arrived from Poland, complaining bitterly of the duke's conduct in Finland and Esthonia, and requiring him to release all the prisoners. His highness cleared himself by asserting, that all he had done was conformable to the laws, and by direction of the states. He treated his majesty to punish, according to the oath he had sworn at his coronation, all those senators who had absented themselves from the business of their country, and deserted the bark of state when it was in the most imminent danger, leaving it to be navigated by a single pilot, amidst the storms of faction and the shoals of treachery. He likewise wrote to the king, declaring his innocence, and attributing the whole misunderstanding between them to Eric Sparre. The states, at the same time, vindicated the duke, declaring that his conduct was in all respects agreeable to the constitution and laws of his country. They entreated Gustavus Banier and

A.D. 1598.

*The brothers come
to an open
rupture.]*

Thuron

Thuron Bielke to go to his majesty, and endeavour to conciliate the king and duke; but he declined the commission, and retired out of the kingdom. At length Sigismund determined to reduce the duke by force, and for that purpose raised a powerful army, giving orders that it should immediately be reinforced with the troops in Finland. It is said the pope liberally supplied him with money, upon his mortgaging the province of Esthonia to the holy see.

The consequences of that rupture.

When it was known that his majesty proposed entering his own dominions, the governor of Calmar desired to know of the duke in what manner he was to behave, should the king summon him to surrender; his highness answered, that if the king signed an instrument to secure the rights and privileges of the people, he should then open his gates. Laski, the Polish ambassador, made likewise a demand, which it required great address and delicacy to elude. He told the duke, that his majesty required the Swedish fleet should meet him at Dantzic, to convoy him to his own dominions; and to this demand the duke replied, that the king might depend on the fleet's being employed in the service of the king and kingdom. The states assembled at Wadstena, foreseeing the danger of being unprovided with an army when the king should arrive, gave orders for levying forces with all expedition, and enjoined the duke to march at their head, to meet the king at Calmar, and inform him of the conditions required by his people, before he permitted him to pass farther^u.

Sigismund, in the mean time, met with more success than he could readily expect. His menaces and thundering manifestoes struck terror into the troops in several provinces: some threw down their arms; others wavered in their resolutions; but the greater part deserted the duke, and went over to the king. The Finlanders and Esthoni-ans, in particular, passed, with a great number of ships, to a port not above six miles from Stockholm, waiting to be joined there by his majesty. This junction, however, the duke's fleet prevented, though contrary winds frustrated the design to oppose the king's landing at Calmar. Here the king erected his standard, to which crowds of people flocked from all the provinces. Hostilities immediately commenced; Calmar was summoned to surrender; all the duke's domestics were seized; and Axel Lewenhaupt, the only senator who remained in the kingdom, was now banished by the king's command.

^u Loccen. lib. vii.

Still the duke preserved a specious outside, making use of the most gentle and persuasive language in his letters to the king. He admonished him to dismiss the foreign troops; intreated that he would not listen to the false and delusive advice of those senators, who absented themselves from the business of the nation only to excite tumults and sedition; and exhorted him to assemble the states, to whom he desired his conduct might be submitted, since he first took upon him the government. As the king paid no regard to his remonstrances, he began with putting Stockholm, and the other fortresses of the kingdom, in a state of defence. Giving the command of the capital to Charles Carelson, he retired to Nicoping; and indeed there was the greatest reason for standing upon his guard, as a prison was already provided for him in Russia. Here he formed a court, and drew up manifestoes, which proving ineffectual, he advanced to Steegebürg, where the king was encamped, demanding, by a trumpet, an answer to the conditions of reconciliation which he proposed. Immediately the royal army flew to arms. A detachment attacked the duke's rear, while the main body charged him in front. The duke's army perceiving themselves hemmed round, began to ask for quarter after a short resistance; when the king reflecting that he was shedding the blood of his own subjects, ordered a retreat to be sounded just as victory was hovering on his standards. A negotiation was set on foot, and a suspension of arms agreed upon till next day. Both sides, however, adhering obstinately to their own opinions, the negotiation came to nothing, though several German princes offered their mediation. Skirmishes then daily passed, and at last the duke surprised his majesty in his camp at Strangbroo, advancing early in the morning under cover of a thick fog, and falling on with such fury, that the body-guard was entirely cut in pieces, the king's army wholly defeated, and his person in imminent danger. The duke displayed great moderation after his success. He solicited with as much earnestness that matters should be accommodated, as if he had been defeated. At last a treaty was concluded, through the mediation of certain persons who wished well to both princes, and foresaw that the ruin of the country must be the necessary consequence of their divisions. The duke renewed his oath of allegiance to the king; and his majesty not only promised to forget all that was past, but granted several of the demands to which he had before refused to listen. The treaty was no sooner signed than the princes had a friendly interview, which raised

raised expectations in all men that their quarrel was entirely extinguished.

Sigismund having restored peace to the kingdom, resolved to return to Poland. Whatever appearances necessity obliged him to keep up with duke Charles, his resentment still dictated revenge, and he resolved to return with so numerous an army, as must entirely crush all opposition. On his arrival in Poland he published reports at every court in Europe very prejudicial to the duke's reputation: he accused him of treason and rebellion; declared his resolution of breaking a treaty imposed on him by force; and threatened to reduce the Swedes to their duty by dint of arms. As to the duke, his conduct afforded suspicions that he had no intention to observe the treaty, which he had patched up for a particular purpose. On his arrival at Stockholm he ordered some of the king's adherents to be arrested, particularly the governor of the citadel; he confiscated their estates; changed several of the senators; and committed other violences, which plainly indicated his sentiments. He exclaimed bitterly against the king's leaving the state in such confusion; his fondness for Poland; the preference he shewed the Polish nobility; the carrying away violently his (the duke's) domestics; and the reports propagated at foreign courts of his conduct. In a word, he openly declared his resolution to take up arms in defence of his own character and the religion and liberties of the people.

Notwithstanding both parties secretly resolved to decide their difference by the sword, each endeavoured to manifest, by divers writings and publications, their love of peace, and wishes that matters might be amicably adjusted. On the 1st of February the states met at Jenekoping, whence they wrote to the king, accusing him of a breach of the late treaty, and a design of stirring up the Finlanders to tumults and seditions. They besought him, at the same time, to pay some regard to his engagements; to quiet the troubles of the commonwealth; to put affairs on the same footing in which they formerly stood; to punish the guilty according to the laws; to embrace the protestant religion, without which he could never enjoy his crown in peace; and to reside among his faithful subjects.

Remonstrances made with so much spirit and freedom could not but incense the king: however, hostilities were first renewed by the duke, who made himself master of Calmar by force, after having first summoned the Polish garrison to deliver up the fortress to the natives of the country. Some Swedish noblemen were put to death on
this

this occasion; but all foreigners were pardoned, on condition they would quietly leave the kingdom. On the 14th of June the states assembled at Stockholm, resolved to renounce their allegiance to the king, because he had, in repeated instances, broke his coronation oath, infringed upon the constitution, and disregarded the laws. What mostly incensed them was the countenance given to foreigners, and the design the king seemed to have formed of reducing Sweden to a province dependent on Poland. The security of religion, indeed, was the great cry; but John had made stronger attempts to introduce popery than Sigismund, yet did the crown remain unshaken on his head to the day of his death. An offer of the crown was made to his son Uladislaus, on express condition that in six months he should be brought to Stockholm, and there educated in the Lutheran religion. It was also stipulated, that if this article should fail of being strictly complied with, then the prince, as well as his father, should lose his right, never again to revert to either, or to their descendents. Duke Charles was appointed governor of the kingdom, and the care of the affairs in Finland committed to his management.

Before the end of the season the duke marched with an army into Finland, the inhabitants of which province stickled hard for the king, notwithstanding the oppression from the troops they complained of in the beginning of his reign. Sigismund had sent powerful succours to the Finlanders; but, from a variety of accidents, as well as the vigorous measures of the duke, the king's affairs were every where unsuccessful. Among other places Wiburg surrendered to his highness; at the siege of which place the duke shot Oluf Steenboeck, the same person who had some years before wounded and insulted king Eric, while he was a prisoner in his custody.

While duke Charles was thus engaged in Finland, he received advice of a dangerous design formed by the king and the regency of Lubec. To prevent the effects of this combination, he made advantageous proposals to the regency, and concluded an alliance with them; the whole aim of that ambitious republic being to augment their commerce and raise their maritime power. He next secured himself on the side of Prussia, by forming an alliance with the czar against Sigismund and the republic of Poland, as the common enemy of both nations. Before he left Finland, Narva surrendered; but Revel, and the fortresses of Livonia, declared they would remain firm in their fidelity to the king, to whom alone they had sworn allegiance, and not to the states of Sweden.

A.D. 1600.

About the beginning of the year the duke returned to Stockholm to attend the diet, assembled chiefly to try the prisoners he had made in Finland, and certain partizans of the king, who were seized by order of his highness and the senate. Accordingly, after a very long and solemn trial, sentence of death was passed on Gustavus and Stein Bannier, Eric Sparre, and Thuron Bielke, whereby they were to suffer death for having torn letters they had received, signed and sealed by the duke, out of disrespect to the regent of the kingdom; for having calumniated and propagated reports to the prejudice of his reputation; for having opposed the resolutions of the diet of Sunderkoping; and for having, contrary to their oath and the duty they owed to their country, excited the king to a civil war. They pleaded an exception to the Swedish law by which they were condemned; but no excuses or palliations would be admitted, and they all suffered on the scaffold.

Another act of this diet was not only to exclude Sigismund from the throne, but likewise the young prince Uladisslaus, because the time prescribed for his being sent to Stockholm was expired. The duke, however, of his own free will, prolonged the time to five months longer, probably from a conviction that Sigismund would never send his son to possess a crown in prejudice to his own right. He knew that the government would never be intrusted to prince John, half-brother to the king, because the prince, seduced by his majesty, had opposed all the measures of the duke and senate; besides, his youth disqualified him for holding the reins of state in times full of trouble and danger: thus the duke was, on all hands, secure of holding the power, and in a fair way of being vested with the sovereignty, however specious a conduct and unambitious a carriage he might assume. The states, indeed, invested him with absolute power, the situation of affairs rendering it necessary; and in the space of five months after created him sovereign and king of Sweden and Gothland, fixing the succession in his issue male^u. Such is the assertion of a celebrated historian, notwithstanding all other writers affirm, that Sigismund was not dethroned in form before the year 1604, and consequently no successor chosen. Be this as it will, Charles certainly enjoyed all the authority of a king, and was complimented and acknowledged as such by foreign states, from the time that Sigismund and Uladisslaus were excluded, soon after which transaction prince John solemnly renounced his right^v.

^u Loccen. lib. vii.^v Puffend, tom. ii. p. 146, & seq.

In raising himself to the dignity and power of sovereign, duke Charles displayed great address and policy. His public conduct was open, candid, and moderate; while he was secretly fomenting quarrels between the king and the states, and taking every measure that could forward his ambition, without destroying his reputation. At length he brought matters to such a crisis, that his election seemed the result of necessity, produced by the king's own maladministration. His services to the state demanded this return of gratitude; besides, he was the only surviving son of the great Gustavus, which circumstance alone greatly endeared him to the people. The states, after having maturely considered the subject, unanimously resolved, that the crown should be given to Charles, his son Gustavus, and their issue male; but that, in case they all died, and the line was extinct, then it should revert to prince John, and his descendents in the male line. It was farther resolved, that all who opposed this decree should be deemed traitors; that the children of those persons condemned by the diet should be rendered incapable of enjoying posts and preferments; that all natives of Sweden, now residing with Sigismund, should be outlawed, and treated with all the rigour of the law, should they ever presume to return; that all persons, whether upon business or pleasure, in foreign countries, should be recalled to take an oath of fidelity to the king; and that their refusal and disobedience should be punished with great severity. This assembly of the states decreed likewise, that troops should be levied for the defence of the kingdom; that duke John should be put in possession of West Gothland, the province assigned for his maintenance when he resigned his right to the crown; that when the whole male line royal should be extinct, a sovereign should then be chosen from the German princes who had been married to the daughters of Gustavus; that no future king of Sweden should marry but in a Protestant family; and that, should the hereditary prince accept of a foreign crown, he should from that instant be disqualified from succeeding to the throne of Sweden.

A. D. 1604.

CHARLES IX.

CHARLES was no sooner seated on the throne than he resolved upon an expedition to Livonia, to repel the encroachments of the Poles, and retake Wittenstein. His success did not answer expectation; on the contrary, he lost three thousand men, twenty pair of colours, and six pieces of cannon. His absence furnished king Sigismund with an opportunity of making an attempt on Finland; but

the design was discovered, and its abettors were imprisoned at Stockholm. To avenge his losses, he summoned the states, and procured supplies for continuing the war in Livonia. Immediately he bent his march with a select body of troops for that country, and was just preparing to lay siege to Riga, when advice was received, that the enemy were but a few miles distant. Upon this he determined to attack them; for which purpose he marched all night, and came up with the Polish general, after his army was harassed and fatigued. This precipitation cost him dear. The enemy, superior in number, refreshed with sleep, possessed of several advantageous posts, and, indeed, of every other advantage, received him so vigorously, that, after a sharp conflict, the greatest part of the Swedish army was cut off, or made prisoners; and the rout became so general, that his majesty must have fallen into the hands of the enemy, had not an officer supplied him with a horse, on which he escaped. Covered with shame and grief his majesty arrived at Revel, and, after a short stay in that city, posted to Sweden; but neither the absence of Charles, nor the decisiveness of the victory, could enable Sigismund to pursue the advantage, on account of the disturbances in Poland.

The king's disgraces in Livonia were soon forgot, upon his finding himself in quiet possession of the kingdom of Sweden. Charles thought to make use of this opportunity to purge the church of several remaining popish ceremonies; but his design was opposed with so much heat by the clergy, that he was forced to relinquish it, after having deprived the university of Upsal of its privileges. He waited for a proper opportunity both for accomplishing this point, and revenging his late disgraces; and employed himself in the mean time in redressing the grievances introduced during the late troubles. As soon as he perceived Poland torn with faction, he availed himself of that conjuncture to attack Livonia a third time, whither he sent count Mansfeldt with an army. This general soon recovered Wittenstein; and then dividing his army, left one part to carry on the siege of Derpt, while with the other he besieged Wolmar. The former party was defeated by a sally from the town; and the latter, giving up the design on Wolmar, invested and took Felin; after which the count agreed upon a suspension of arms with the Polish general, without consulting the king, or indeed any apparent necessity, as he was superior to the enemy, and ought to have pushed his conquests. His majesty, from this consideration, refused to ratify his agreement, and even sent him positive orders to
break

A.D. 1607.

*He again
attacks
Livonia.*

break it; upon which the count made himself master of Dunamund and Roehenhausen. This conduct frustrated the effects of a negotiation set on foot for a peace, in consequence of the late suspension of arms. The Poles were so incensed at the loss of Dunamund and Roehenhausen, that they refused to treat with the Swedish commissaries. They besides persisted in supporting Sigismund's right to the crown of Sweden; and openly declared, in their letters to the states, that Charles was an usurper. In a word, the Poles insisted upon the restitution of the above places, as a necessary preliminary; and the Swedes refusing their demand, and protesting against the injustice of their proceedings, returned home^a.

In the mean time the Swedish fleet, lying off Dunamund to intercept the commerce of Riga, sustained a considerable loss by the address of the Riga fleet; the admiral of which found means to send a fireship into the middle of the Swedish squadron, by which several ships and their crews were destroyed.

In the preceding year a revolution had happened in Russia. Zuski was raised to the imperial throne upon the murder of Demetrius; and king Charles, in consideration of having Kexholm ceded to him, sent some forces to assist the latter prince. Sigismund, on the other hand, having quieted the civil dissensions in Poland, applied his thoughts to raising some of his favourites to the throne of Russia, an incident which he hoped would enable him to succeed easily in his designs upon Sweden. But king Charles, to traverse his schemes, and at the same time draw some considerable advantage to himself, resolved to assist Zuski more powerfully than before. However, the Muscovites suspecting that the intentions of both princes were selfish, seized Zuski, and delivered him up to the Poles. They went farther; they made an offer of the crown to prince Uladislaus, who accepted it, on condition that he should not be obliged to reside in Russia. On this occasion it was that the Poles got possession of the capital, and, by their tyranny, obliged the Russians to revolt. This rebellion revived the hopes of his Swedish majesty; but did not hinder the Poles from gaining some advantages in Finland, where they took Pirnau, by means of a treacherous correspondence with one Wachen, a Swede, for which he was punished with the loss of his head at Stockholm. His majesty expressed great uneasiness at this loss; but the rupture

^a Loccen. lib. vii.

with Denmark that ensued prevented his endeavouring to renew the war in Livonia⁷.

A. D. 1609.

*A rupture
between
Sweden
and Den-
mark.*

For some years disputes had subsisted between the crowns of Denmark and Sweden about Laponia, Sonneburg, and the Swedish arms usurped by the Danish monarchs. Commissioners had frequently been appointed to terminate their differences, but without effect. The Danes, taking advantage of the troubles in Livonia, now recommenced hostilities, which so alarmed Charles, that he assembled the states at Stockholm. At this diet his majesty proposed, that young gentlemen, who had not directed their studies to the good of their country, as required by a former decree, should lose their right of inheritance; but this proposition was rejected. The states likewise refused granting the necessary supplies for defending the kingdom against foreign enemies. His majesty was so much affected with their conduct, that he was seized the day after, from perturbation of mind, with an apoplexy, or, as the biographer of Gustavus Adolphus asserts, a hemiplegia, of which he never thoroughly recovered².

A. D. 1610.

This refusal determined him to procure peace on the best terms possible; but Christian's demands rose in proportion to the Swede's concessions. That monarch eyed with jealousy the progress in commerce which the Swedish nation had made, since the accession of Charles; he could not bear to see his subjects deprived of the trade of Riga, Courland, and Prussia, and subjected to the caprice of the Swedes; and he believed this a proper occasion for resuming his former superiority, when Charles was involved in a war with Poland and Muscovy, in disputes with a rival to his crown, and upon very indifferent terms with the states. Charles remonstrated with the utmost temper; but finding that his ambassador was insulted, that several of his domestics were killed, and others imprisoned, he wrote in sharp terms to Christian, and again assembled the states, in hopes of finding them more compliant than before. Happily for him, he found the states in a disposition to support him; and the campaign in Russia was very successful under the conduct of John de la Gardie, who had defeated the Poles in several battles. He demanded Kexholm of the Russians, and on their refusal, and insulting his messenger, and committing other outrages, he laid siege to that place, and took it in the spring of the year 1611. From thence he

A. D. 1611.

⁷ Puffend. tom. ii.
tom. i. p. 7.

² Harte's Life of Gustavus Adolphus.

returned to Muscovy, where, without any orders from his court, he made strong interest to have Charles Philip, second son of king Charles, elected czar, in the room of Uladiflaus of Poland. Perceiving the Russians very fickle in their resolutions, he seconded his negotiations by a spirited attack on Newgarte, which he took by assault. After this exploit, he reduced the towns of Noteburg, Ivanogorod, Jama, and Coporie; put the Swedish affairs upon the best footing in that country; but made little progress in the treaty for procuring the imperial dignity for prince Charles Philip.

The states having granted the necessary supplies for opposing the attempts of Christian to reduce Calmar and Elfsburg, to which he laid siege, previous to any declaration of war; a herald was dispatched to Denmark to declare war, with a long writing, specifying the injuries sustained, and the reasons for coming to a rupture. Immediately after the young prince Gustavus Adolphus was detached with a body of forces towards Calmar, the king his father following with the main army. When their forces were joined the king offered battle (June 11.) to the Danes; but they declined it, chusing to keep close within their lines. Next day the enemy surpris'd the Swedish camp, but were repuls'd with the loss of seven hundred men and a field officer. Soon after, prince Adolphus attacked and took Christianstadt, a strong fortrefs where the Danes kept large magazines of warlike stores and provisions. Calmar however surrendered to the enemy, rather from want of conduct and courage in Christopher Soma, the governor, than on account of any extraordinary efforts made by the Danes, or any kind of necessity within the garrison. Some writers indeed affirm, that Soma was corrupted, having sold the fortrefs committed to his care for the territory of Kolstorp, situated between Lubec and Segeberg, which he received as an equivalent for the loss of honour and reputation.

After the surrender of Calmar, the Danes attacked the islands of Oeland and Borkholm, the latter of which was defended for some time with great spirit by John Ulfsparre; but desertion prevailing in the garrison, it was at length surrendered upon honourable terms. King Charles was so incensed at these losses, that he sent Christian a challenge, without recollecting the disorder that deprived him of the use of one side. His Danish majesty, more regardful of the dignity of the monarch, declined the proposal, which he called an enthusiastic scheme of a knight-errant, and not the overture of a monarch, declaring for his own part that

Charles challenges the king of Denmark to single combat.

he must beg to be excused from lifting his hand against a prince oppressed with old age and bodily infirmity. Some of the Swedish writers attribute Christian's refusal to a deficiency in personal courage; and it is certain, from the consequences it produced, that the spirit of the proposal piqued his pride at the very time he made it the subject of ridicule. To prove however that he was possessed of courage, he attacked the Swedish camp a few days after, and pushed the attack with such resolution and vigour, that Charles was disconcerted and very nigh defeated. But the losses here received were not long after revenged upon a body of Danish infantry encamped before Calmar, which the Swedes defeated and dispersed. This success was followed by several others obtained by prince Gustavus, as presages of his future glory. Among others he invaded and reduced the isle of Oeland, taking prisoners near two thousand fugitives from the Danish army that had taken shelter in that place. He also recovered, by a spirited assault, the city of Borkholm, which was garrisoned by a strong body of chosen men from the Danish army^a.

While Gustavus was gathering laurels in the field, Charles summoned the states to meet at Nicöping, in order to grant supplies for prosecuting the war. On his way thither he was seized with a disorder that put an end to his life in a few days, supposed to be the effects of the fatigue he had undergone in the preceding campaign, and of the fit of melancholy that had attacked him two years before. He yielded up his last breath on the 30th of October, in the sixty-first year of his age, leaving the reputation of a prince personally brave, faithful to his allies, sincere in his friendship, generous in rewarding merit, rigorous in punishing crimes, the patron of arts and letters, the promoter and encourager of commerce and agriculture, addicted to violent but short transports of passion, the protector of the protestant religion; in a word, a king in all respects worthy of being the parent and predecessor of the illustrious Gustavus Adolphus^b.

*Death and
character
of Charles
IX.*

^a Loc. lib. vii.

^b Vide Auct. citat supra.

S E C T. VIII.

Containing an Account of the Swedish Affairs to the Year 1633, when Gustavus Adolphus was killed.

NOTWITHSTANDING Charles closed the last scene of his life with obtaining considerable advantages over Denmark; yet the affairs of the kingdom in general were left in great confusion. Prince Gustavus was still in his minority, and tutors were appointed him; La Gardie had been successful in Russia, but scarce any progress was made in seating the young prince Charles Philip on that throne; the treaty concluded by the magistrates of Revel with the Poles was but indifferently observed; the finances of the kingdom were entirely drained by a series of wars and revolutions; powerful armaments were preparing in Denmark, Poland, and Russia: in one word, Sweden was involved with potent enemies abroad, and supported at home with ill paid armies, and exhausted treasuries. To regulate in the best manner possible the affairs of the state, a diet met at Nicoping in the month of December; and here the first measure taken was to secure the interior tranquillity of the kingdom, by procuring a fresh renunciation from duke John of all his rights to the throne. He was persuaded to give up the guardianship, and allow the young prince to take into his own hands the reins of government. The Swedish law required that the prince should have attained his eighteenth year before he was of age; yet were such striking marks of genius, prudence, and knowledge, discovered in Gustavus, that the states supposed him equal to the weight of government at this critical juncture, even in his minority. John indeed seemed to have the same prepossessions in favour of Gustavus with the rest of the Swedish nation in general. He not only relinquished a claim which he might easily have disputed, and the guardianship of the minor; but he remained at court, esteemed and loved the young prince, entered into all his counsels, and was the first in suppressing all plots, conspiracies, and cabals, to disturb the peace of the country, the government of Gustavus, and to place himself on the throne. From the figure which John had made at the head of an army, it is apparent he wanted neither courage nor ambition; but he preferred the good of his country to his own private gratification. He foresaw the felicity that would ensue from the great qualities

Gustavus Adolphus ascends the throne, and takes upon him the administration during his minority.

of Gustavus, and cheerfully sacrificed his own interest to procure that felicity. Perhaps too he made a sacrifice of ambition to love; for he was at that time enamoured of the young prince's sister, and dreaded the thoughts of losing her, by kindling a war about the succession. Whatever were his motives, certain it is, that he made concessions upon this occasion which were deemed extraordinary instances of a true heroic courage, that dared to subdue and sacrifice his own passions and private interest to his affection for the young prince and the Swedish nation^a.

A.D. 1612.

*He resumes
all the
crown
grants.*

In the beginning of the year, Gustavus, by his own authority, assembled the states, where he resumed all the crown grants, the better to carry on the war with such a variety of foreign enemies. He published an edict setting forth the uncertain returns of tithes and feudal lands, and ordering that an account of their annual produce should every year be delivered into the royal exchequer; he then gave a new confirmation of all grants which he did not propose to resume, and closed the assembly with a minute examination of the consequences which would probably ensue from prosecuting the war against his several enemies, or concluding peace on the best terms that could be obtained. But what impressed mankind with the highest idea of the young monarch's penetration and capacity, was the choice he made of a minister. The great chancellor Oxenstiern was placed at the head of domestic and foreign affairs; and every other post, both civil and military, was filled with persons adequate to the trust reposed.

Soon after his accession Gustavus received an embassy from James I. king of England, exhorting him to conclude peace with his neighbours. His Britannic majesty's interposition was seconded by that of the states general of the United Provinces, and the ambassadors of both were treated with great respect and frankness. Gustavus, though full of fire, and the natural impetuosity of youth, gave strong proofs of his inclination to listen to any reasonable terms of accommodation; but discovering that the king of Denmark's politics tended to oppress and crush a young monarch, he gave that prince to understand how ready and able he was to repel all attacks upon his dominions. The mediation of Great Britain and Holland thus met with insurmountable obstructions, notwithstanding those powers warmly pressed all parties, in order to obtain the free and undisturbed navigation of the Baltic. Instead of beginning with the siege of Calmar, which he foresaw would be at-

^a Life of Gustavus, vol. i.

tended with great difficulty and loss of time, Gustavus made an irruption into Schonon, sending duke John with an army he had raised to succour Elfsburg, and make a diversion in Ostrogothia. A third army, under the command of general Crusz, acted on the frontiers. Each pushed their views with great vigour; but that under duke John received a check. The king with his own army laid siege to Elfsberg, in order to prevent succours from joining the Danish army, and to cut off a retreat from the enemy that had already penetrated into Sweden. At the same time a strong detachment from the main body entered Norway. Elfsberg was reduced by Gustavus, Nilosia by general Crusz. Norway was greatly disturbed by the irruption of the Swedes; but the invasion of Westrogothia by king Christian, and the difficulty of recovering Jenicoping, in some measure disconcerted the schemes of the young Swedish monarch. The perplexity of Gustavus chiefly arose from the variety of his enemies. King Sigismund had at this very time made an irruption into Carelia, whither Gustavus was preparing to go in person, when advice of the invasion of Westrogothia arrived. Upon this he sent orders to the governor of Jenicoping to demolish the fortifications, and make the best retreat circumstances would allow^b.

Pursues the war against Denmark.

The cunning, the artifice, and judgment of Christian gave great uneasiness to Gustavus. His impetuosity was checked by the numberless difficulties and obstructions thrown in his way by that sage and experienced monarch. Finding then that he could not act in the sphere which his genius required; that the war must be carried on by irruptions, sieges, and skirmishes; and that the great superiority of the enemy by sea, gave them the utmost advantages in this kind of piratical war, he resolved upon concluding peace, until he should put his finances and navy in condition to engage them upon equal terms. The court of Great Britain acted as mediator, and the Dutch likewise offered their services; but his Danish majesty would not hear them mentioned. The negotiation was tedious, and the disputes high, though chiefly about matters extremely unimportant. Both kings were allowed to bear the arms of both crowns: Calmar was restored to Gustavus, and Elfsburg put into the hands of Christian, until it should be redeemed by an equivalent. Christian renounced all pretensions to Sweden, and Gustavus yielded up the title of king of Lapland.

Policy of king Christian.

A.D. 1613.

Peace concluded.

▶ Vit. Christian, p. 96. Hist. de Dan. tom. iv. Loc. lib. viii.

*Disputes
with Rus-
sia, and
Gustavus's
views
upon that
crown.*

One of the reasons that induced Gustavus to hurry on this peace, was the desire he entertained of pushing the affairs of Russia with vigour. The whole northern quarter of that vast empire was extremely earnest to have a Swedish prince, in hopes thereby to extend the commerce of the country. La Gardie wrote pressing to his court not to neglect the opportunity, while general Horn desired to be put in possession of Plescow. His request being refused, he attempted to surprize the place, but without success. The inhabitants of Newgarte demanding to have a Swedish king, Gustavus wrote to them in terms of the utmost civility and gratitude, assuring them that the moment his affairs were put in tolerable order, he would study to comply with their request. It is reported that Gustavus was irresolute, whether he should annex the Russian empire to his own crown, or yield it to his brother. This hesitation made him defer the prince's voyage, until La Gardie had urged, in the strongest terms, that some measure should be taken. The Russians had remarked this irresolution, and conjectured, that the design of Gustavus was to render their country a province of Sweden. They resented that his majesty should press them for a debt due to him, at the very time they were offering a crown to his brother; however, the inhabitants of Newgarte sent an answer filled with submission and respect. They intreated Gustavus, that as the affairs of his kingdom did not admit of his coming in person, he would send the prince, his brother, in order to put a period to the distraction and confusion that had nearly ruined the empire. Charles Philip had no ambition to become the prince of a nation of barbarians. He preferred his peaceable appennage at home to the savage pomp of the imperial dignity of Russia; yet Puffendorff attributes his disappointment of this crown wholly to the jealousy of his brother, and the delays and obstructions which he placed in his way. At last the Russians, tired out with uncertainty, fixed their choice upon another monarch, and thus the affair was dropt, after having for some years been a principal object of the politics of the court of Sweden^c.

A.D. 1614.

*Gustavus
applies to
civil policy.*

Gustavus had no sooner finished the Danish war than he concluded a treaty of commerce with the Dutch, and put the interior trade of the kingdom on the best footing. To ease industry of every restraint, he absolved peasants and farmers from the obligation of supplying the government with horses and carriages; he admitted foreigners of

^c Vide supra citat. Auct.

every religion into the kingdom, on condition they brought testimonies of their character from proper authority; and he established a society of trade at Stockholm, every subscriber to which advanced certain sums to the king, upon his being released for the space of three years from all taxes, duties, and imposts. Among other excellent institutions, this prudent monarch did not forget to regulate the lectures, discipline, and morality of the university of Upsal, and the education of the youth in general, prohibiting them to study at German and other foreign universities, where they only imbibed a taste for useless metaphysics, at the expence of the national treasure, and often of the public tranquillity ^d.

In the course of this year Gustavus assembled the states at Helsingford, where, among other important transactions, he took the affairs of Russia into consideration, and concluded with an act of domestic policy of the utmost advantage to his people. An edict was published to abridge the tediousness and expence of litigation, especially in affairs of regal judicature; and a form was prescribed wherby this was to be effected, so sensible and salutary, that to this day Sweden enjoys the happy consequences. The states concurred with his majesty's resolution, to oblige the Russians to make restitution of the money lent them in their necessity. Their haughty refusal and ingratitude, together with their abrupt election of a czar, piqued the king's pride. He determined upon revenge, and with that view entered the province of Ingria at the head of an army. Here he took Kexholm by storm, and was laying siege to Plefcow, when James I of England, the great pacificator of Europe, offered his mediation to compose the differences between Sweden and Russia. The influence of his Britanic majesty prevailed, Gustavus granting peace on condition of having the money repaid, and a part of the continent of Russia ceded to him (A).

Peace was no sooner established with Russia than his majesty was crowned with great ceremony at Upsal, amidst

A.D. 1615.

*Gustavus
abridges
law-suits.*

*Renews
hostilities
against
Russia.*

^d Loccen. lib. viii.

(A) By this treaty of peace, the pretensions of Charles Philip were extinguished, a free intercourse of commerce restored, Livonia, and four towns in the prefecture of Novogorod, ceded to Gustavus, the Russians tied up from assisting Poland, and nine thousand pounds in money paid down to the Swedes (1).

(1) Loccen. lib. viii. p. 532.

the sincere acclamations of his people, who beheld with joy the virtues of the great Gustavus Vasa renovated in his grandson Gustavus Adolphus. They profited by this interval of peace, every day producing some new ordinance or regulation for the good of the state, the increase of the revenue, the ease of the people, the augmentation of industry, arts, and commerce. Gustavus, at the same time that he omitted nothing that could establish a lasting and honourable peace with Poland, took the necessary measures for frustrating the designs which Sigismund still formed against Sweden. For this purpose he ordered La Gardie to acquaint the Polish general Codekowitz, that now the truce of two years was expired, he required to be upon a certainty, whether he was to expect peace or war with the king his master. In the mean time he borrowed money of the Dutch, to pay the sum stipulated to the king of Denmark for the redemption of Elfsburg, and had an interview with that monarch on the frontiers, where they conceived the utmost esteem for each other, and entered into the strictest ties, which the politics of their several kingdoms, and the jealousy of neighbouring states, would admit. One consequence of this interview was the promise he obtained of Christian no ways to assist Sigismund, or in any respect take part with Poland, in case the war between that kingdom and Sweden should be renewed.

A scheme formed by the king of Poland to seize on the person of Gustavus.

Gustavus receiving no satisfactory answer from Poland, began to prepare for the actual invasion of that kingdom; while Sigismund was laying a scheme to seize upon his person. With his connivance colonel Furembach had orders to surrender several fortified towns in Livonia into the hands of Gustavus, under pretence of obtaining peace by these concessions; but in reality to appoint a conference in some of these places, where the plan was laid for imprisoning Gustavus. The stratagem, however, did not escape the penetration of the Swedish monarch; and thus the whole negotiation vanished into threats and upbraidings, which Gustavus bestowed on the insidious schemes of Sigismund. Immediately after a tour which he made to Germany in disguise, and his marriage with the princess Eleonora, daughter to the elector of Brandenburg, he entered heartily upon the war with Poland. A vast fleet, on board which he embarked twenty thousand men, was prepared at the very time when the Poles were busied in repelling the Turks out of Walachia. With this force he set sail for Riga, to which he laid siege. In this expedition

Gustavus renews the war with Sigismund.

the king had under him a number of eminent officers, namely De la Gardie, Wrangel, Horn, Banier, Oxenstiern, Ruthven, a Scotch colonel, and count Mansfeldt. A line was drawn round the city, and the troops were divided for their proper attacks. Riga, on the other hand, was well prepared for defence. It was strongly fortified with walls, moats, half-moons, and bastions. The citadel was garrisoned with a considerable body of veteran troops, whose attachment to Sigismund appeared altogether extraordinary and enthusiastic. His majesty took possession of all the surrounding eminences, and directed his batteries so successfully, that the streets were raked, and the enemy unable to appear with safety out of their houses. A prodigious quantity of bombs were likewise thrown in, and the town reduced to ashes; yet did the reliance of the inhabitants upon succours from Sigismund keep up their spirits, and induce them to reject all the proposals made by the Swedish monarch. The king, to prevent all relief by sea, stationed the fleet at the mouth of the Dwina, and defended the islands and the western shore of the river, by several bodies of troops under the command of colonel Fleming. The precautions taken by Gustavus rendered abortive all the endeavours of Radzivil, the Polish general, to throw in a reinforcement; notwithstanding a brisk sally was made by the besieged under one Burk, an Irish officer, to open a communication with the Polish army. His majesty now filled the moat with fascines and rubbish, and made himself master of the strong fortrefs of Dunamund; then he summoned a second time the besieged, and received a rough and abrupt answer. In a word, they made a very obstinate and desperate defence, till the middle of September, when matters were brought to a crisis. The Swedes had formed their mines under the ditch, while the king threw a strong boom, and laid two bridges across the river. It was then the inhabitants received the first impressions of fear, notwithstanding they had been closely invested for six weeks, disappointed of the expected relief, and consumed by hunger, fatigue, and the shot and bombs of the besiegers. All hope of succours from Sigismund appearing chimerical, they at last hung out a flag of truce, demanded terms of capitulation, and obtained honourable conditions from Gustavus, out of regard to the valour they had displayed; nor did he ever once upbraid them with the insolent messages returned to his summons, or the fatigue and loss of time occasioned by their obstinacy. Hostages being exchanged, Gustavus made his entry into the city, marching in procession to the great church, where he returned thanks to God for this signal success.

*Progress of
the war.*

A.D. 1622.

success. He easily admitted the apology of the inhabitants, praised their intrepidity, and told them, "he never desired or expected more loyalty from them than they had shewn their former master; for which reason he should not only preserve but augment their privileges." The only change displeasing to the inhabitants which he made, was banishing the Jesuits, who were continually engaged in plots and conspiracies against the public tranquillity.

*A truce
concluded.*

After the reduction of Riga, his majesty entered the duchy of Courland, where he soon made himself master of Mittau; but ceded it, upon concluding a truce for one year with Poland. This truce was of short duration; for Sigismund had no sooner settled the affairs of his kingdom, than he prepared new enterprizes against the Swedes in Prussia. Gustavus, discovering his design, set sail with his fleet for Dantzick, where Sigismund resided at that time. By this sudden and unexpected motion he broke all his measures, and obliged the Polish monarch to prolong the truce for two years, in order to establish during this interval the conditions of a general pacification. Sigismund,

A.D. 1625.

indeed, declined all overtures on this head, though he did not absolutely reject them. His intention was to procure some favourable opportunity of attacking Gustavus, by prolonging the truce, and thereby lulling this vigilant enemy into security: however, Gustavus, hearing that the states of Poland would not agree to the prosecution of the war, demanded perpetual peace, or at least the prolongation of the truce to a more distant period. With this view he put himself at the head of a body of troops, at the expiration of the former truce; entered Livonia, with intention wholly to reduce that country, defeated Stanislaus Sapieha, took Derpt, Hokenhausen, and other places of less importance. Encouraged by these successes, he entered Lithuania, and took the city of Birsen, where he found sixty pieces of new-cast cannon, which he shipped for Riga.

*The war
renewed.*

Only Daneburg now remained in possession of Sigismund of all Livonia; yet did Gustavus propose the same equitable terms of accommodation as if his conquests had been balanced by equivalent losses: but labouring in vain to terminate matters by a negotiation, he had again recourse to arms, in which he was no less fortunate than before. The Swedish generals Horn and Thurn obtained a victory over Sapieha, in Semigallia; but Sigismund was still sanguine in his expectations, that, with the emperor's assistance, he should conquer Sweden. Consoling himself with these imaginary conquests, he suffered Gustavus to gain other new and solid advantages. This monarch had in the month
of

A. D. 1626.

of February assembled a considerable army, which embarking on board one hundred and fifty ships, he landed at Pillaw, a city garrisoned by the electoral troops of Brandenburg. This place was surrendered to him after a few shot discharged without ball, the governor being corrupted by a sum of money. With the same facility he seized upon Braunsberck and Frawenberg. From thence he led his army to Elbing, which place the inhabitants would have defended, had not the magistrates entered upon certain engagements with the Swedes, whereby they agreed to surrender the town. Marienberg received a Swedish garrison; and in a few days, Mewe, Dirschau, Stum, Christburg, and other places, underwent the same fate. Thus Gustavus got possession of the chief places in Prussia, before his Polish majesty was informed that he had quitted Sweden.

Upon advice of these successes, Sigismund assembled a body of forces, which he detached to recover his losses, and prevent Dantzick from falling into the hands of the Swedes. The Poles appeared before Marienberg, in hopes of surprising it; but the Swedish garrison sallied out so opportunely, and with such intrepidity, that they cut off four thousand of the enemy. In the same manner were the Poles received at Mewe, the siege of which place they were obliged to raise. Their attempts on Dirschau were not more fortunate: after having besieged that town for the greater part of the winter, they were attacked by a detachment of Swedes, defeated, and forced to abandon their works in the utmost confusion, leaving their cannon, tents, and baggage behind.

In the month of May, 1627, Gustavus arrived with fresh forces before Dantzick; and would probably have carried that city, had he not unfortunately been wounded in the belly from a cannon-shot from Kefemure fort. Soon after his majesty had invested Dantzick, the enemy recovered Mewe; and ambassadors arrived from Holland to interpose their influence, and procure an accommodation between the two crowns. However, as they had first visited the Swedish camp, the king of Poland would not admit of their mediation, supposing them to have a bias in favour of his enemy. The Spanish and imperial ambassadors likewise helped to frustrate the effects of this embassy, by repeating their assurances, that they would powerfully assist Sigismund, and send him twenty-four ships of war, fourteen thousand veteran soldiers, and thirty thousand pounds; the first and last articles of which promise were never performed. His Polish majesty, full of these promises, determined to make

A. D. 1627.

*Gustavus
invests
Dantzick.*

make

A.D. 1628.

to make a winter campaign; but Gustavus was so well entrenched, and all the forts were so strongly garrisoned, that he laughed at all Sigismund's endeavours. He was, however, greatly irritated at the resistance made by the Dantzickers. This city was the principal object of his attention, both on account of its wealth, and the prejudice that would result to the enemy by its reduction. Having remodelled his fleet, he gave his admiral orders to attack the Polish and Dantzick squadrons, that were attempting to throw in succours to the city. An obstinate engagement ensued, which, after having continued the whole day, terminated in the defeat of the enemy, and the destruction of their admiral's ship. Another ship of equal size and value was just ready to fall into the hands of the Swedes, when, by an accidental shot in the powder-room, she blew up, after having defended herself with great gallantry for the space of twelve hours. Inspired by this advantage, Gustavus pushed his approaches with vigour on the land-side, having blocked up the harbour with his fleet. Next he made an incredible march through a morass fifteen miles broad, assisted by bridges of a peculiar construction, over which he carried a species of light cannon, invented by himself. By this motion he got possession of a forest that skirted the city, and by so unexpected an approach threw the magistrates, who apprehended an insurrection from the scarcity of provision, into great confusion. They were actually upon the point of surrendering, when a sudden flood of rain swelled the Vistula to so great a height, that, overflowing its banks, it swept away the temporary bridges, ruined the Swedish works, and obliged his majesty to break up his camp, having no alternative but seeing the army drowned or starved. He made, however, the best use possible of his retreat, taking in his way the towns of Newburg, Strasburg, and Brodnitz, in which he found an immense quantity of booty. Soon after Swietz and Massovia were taken by storm, the garrisons put to the sword, and a body of Polish horse cut in pieces as they were endeavouring to intercept a convoy going to Strasburg^f.

*Raises the
siege.*

*Wallenstein's
ambition.*

These transactions by land did not divert the attention of his Swedish majesty from the depredations made by the combined fleets of Spain and Austria in the Baltic. Wallenstein, who had procured the commission of admiral of the Baltic, formed designs upon Stralsund, which city alone he thought obstructed his imaginary possession of the northern ocean. The reduction of this place would have

^f Life of Gust. vol. ii. Loccen. lib. viii.

afforded the opening he desired, and wealth, shipping, and necessaries sufficient to complete the ideal conquest of Denmark, Sweden, and all the northern crowns. The ambition of this project startled Christian, and induced him at first to send powerful succours to the Stralsunders; but finding that Gustavus had the same reasons to wish its safety, he soon devolved that weight on the Swedish monarch. Sir Alexander Lesly, a Scottish officer in the Swedish army, was detached to succour the city with a chosen body of Scotch troops; and having joined lord Rhea's Scotch regiment in the Danish service, both made so stout a resistance as foiled all the attempts of Wallestein, after he had boasted, that if Stralsund was slung to heaven by chains of adamant, he would reduce it. After a siege of three months, he was forced to relinquish the enterprize, and retreat with a half-ruined army, to the great mortification of this vain-glorious but experienced officer^g.

*Gustavus
relieves
Stralsund.*

We now see Gustavus gradually engaged in the affairs of the empire, jealous of the support afforded to his enemies by the house of Austria, and of the ambitious projects of that grasping family. The congress held this year at Lubec created him fresh matter of disgust and uneasiness. To this congress Gustavus sent Oxenstiern and Spar, with instructions to see the dukes of Mecklenburg reinstated, whom, as friends and neighbours, he had taken into his protection. Secretary Salvius was dispatched to Denmark, to obtain from Christian a proper introduction for the Swedish ambassadors to the congress; but his Danish majesty returned a cold answer, referring the secretary to the court of Vienna. Gustavus resented the indignity with his usual high spirit; and he retained so strong a sense of it, that it was afterwards urged as one of his reasons for marching an army into the empire^h.

A.D. 16:9.
*The affront
put on
Gustavus
by the con-
gress at
Lubec.*

While the king was endeavouring to procure a place at the congress of Lubec, his general Wrangel defeated a body of Poles that kept Brodnitz blocked up. Three thousand were left dead on the field, one thousand taken prisoners, together with five pieces of cannon, and two thousand waggons laden with provision. Wrangel would likewise have infallibly taken Thorn, had not general Dorkof thrown himself with a chosen body of troops into the city. This advantage was succeeded by another more considerable victory, obtained by the king in person at Stum, over the combined troops of Germany and Poland. The emperor had sent five thousand foot and two thousand horse under

*Poles de-
feated by
Wrangel.*

*The king
obtains an-
other vic-
tory in
person.*

^g Loccen. lib. viii.

^h Id. ibid.

Arnheim, who joined the main army commanded by the Polish general Coniecpolski, and determined to attack his Swedish majesty, who was encamped at Quidzin. The superiority of the enemy was so great, that the friends of Gustavus represented to him the imminent hazard he run by waiting for them; but they were coldly answered by that monarch, "Our men will take the surer aim." As soon as the battle began, the Swedish horse, contrary to the king's express order, charged with so much impetuosity, that, leaving the infantry behind, they were almost surrounded by the enemy, when Gustavus came up to their assistance, and pushed the enemy's infantry with so much vigour that they gave way, and retreated with precipitation to a bridge they had thrown over the Werder. Gustavus had taken care to secure this retreat, by a detachment sent round to take possession of the bridge. This motion brought on another action, more bloody than the former, in which the king exposed his person to great danger, and twice providentially escaped being made prisoner. At last, however, the Poles were totally defeated, with the loss of a great many men, twenty-two pair of colours, five standards, and several other military trophies. The carnage among the German auxiliaries was so great, that Arnheim scarce carried off half the troops he brought into the field¹.

But this defeat did not prevent Coniecpolski from attempting the siege of Stum, which proved more unfortunate than either of the preceding actions. Here the garrison sallied out upon him with so much vigour, that they repulsed him with the loss of four thousand men. The blame of this misfortune was laid upon Arnheim, who was accused of maintaining a correspondence with the elector of Brandenburg, whose vassal he was, by which means Gustavus was informed of every thing that passed in the combined camp. The Poles complained to Wallestein, and in consequence of this complaint, Arnheim was recalled, and replaced by Henry of Saxe-Lowenburg, and Philip, count Mansfeld. This change in the general-officers, could not, however, stem the torrent of misfortune. A plague raged among the troops, and that produced a famine, the peasants being afraid to carry provision to the camp from a dread of the infection. It was, however, attended with one happy consequence. The Poles, finding themselves equally reduced by the sword, by famine, and the plague, consented to a truce; to which ambassadors from England, France, and Holland, excited Gustavus, that he might be

¹ Puffend. tom. ii.

able to turn his arms against the emperor. After abundance of altercation, at length a truce for six years was concluded. The conditions were, that Gustavus should restore to his Polish majesty the towns of Brodnitz, Stum, and Dirschau; that Marienberg should be sequestered in the hands of the elector of Brandenburg, to be restored again to Sweden, in case a peace should not be concluded at the expiration of the truce. Gustavus, on his side, kept the port and citadel of Memel, the harbour of Pillau, the towns of Elbing, Brunsberg, and all he had conquered in Livonia.

A truce for six years concluded with Poland.

In this manner did Gustavus put a glorious end to the wars with Muscovy and Poland; but he did not long enjoy the fruits of his victories in peace. The resentment he bore to the emperor for the assistance lent to king Sigismund, the eager desire he had to curb the ambition of the house of Austria, to succour the protestant states of the empire oppressed by the edict of Restitution, to gain a footing in Germany, and to extend his own fame, as well as to procure Sweden some consideration in the balance of Europe, determined this hero to march an army into Germany, where he occasioned a most astonishing revolution in the affairs of Christendom, and raised his country to a degree of military fame that will always shine with lustre in the annals of mankind. We need not here enter upon a detail of those religious factions that rent the empire, and inspired Gustavus with the first idea of an invasion. All these particulars have been already recited in a former part of the work. Sufficient it is to observe, that, besides the motives above mentioned, the Swedish monarch was strongly invited by the protestant league, and the houses of Hesse Cassel and Brandenburg; to which England, France, and Holland joined their solicitations^k.

Gustavus resents the emperor's conduct.

Things being in this situation, Gustavus convoked the states of Sweden, in order to deliberate on the propriety of a war with the emperor. As in every thing he studied the inclinations of his people, so, in a matter so important to their felicity, he passionately desired the concurrence of their sentiments with his own. Not chusing, however, to receive any public check in the diet of the states, he first assembled in his own tent the ablest men, civil and military, in his service, to be informed of their opinion. Here he recapitulated the several arguments advanced for and against the proposal; concluding, however, in favour of it, and obtaining a majority of voices to support his determination.

He forms the project of invading the empire.

^k Loccen. *ibid.*

The affair was then carried before the states, where his majesty pathetically enumerated the miseries of the protestant states, the injuries and indignities he had personally sustained from the emperor, the weight that Sweden would acquire in the scale of Europe from taking part in the affairs of Germany, the vanity and insolence of Wallestein, now created duke of Mecklenburg, in prejudice to the rights of the legitimate heirs; with innumerable other topics, which his resentment and ambition inspired. Warm debates arose in the diet upon the subject of the king's speech. Some pleaded, that the revenues were exhausted by a series of war, which, though gloriously finished, could never produce any equivalent for the expence of blood and treasure; that it favoured too much of chivalry to run headlong, out of punctilio, into an unnecessary war against the most powerful sovereign in Europe; that religion was only a cloak used by princes, to cover the secret designs of ambition; that the dukes of Mecklenburg might more effectually be assisted by remonstrances and negotiations than by the sword; that the affairs of the empire properly belonged to the cognizance of the electors and the imperial diet, who would probably not thank a foreigner for interfering; that the protection of the reformed religion was in the hands of God, and not of men; and lastly, that as nature seemed to place the sea as a barrier to secure Sweden from all invasions, so this very circumstance pointed out the absurdity of her interposing in continental quarrels, from which she must ever prove a sufferer. Other arguments were likewise added, with respect to the illegality of attacking the emperor, who had given no just cause for a war; the expences which would necessarily attend such a measure; the little hope there was of succeeding: nor was the power of the enemy, the consumption of men to Sweden, and the present state of the kingdom, passed over unnoticed.

To these arguments Gustavus, and those who followed his opinion, opposed others no less convincing. All attempts, they said, to universal monarchy, in any prince, must be repressed by the neighbouring states, who in time would be swallowed up in the immensity of power such a prince might acquire: a power of that ambitious and encroaching nature must, upon every successive motion, make wider and more dangerous undulations, unless opportunely checked. The fate of a country, removed at a moderate distance from so enterprising a state, might be suspended, but not averted; that if such insults and attacks as the march of the imperial army into Poland were timorously connived

connived at, the character of Gustavus and of Sweden would be very ambiguously transmitted to posterity; that Wallestein, stationed with a fleet at Dantzick, had formed projects very dangerous to the marine and commerce of Sweden; and that the king, in the light of a statesman and warrior, had no other alternative than immediately declaring against the emperor. Gustavus added, that he would submit what was becoming to his own glory, and the good of Sweden, to the breasts of his faithful senate, giving them free liberty to canvas the expediency of the undertaking: "But," says he, with emotion, "I know as well as any person the obstacles, the perils, the fatigues, and nature of the enterprize; yet neither the wealth, the grandeur, nor the veterans of Austria dismay me. There are powers, even in the empire, who will receive me with open arms; and I may assert, that a certain late edict has cooled the flaming zeal of Saxony, if it has not wholly extinguished it. Besides, the imperial army subsists by rapine and military exactions; whereas the Swedish forces are regularly paid, though the revenues of the crown be small; and my soldiers are accustomed to frugality, temperance, and virtue. At the worst, my retreat is secure; and my brave troops shall never want their daily subsistence, though it should be transported to them from Sweden. If it be the will of heaven that Gustavus must fall in the defence of liberty, of his country, and of mankind, he pays the tribute with thankful acquiescence. It is his duty and religion, as a king, to obey the great Sovereign of kings without murmuring, and cheerfully to resign that authority delegated to him for the purposes of the Divine Being. I shall yield up my last breath with firm persuasion, that Providence will support my subjects, because they are faithful and virtuous; and that my ministers, generals, and senators, will punctually discharge their duty to my child and people, because they love justice, respect me, and feel for their country¹."

*Gustavus's
speech to
to the sen-
ate.*

This speech was decisive; the states could not help shedding tears: they beheld their sovereign as a being of superior order, were fired with his noble sentiments, and convinced by his rhetoric. Every thing he required was instantly granted: the plan for prosecuting the war, was referred wholly to him; and the strongest assurances were given, that they would sacrifice their fortunes and lives to support the glory of a monarch so far surpassing the rest of mankind.

¹ Harte, *ibid.*

*State of his
fleets, ar-
mies, and
finances.*

It was not difficult for Gustavus to make the necessary preparations. It was the policy of this prince to keep his affairs on such a footing as if he expected a rupture with some neighbouring power. He retained a set of generals, distinguished for genius and valour. His troops were composed of veterans gleaned from the shattered armies of Mansfelt, duke Christian, and the kings of Poland and Denmark. All were incorporated with the Swedish soldiers; all admired the king's virtue, and soon became the most faithful of his subjects, from punctilio and affection. Ten thousand English and Scotch auxiliaries served under his command. Rivalship and emulation gave spurs to the natural valour of these troops. They gained the confidence of Gustavus, and were honoured with the execution of the most delicate and most arduous enterprizes. In his second German campaign one would have thought the Swedish army had been led entirely by British officers. There were not fewer than six generals, thirty colonels, and fifty-one inferior field-officers of that nation. The Swedish troops were hardened by a succession of severe campaigns in Russia, Finland, Livonia, and Prussia. They seemed expressly formed to endure labour and fatigue. No soldiers in the universe exceeded them in temperance, patience, perseverance, and subordination. On the eve of this war his whole force amounted to sixty thousand men, and his fleet exceeded seventy sail, mounting from forty to twenty guns, and manned with six thousand mariners.

A.D. 1630.

Supported by such a military and naval power, Gustavus projected the vast design of humbling the house of Austria in the zenith of its grandeur, of acquiring more weight in the scale of Europe, of protecting the oppressed protestant interest, and transmitting his own name to posterity among those of the most illustrious heroes. In a manifesto he declared his reasons for invading the empire. He invited the protestant states to co-operate with his designs, and was not discouraged at the backwardness they expressed, attributing their caution to fear. He paid little regard to the negotiation which was on foot between the emperor and the king of Denmark; the motives of both were known to him, and he prosecuted his schemes with a constancy, perseverance, and circumspection, altogether extraordinary in a prince so young, so full of ardor, vivacity, and the love of glory. Embarking his troops, he arrived off Usedom on the 24th of June, and immediately effected a landing, the imperialists evacuating Wollin and all the fortresses they possessed. The isle of Rugen had before been reduced by general Lessly, to secure a retreat should fortune frown upon
the

*Gustavus
enters Ger-
many.*

the king's endeavours. Passing the streight, Gustavus stormed Wolgait, distributing the plunder amongst his troops; another strong fortrefs in the neighbourhood sustained the same fate; and Bannier, with a garrison, was left for the defence of these conquests. His next enterprize was against Stetin, which he no sooner invested than the duke of Pomerania consenting to receive a Swedish garrison, the duke's troops were incorporated with the king's army. This was a happy stroke, and greatly facilitated the designs of Gustavus, by anticipating the imperialists, who had advanced as far as Gartz, with a view of gaining possession of this important city. But the policy of the Swedish monarch went farther; he persuaded the duke to form an alliance with him; and this affair was executed so suddenly, and conducted with such address, that the emperor imagined it must have been previously concerted. In consequence of this alliance, the king's troops were received into several towns of the duchy; and the most bitter animosity subsisted between the imperialists and Pomeranians, each refusing the other quarter^m.

These successes overwhelmed the empire with consternation. All was in confusion by the rapidity of the Swedish king's motions. Distracted by civil dissension, Germany was in no condition to stem the torrent and resist the warlike Gustavus, flushed with victory, and supported by the finest army in Europe. Besides, the imperialists were without a general, the supreme command being disputed by a number of candidates of very unequal merit. All parties assisted in degrading Wallestein; and the emperor was reduced to the necessity of paving the way gently towards his dismissal. The elector of Bavaria considered that general as his rival; he thought himself entitled to the chief command, and yet was too judicious to accept an employment for which he had no natural genius. Eloquent, artful, penetrating, and sagacious, he wanted that elevation of soul that constitutes the hero; yet he was ambitious of directing the army, by raising to the chief command one of his creatures, to whose capacity there could possibly be no objection. Count Tilly was fixed upon as the tool for executing these designs: accordingly that general was vested with the commission of veldt-mareschal; and the elector was highly elated with the prospect of directing every thing agreeable to his own pleasureⁿ.

Mean while, Gustavus being reinforced by a considerable body of troops in Finland and Livonia, under the con-

^m Loccen. lib. viii.

ⁿ Id. *ibid.* Puffend. tom. vi. lib. vi.

duct of Gustavus Horn, resolved to drive the imperialists out of Mecklenburg; accordingly he attacked and defeated them before Griffenhagen, and then laid siege to that place, which, after an obstinate defence, he took by assault. The plunder was given to the soldiers, but not the smallest outrage or irregularity was committed; such was the rigid discipline maintained in the Swedish army. By this and less considerable conquests, Gustavus opened a passage to Lusatia, Brandenburg, and Silesia; but the advantage was not obtained without some retribution on the side of the enemy. Count Tilly invested New Brandenburg, defended by Kniphausen, and a garrison of two thousand infantry. Kniphausen's instructions were to evacuate the place, and join the main army; but imagining he could withstand all the efforts of the enemy, he kept his ground, and was forced by the young count de Montecuculi, who with a handful of men rushed impetuously into the breach, drove the besieged before him, and took the town sword in hand with prodigious slaughter. Near two thousand Swedes perished on this occasion, and only Kniphausen, with a few officers, experienced the clemency of the victors. Gustavus was affected with the loss of so many brave soldiers; but he prevented the enemy from deriving any benefit from their conquests. He invested Frankfort on the Oder, a town strongly fortified, and garrisoned by nine thousand veterans, under the conduct of count Schomberg. The king's army employed in the siege was not more than double the number; but his train of artillery was the finest at that time seen in Europe: it exceeded two hundred and sixty pieces of heavy battering cannon. The defence was obstinate but fruitless: Gustavus stormed the town, took it sword in hand, and made the whole garrison prisoners, except about two thousand who were killed in the breach.

The reduction of Frankfort was of the utmost consequence to Gustavus; by means of it he commanded the rivers Elbe and Oder on both sides, and had a fair opening, not only to the countries above mentioned, but to Saxony, and even the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria. The imperial general, in order to obstruct the king's progress, resolved laying siege to Magdeburg, in hopes of drawing Gustavus to a battle; but his majesty, instead of marching to the relief of this city, laid siege to Landsberg, and forced the garrison. It was remarkable, that the corps he employed in this siege was so inconsiderable, that he had thoughts of sending to the main army for a reinforcement before the prisoners should march out. As they were greatly

greatly superior in number, he apprehended they might possibly venture to give him battle in the open field °.

About this time the protestant princes of the empire held a diet at Leipfick, to which Gustavus sent deputies. It was now that he equally displayed the talents of a soldier and a statesman. With the utmost address, and steadiness of conduct, he almost compelled the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony into a treaty of alliance; and during the negotiation, levied contributions sufficient for the maintenance of his army in the marquisate. This important blow being struck, he invested Gripfwall, where Perusi, a knight of the Golden Fleece, commanded. This officer was brave to a degree of chivalry; but disliked by his soldiers on account of his avarice, which, next to the love of military glory, was his predominant passion. Gustavus was struck with the beautiful works erected by this officer for the defence of the place, which, however, proved of little service. Perusi made a fally, and was killed, and with him died the spirit of the garrison. The place surrendered, and thus all Pomerania was reduced, for which success the king ordered solemn thanksgivings to be observed in all the churches of Sweden. He then marched to Gustrow, to the relief of the dukes of Mecklenburg, and soon reinstated them in all their dominions^p. Walstein had kept possession of this duchy, and exercised such tyranny, that Gustavus was received as the deliverer of the people; and the ceremony of the duke's inauguration performed with all possible magnificence.

Count Tilly had all this while been employed in the siege of Magdeburg. He now left Pappenheim before that city, and marched with all the rest of the army into Thuringia, to attack the landgrave of Hesse Cassel and the princes of the house of Saxony, particularly the elector, who, in consequence of his late treaty with Gustavus, was regarded as the avowed enemy of the house of Austria. The king hearing of this motion, marched towards the Elbe, and encamped at Werben, where he was joined by the landgrave of Hesse, who was the first and most steady of all his German allies. The emperor began now to alter his opinion of Gustavus, whom he had called in derision a king of snow; that would melt as he approached a warmer climate. Contrary to expectation, he found his army daily increasing, and the Swedish monarch at the head of a formidable confederacy of German princes. He was forced to

He obliges the elector of Brandenburg and Saxony to embrace his cause.

A.D. 1631.

° Harte's Life of Gustavus, tom. i. Puffend. ubi supra. P Id. ibid.

*He marches
towards
Saxony.*

acknowledge the intrepidity and policy of Gustavus, and he had already experienced those troops who were now about to give him more fatal proofs of their valour. Tilly had orders to march into Saxony, while Pappenheim was committing the most horrible cruelties in Magdeburg, which city he reduced after an obstinate struggle. Gustavus was invited by the elector, and prepared with all expedition to follow the imperialists into Saxony. He formed the design of recovering Magdeburg, but was frustrated by the progress Tilly was making in the electorate, and by Pappenheim's throwing himself with his whole army into the city. Having relinquished this enterprize, in order to gain the command of the river Havel, he ordered Bannier to attack Havelburg, a service which he performed with astonishing resolution, the place being forced in the space of a few hours, and the whole garrison taken prisoners. Werben was the next object of the king's operations. Bautzen and Ortemberg attacked this fortress with undaunted courage, and carried it with considerable loss on both sides, after an obstinate conflict. Nothing indeed seemed impossible to the Swedish soldiers, fighting under the eye of a monarch whom they regarded as invincible. These advantages obliged Tilly to endeavour checking the progress of the Swedes. With this view he detached the vanguard of his army, composed of the flower of the imperial cavalry, within a few miles of the king's camp. After a brisk skirmish, Bernstein was defeated and killed, with fifteen hundred of his men; an advantage of the utmost consequence to the king, as it disheartened the enemy, encouraged his own army, and gave him time to recall all his detachments. Nothing could be more judicious than the situation upon which Gustavus fixed. He had it in his power to attack count Tilly, to prevent the elector of Saxony from wavering from his engagements, to retreat or advance to the southward. He was supplied with every necessary by means of the Elbe, and the fertile surrounding countries. His circumstances were in every respect so superior to that of the enemy, that they fired Tilly with indignation, and made him march up to the Swedish lines and offer battle. Gustavus wisely kept within his works. He perceived that the imperialists breathed nothing but vengeance: he knew the fire and courage of the general, from whom some striking blow was expected, would induce him rather to attack the intrenchments than retire: Gustavus, therefore, carefully maintained this advantage. Every thing fell out agreeable to his conjecture: Tilly resolved upon making trial of his fortune against Gustavus;

he

he led his troops with great intrepidity against a camp almost impreguably fortified, and continued firing at the same time with the utmost fury from a battery of thirty-two pieces of cannon, which, however, produced no other effect than obliging the Swedish monarch to draw up his army behind the walls of Werben. The imperialist placed his chief hopes in being able to nail up the enemy's cannon, or set fire to their camp in divers quarters. With this view he bribed some prisoners, who took his money and discovered his design to Gustavus. The king turned the circumstance to his own advantage, by ordering fires to be lighted in different parts of his camp, and his soldiers to imitate the noise of a tumultuous, disorderly rabble. Tilly did not doubt but his stratagem had taken effect; he led his army up to the breach which had been effected by his cannon, where he was received with such a volley of grape shot as cut off the first line, put in disorder whole ranks, and rendered it impracticable to bring back the soldiers to the charge. While they were in this confusion, the imperialists were attacked in the rear by general Bauditzen, who sallied out of another quarter of the camp with great resolution, fought with impetuosity, and was received by Tilly with equal valour and capacity. This general ordering his army to halt, brought the artillery to bear, and soon convinced the Swedes that he was formidable even in his retreat. The conflict was short; Bauditzen, in the transports of courage, pushed into the midst of the enemy, and was taken prisoner in despite of his most desperate efforts, and was soon after released by the incredibly furious push made by young Valdestein, with a small party which fought its way back with unparelled resolution. Here it was that the duke of Saxe-Weymar first displayed that courage which burst forth in the full blaze of glory at the death of Gustavus. The loss on both sides was considerable. The victory was bloody to the Swedes, and the defeat not inglorious to the imperialists; but the chief advantage deduced by Gustavus was the retreat of Tilly to Magdeburg, and the spirits it diffused into the Swedish army, who found themselves equal in valour to the enemy, and their king superior in conduct to their celebrated general. For the space of fifty years, Tilly was esteemed the greatest officer in Europe; a reputation founded upon a rapid course of victories obtained in thirty-six successive battles. This repulse somewhat diminished his high character, and convinced the world that Tilly was neither unrivalled in the art of war, nor invincible.

Tilly is repulsed.

Soon

*A body of
English
auxiliaries
enter the
camp.*

Soon after this action, the queen of Sweden arrived in the camp with a reinforcement of eight thousand infantry, after having narrowly escaped shipwreck. At the same time a treaty was concluded with Charles I. of England, whereby that monarch permitted the marquis of Hamilton to raise six thousand men for the service of Gustavus. By stipulation, the English auxiliaries were to be conducted to the main army by a body of four thousand Swedes: they were in every thing to obey the orders of Gustavus; but in the king's absence to be under the entire direction of the marquis: and lastly, the whole corps was required to take an oath of fidelity to his Swedish majesty. From the spirit of this treaty it appears, that Gustavus desired to be considered not in the light of a suppliant prince, but as the head, protector, and asserter of liberty and religion, oppressed by the pride and bigotry of the house of Austria. The marquis soon raised his contingent, and arriving, by orders from Gustavus, at Bremen, he found it impossible to effect a junction with the Swedish army, a circumstance which made him resolve, without landing his troops, to steer his course for the Oder, and land his forces at Ushedom. This step disconcerted the king's project, and exceedingly irritated him, as his intention was that the auxiliaries should make a diversion in the territory of Bremen. To make the best of circumstances he now altered his plan, and disposed the British corps to act on the Oder instead of the Weser. France magnified this little army to triple its number. Germany was thrown into confusion by so inconsiderable a body as six thousand men; and Tilly found himself gravelled in his proceedings. Once he thought of marching in person against the marquis; but that nobleman's departure for Silesia, determined him to reinforce the army in that country by a strong detachment, to which we may in some measure attribute the defeat, of which we are about to speak, at Leipfick.

Ever since the late action between the Swedes and imperialists, Gustavus kept within his intrenchments, where his army was luxuriously provided with every necessary. Tilly, after his repulse, made several efforts to surprize the camp, and draw the king to an engagement; but finding all endeavours fruitless, he bent his march towards Saxony, determined either to lay the electorate desolate, or compel the elector to declare in favour of the emperor. Notwithstanding the invitation given Gustavus, the elector was actually negociating a treaty with the house of Austria; but he dreaded lest the army under count Tilly should prove insufficient to protect him against the resentment of the
Swedish

Swedish monarch. On the other hand, the imperial army was no less terrible: while he was thus balancing which of his engagements to perform, Tilly marched into the heart of his country, and laid siege to Leipfick. Nothing could be more favourable to Gustavus than this measure taken precipitately by the imperial general, by which the elector was in a manner forced to declare in favour of the Swedes, merely to preserve his country from utter destruction. The king's policy, as well as the count's rashness, contributed to determine the elector. Gustavus appeared all phlegm and indifference with respect to which side he took: Tilly was all fire, eagerness, and impetuosity; he endeavoured to accomplish by dint of arms, what the other more effectually performed by counsels. Soured by numberless disappointments, which rendered his old age still more peevish, and incensed to see the laurels collected by fifty years services, withered by the glory of Gustavus, he resolved to pour out his whole vengeance. Recalling, with this view, all his detachments, he rushed like a torrent into Saxony, and overwhelmed with consternation that unhappy electorate⁹.

A method of proceeding so contradictory to common sense, must appear very inconsistent with the general conduct of the experienced Tilly. Some writers, for this reason, endeavour to throw the blame on the court of Vienna, and even expressly affirm, that the count was ordered to ravage Saxony, and lay siege to Leipfick, unless the elector immediately declared against Sweden. No sooner was Leipfick invested than the elector dispatched Arnheim to the king's camp, requesting him to march to his relief. Though Gustavus was delighted with a proposal, the happy consequences of which he foresaw, yet he received it with an air of dignity, and told the ambassador that nothing more than he had repeatedly predicted to the elector, had happened. Had his highness, he said, followed his admonitions, neither Magdeburg would have experienced the cruelty of an incensed enemy, nor Saxony been reduced to its present wretched situation. He concluded with acquainting Arnheim, that he had formed a project of employing his troops to advantage elsewhere, and that honour obliged him to assist the elector of Brandenburg, and the princes of Lower Saxony. In the end, however, he concluded a treaty, whereby it was agreed, that the electoral prince of Saxony should reside as a hostage in the Swedish camp; that the town of Witttemberg should be put into his

*Treaty
with the
elector of
Saxony.*

⁹ Loccen. *ibid.* Harte, *ibid.*

hands; that the elector should furnish his troops with three months pay; that he should produce the traitors of the Austrian faction, who had perverted his counsels, and submit their punishment to the king; and lastly, that a treaty offensive and defensive should immediately take place between Sweden and Saxony. Arnheim was instructed to acquaint the king, that not only the prince, his son, but the elector himself proposed residing in the Swedish camp, as he was determined to embark his life and fortune in the cause of Gustavus and of Sweden. It was farther added, on the part of the elector, that he would undertake to subsist the Swedish army during its residence in his dominions; that he would resign the chief command entirely to the king, and engage his honour not to conclude a peace without the entire consent and approbation of Gustavus^r.

In this situation stood affairs, when Tilly invested Leipfick with an army composed of forty-four thousand veterans. He summoned the governor immediately to surrender, denouncing the same vengeance if he refused that had been poured down upon Magdeburg. The governor requested liberty to consult the elector: but this being denied, he quietly obeyed the summons. Next day he capitulated for the castle of Passenberg, that might have easily held out until the Swedish army had come to its relief. The elector, enraged at the loss of this valuable city, posted to the Swedish camp, ordered his army to join the king's with all expedition, and so pressingly insisted upon giving the enemy battle, that Gustavus yielded to his eagerness. Tilly expected to have attacked the Saxons separately; for which purpose he had quitted his advantageous situation before Leipfick, and advanced to Brechtenfeld. Here Gustavus resolved to fight him on equal terms. Accordingly he marched his army within sight of the imperialists, and there halted to refresh the soldiers. It was expected that Altringer, with a strong reinforcement, would in a few days join the count, and this supposition precipitated the king's measures. On the 7th day of September he led his troops in the most beautiful order to the field of battle, marching slowly and silently, the Swedes forming one column on the right, and the Saxons another on the left, each amounting to fifteen thousand men. Tilly, disdainful of the assistance of a second line, drew up in one vast front, in hopes possibly of surrounding the flanks of the king's army; but every experienced officer in the field prognosticated the event of the engagement, from the excellency of the Swe-

*Battle at
Leipfick.*

^r Chemnit. Bel. Succ. German, lib. i.

dish disposition. Gustavus, distinguished by a green feather in his hat, led on the attack against that wing of the imperialists conducted by Pappenheim; and after a violent conflict drove that brave general back to such a distance, as gained his troops a point of the wind, by which means the smoke fell upon the enemy, and considerably embarrassed their proceedings. This extraordinary effort was made in order to get without the reach of a vast battery, with which count Tilly played furiously on the Swedish flank. Mean while general Bannier cut in pieces the troops of Holstein, headed by their brave duke, who being closed in between two columns of Swedes, received a mortal wound, upon which his soldiers begged quarter. Pappenheim was all the while making the most furious attacks on the Swedish column, in hope of regaining his former situation. Seven times he led on his troops to the charge, and was as often repulsed by the Swedes, though unsupported by the Saxons, who were soon driven off the field by count Tilly. Now the whole imperial strength was pointed against the Swedish left, where general Horn commanded; but he sustained the attack with admirable firmness, until he was relieved by Gustavus, who would seem to have placed but little confidence in the Saxons. Without being at all discomposed at their retreat, he ordered general Teuffel with the centre to assist Horn; a service which he performed with such intrepidity, that Tilly's prudence, authority, and example, could not prevail on the imperialists to renew the attack. Here it was that the Scotch regiment first practised the method of firing by platoons, to which Mr. Harte ascribes the astonishment and confusion that appeared in the imperial army. In a word, the enemy were defeated, all except their centre, composed of eighteen regiments of veteran infantry, accustomed to victory, and deemed invincible. The efforts they made to maintain their reputation were glorious. Pierced through, and swept off in whole lines by the artillery, they never shrunk or fell into confusion. Four regiments in particular, after their officers had been killed, formed themselves, and retiring to the skirts of the wood behind, baffled the united efforts of the Swedish army, and never demanded quarter, but were to a man cut in pieces. Tilly shed tears at the fate of his brave Walloons, and at last retreated at the head of six hundred men who were not to be conquered. It was, however, to the darkness of the night, more than to their valour, that they owed their safety. Tilly was once taken prisoner, and refusing to surrender, a Swedish officer fired his pistol; but missing his aim, was shot dead by the duke of Saxe-Lawen-

Lawemburg, who had the honour of releasing his general. Seven thousand imperialists were left dead on the field, four thousand were taken prisoners, all were dispersed, a fine train of artillery was lost, with above a hundred standards, ensigns, and other military trophies; but, what was more than all, the emperor's measures were entirely broken, and the projects of the catholic league wholly disconcerted. The design of Poland likewise to break the league, and attack Prussia, while Gustavus was employed in Saxony, vanished into smoke. On the contrary, the German protestant interest took courage, and began to plan the means of totally throwing off the yoke of imperial bondage. Such were the consequences of this important victory^s, which raised the military reputation of Gustavus to the highest pinnacle of glory, and will transmit him to posterity among the greatest warriors of Europe.

*Mistake
committed
by Gusta-
vus.*

It is, however, the general opinion, that Gustavus distinguished more genius in obtaining than judgment in pursuing this victory. Had he advanced to Vienna during the consternation of the imperialists, and before they had time to collect their spirits and forces, it is probable the emperor would have been forced to abandon his capital, and leave his hereditary dominions to the mercy of the conqueror. Instead of taking this step, the king attacked Musburg, and put the garrison, consisting of a thousand men, to the sword; after which exploit, he entered the circle of Franconia, while the elector of Saxony was laying siege to Leipfick. Thus Tilly was left at liberty to unite his dispersed forces, and again to form a very considerable army, by the junction of the corps under the generals Altringer and Fugger. The truth is, Gustavus apprehended that Tilly might fall upon the Saxons, while he was ravaging the Austrian hereditary dominions, by which means he might be deprived, not only of an ally, but of the free quarters provided for his troops in case of the necessity of a retreat. It was this consideration that prevented his pursuing the enemy through Brunfwick to the Weser, a pursuit which it was apprehended would be equally prejudicial to the common cause as an irruption into Austria, since it might draw the whole load of the war on the princes of Lower Saxony, and expose to the enemy's fury the protestants of the higher circle. This circumstance, and the advice of the elector of Saxony, determined Gustavus to penetrate into Franconia, by which means he hoped to gain the affections of all the reformed in Ger-

^s Loccen, lib. ix.

many. His chancellor, Oxenstiern, remonstrated against this measure; but the duke of Weimar strongly supported it, and at last carried his point.

Gustavus sent certain persons of credit to engage the protestants of High Germany in his interest, and the scheme succeeded; all freely declared in his favour, except the town of Nuremburg, which started a variety of scruples. In Franconia the king reduced a number of places, particularly the fortrefs of Workburg, to the relief of which Tilly marched, but too late to execute his purpose. He had by that time assembled an army of eighteen thousand infantry, and eighty-two troops of horse, and was soon after joined by Charles, duke of Holstein, with twelve thousand men, so that he again exceeded the Swedish army in point of numbers. Disappointed in his intention to relieve Workburg, he directed his march towards Rottenberg, but had the misfortune to lose four regiments, who were attacked and cut in pieces by a Swedish detachment. After this advantage it was that the king surpris'd Hanau and Frankfort on the Maine, turning from thence to the side of the Palatinate, at that time possessed by the Spaniards. On his entering the country he demanded to know of the governor De Sylva, whether he was to regard him as a friend or an enemy? and upon being answered, that his instructions were to assist the elector of Mentz against the Swedes, he deliberated whether he should not declare war against the Spaniards, or only treat them as the allies of the catholic league, without coming to an open rupture with the court of Madrid, which latter opinion prevailed, from an apprehension that the Swedish commerce might suffer from the depredations of the Dunkirkers. However, he cut in pieces a corps of Spaniards, who endeavoured to obstruct his progress, and throw themselves in his way at Oppenheim. The Spaniards who garrisoned the city of Mentz, surrendered by capitulation, and were conducted to Luxemburg.

So rapid was the progress of Gustavus, that the court of Vienna sent every where begging assistance, and soliciting the catholic princes to arm in support of their religion. Yet what most embarrassed the emperor was, the difficulty of finding a general capable of making head against Gustavus, whose name became terrible in Germany. Tilly's good fortune would seem to have forsok him; and his imperial majesty by no means approved of the proposal made by the Spaniards of setting the young king of Hungary to oppose so masterly a genius as the Swedish monarch, notwithstanding he could bring powerful levies into the field. The

general voice favoured Wallestein, an old experienced general, greatly beloved by the soldiers, and so rich that he could raise an army at his own expence. But one difficulty remained: it was a question whether that haughty officer would accept of the command, of which he had been once deprived. At length this objection was surmounted; Wallestein, at the instigation of his friends, was persuaded to accept of the charge for the ensuing campaign, by which time he engaged considerably to augment the army at his own expence. He performed his word, and in a few months drew no less than forty thousand men out of the emperor's hereditary dominions, a circumstance which may be justly numbered among the unhappy consequences of Gustavus's failing to pursue the blow given at Leipfick.

A. D. 1632.

For the whole winter the Swedish army in a manner kept the field, as they were continually sent in strong detachments to reduce certain towns; and in the spring a fruitless negotiation was set on foot by the king of Spain for obtaining a neutrality for Bavaria, and several other catholic states. Before the summer approached, the Swedes had reduced Crantzach, Bobenhausen, and Kirchberg on the Moselle; they had retaken Magdeburg, in Lower Saxony; William, duke of Weimar, had got possession of Gozlar, Noheim, Gottingen, and Duderstadt, while the landgrave William made great progress in Westphalia. Gustavus Horn, indeed, had been repulsed with loss before Bamberg; but he had his revenge by entirely destroying two regiments of imperialists. To prevent the loss before Bamberg from affecting his troops, the king resolved to give battle to Tilly, who had marched into Bavaria to keep the Swedes from gaining footing in that electorate. He pursued the imperial general through a vast tract of country, came up with and defeated his rear guard, and reduced a variety of towns and fortresses on the Danube, penetrating as far as Ulm. Advancing to the Leck, count Tilly posted himself in a wood on the opposite side to dispute his passage; and the king endeavoured to dislodge the imperialists by a terrible, regular fire from the mouths of seventy pieces of cannon. The slaughter he made was dreadful: Tilly was wounded by a cannon-ball in the knee, and died in a few days before he must have sustained the disgrace of losing the chief command. On the night following the imperialists evacuated the post, some retiring to Ingollstadt, and others to Newburg, leaving the passage free to the Swedish monarch. The king

*Count Tilly
is killed.*

now led his whole army into the electorate of Bavaria, and put garrisons into Rain and Newburg, which were abandoned by the imperialists. Augsburg was next reduced with little trouble, and Gustavus exacted an oath of fidelity from the inhabitants, not only to himself but to the crown of Sweden. What his motives were for so unpopular an act we cannot conjecture; certain it is, that the measure gave great umbrage to several well-disposed persons of the Germanic body, who now began to harbour suspicions that he entertained farther notions than the mere defence of the protestant interest. From Augsburg, the Swedes advanced with design to lay a bridge over the Danube, to chase the Bavarians out of their own country, and to get possession of Ratisbon; but this design was frustrated by means of two strong forts on the river. One of these indeed surrendered, but the Swedes were repulsed before the other. The king had in the attack a horse killed under him, and the marquis of Baden was shot by his side. After all his efforts, he was baffled in the design of gaining possession of Ratisbon, into which the Bavarians had thrown a very numerous garrison.

While the Swedes were before Ingolstadt, ambassadors arrived in the camp from the king of Denmark, offering that prince's mediation to terminate the differences between Sweden and the house of Austria. To their proposal Gustavus answered, that no solid peace could be obtained until the protestant interest united, and obliged the catholics to grant such conditions as might secure their future tranquillity. Something stronger was necessary to tie them down to their engagements than mere wax and parchment. As the ambassadors had no instructions to propose any thing farther, the negotiation ended as it begun. Gustavus resolved to set bounds to the Austrian ambition, and would listen to no conditions which had not that object in view. Retiring now from Ingolstadt, he intended to let the Bavarians feel the same barbarities which their prince had exercised for some years against the protestants of the empire; and accordingly laid Morzburg, Freisingen, and Landshut, in ashes. The inhabitants of Munich saved their city by their submission; they brought the keys to Gustavus, and he contented himself with seizing upon forty pieces of cannon, which he ordered them to send to Augsburg. As the peasants collected themselves in bodies, and murdered all the stragglers from the Swedish camp, the king ordered their houses to be burnt, and at one time defeated a considerable body of militia, which had joined the elector's regular forces.

*The elector
of Saxony
wavers in
his attach-
ment to
Gustavus.*

While Gustavus was employed in the reduction of Bavaria, Wallestein had assembled a vast army. He was intreated by the elector to come to the assistance of his people; but in revenge of the preference that prince had obtained for count Tilly, the general suffered him to remain for some time in the utmost perplexity. Instead of directing his arms to Bavaria, he turned suddenly towards Bohemia, with a view of drawing the Saxons out of that kingdom, notwithstanding they had for the season but little promoted the common cause, owing to the practices of Arnheim, who was the friend of Wallestein, and the secret enemy of Gustavus. Arnheim had been reproached by the king for his cowardice; and though he had not the soul openly to resent the indignity, yet he could never forgive the king's raillery, when he complained of the injury done his reputation. It was this chiefly which fixed him the inveterate enemy of Sweden, and set him on contriving, by every secret artifice, the means of detaching the elector from the protestant alliance; a project not very easy in the execution, after the important services the king had done Saxony. From these motives he prevented the progress of the Saxon army in Bohemia, and suffered Wallestein to gain an easy victory, in hopes that the elector, his master, a prince devoted to pleasure, would soon be tired of so restless and warlike an ally as Gustavus. Others of the elector's counsellors were likewise in the emperor's interest. They continually sounded in his ears, that the Swedish monarch aspired at the imperial diadem; if he succeeded they alleged, that his highness would find himself in different circumstances than at present, under the government of the house of Austria. The dukes of Weimar, who had strongly insinuated themselves into the king's good graces, would then probably lay claim to the electoral dignity. The elector Palatine, they said, would doubtless endeavour one day to revenge the injuries which had been done him by the Saxons. It was evident from his conduct at Augsborg, that Gustavus proposed annexing Germany to the crown of Sweden; and it was an affront to an elector, who was at the head of the protestant league, to be rendered subordinate to a barbarous northern prince. With such arguments did his courtiers rouse the pride, ambition, and terror of this prince, while his Danish majesty laboured, by a different method, to hold the balance even between Gustavus and the emperor. This was no other than forming an alliance with England, Holland, and the circles of the Higher and Lower Saxonyⁿ. Moved by different rea-

ⁿ Harte, tom. ii.

sons, and actuated by a variety of contrary motions, the elector was greatly embarrassed; but the disgraceful manner in which his troops had been driven out of Bohemia by Wallestein, confirmed his pacific disposition.

Pappenheim's success, as well as the advantage in Bohemia, raised the spirits of the imperialists. After Gustavus had recalled the dukes of Weimar and Bannier from Lower Saxony, to join him in Bavaria, Pappenheim reduced and cruelly ravaged great part of the country. He defeated a party of Swedes before Haxten, reduced Eimbeck, and made an irruption into Bremen, as far as Stade, which he now proposed ceding to the king of Denmark, with a view of embroiling him with Gustavus. The proposal to the court of Copenhagen was made with the utmost secrecy. Christian long wanted the opportunity of seizing upon Bremen; and the only difficulty in embracing the offers of the imperialists arose from the apprehension of breaking with Sweden. To try the temper of the Swedes, a body of troops was sent to Gluckstadt and Friburg, under some specious pretence; but they no sooner arrived than the king of Sweden ordered them to quit the country, and on their expressing some reluctance, the archbishop of Bremen began to enter upon measures to compel them. The Swedes were directed to assist the archbishop, and even to make an irruption into Holstein, should it be found necessary; upon which Christian perceiving the difficulty of the enterprize, thought proper to apologize to Gustavus, and recall his forces.

But the Swedish arms were not altogether successful against the imperialists. Pappenheim defeated the archbishop's cavalry at Werden, and surpris'd a body of Swedish infantry before Stade. Three Swedish regiments were likewise cut-off near Kedingen; nevertheless Pappenheim was forced to retire, and withdraw the garrison from Stade, of which the Swedes took immediate possession. The Spaniards too were successful on the Upper Rhine, where, besides a number of other places, they reduced Spire. As the prince of Orange had made an irruption into Brabant, they were recalled to the Netherlands, a circumstance which put a stop to their conquests, and subjected their rear to a defeat from the Swedes, who pursued them as far as Treves, and took a great number of prisoners. As to Gustavus, he found sufficient employment in Higher Germany. Wallestein, and the elector of Bavaria, threatened to give him battle with greatly superior forces. From a victory they proposed nothing less than the entire suppression of the protestant interest; and, circumstances considered, they had the

utmost reason to expect that fortune would be propitious. The Swedes were dispersed through every quarter of Germany; the forces led by Gustavus were inconsiderable; they hoped to fall upon him before he could be joined by his detachments; but they did not reflect, that the genius of Gustavus was equal in itself to an army, and that his intuitive quickness never suffered him to be at a loss upon the most critical occasions. After the elector had strongly garrisoned Ratisbon and Ingolstadt, he marched to Eger, to join Wallestein. The king pursued him through the Upper Palatinate, in hopes of giving him battle before the armies were united; but the expedition of the Bavarians obliged him to return to Hirsburg, and he endeavoured to chuse an encampment where he could not be forced, or reduced to the necessity of fighting with unequal numbers. The situation he fixed upon was in the neighbourhood of Nuremberg; the plunder of which place Wallestein had promised his troops, as soon as they should have possessed the Swedish garrison. To draw the king from this post, the imperialist made a motion as if he proposed entering Saxony; but Gustavus was too well acquainted with his stratagems to be deceived. After having boasted that a few days should determine whether the king of Sweden or himself were to be the masters of the universe, he changed his purpose of fighting, said he had fought battles enough, and he would now try another method of gaining victories. His design was to starve the king in his camp, or oblige him to quit his post, and thus evacuate Nuremberg. Flattered with this hope he encamped in an advantageous situation, detaching a great body of cavalry to occupy the necessary posts. In effect, he obliged the Swedes to leave off their foragings; but they were plentifully supplied from Nuremberg. In this manner the armies lay encamped for several weeks, until the king, being reinforced by fifteen thousand men, drew out his troops and offered battle, which Wallestein refused, not caring to leave the fate of the empire to be decided by a single engagement. Finding Wallestein was determined against fighting, Gustavus raised vast batteries against his camp, which he played with unremitting fury, in order to draw him out of his lines; but failing in his purpose, he resolved to attack his intrenchments sword in hand. Most of his generals in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from this measure; but the king was resolute. He began the attack, supported it with the utmost vigour, relieved one party by another, continued the engagement for several hours, and was at last forced to retire with the loss of two thousand

*Gustavus
is repulsed
by Wallestein.*

thousand men, without having made the least impression. The landgrave of Hesse, and other Germans in the king's army, complained, that he employed their troops in those desperate attacks, as if their lives was a matter of indifference; and indeed a general murmuring and discontent prevailed in the camp, at a step so rash, precipitate, and fatal, which might justly be deemed the greatest error in the conduct of Gustavus; an error arising from the impetuosity of his courage.

Thus stood affairs at Nuremberg, while Pappenheim was performing great actions in Lower Saxony. In divers encounters and bloody skirmishes, he defeated the allies. The troops of Hesse were put to the rout near Walkmarsen; the duke of Lunenburg, and general Bauditz, were forced to abandon the siege of Callenberg. Next he relieved Wolfenbuttle, reduced Hildeshiem, and took the route of Thuringen, in order to join Wallestein. His successes were chiefly owing to the dissensions among the confederates, the rivalship of the Swedish generals, and the desire each had of commanding a separate corps, which dividing their strength, rendered them an easy prey. Bauditz was among those whose ambition exceeded their prudence. He had acquired reputation as a general of cavalry; but his vanity led him to desire the command of infantry. He had performed excellent service in a subordinate station: this was his proper sphere, and not what he eagerly grasped at, the command of a separate army. The misconduct and treachery of Arnheim rendered the confederate arms equally unsuccessful in Saxony and Misnia. They consisted of sixteen thousand men, a force sufficient to perform great actions, yet was nothing effected besides the reduction of Glogau. Arnheim held a secret correspondence with Wallestein, and removed from the frontiers of Misnia, in order to facilitate the intended irruption of the imperial general, and dispose the elector more powerfully to pacific measures. The Spaniards assisted Arnheim in his endeavours to detach his master from the Swedish interest; but Gustavus omitted nothing that could engage the fidelity of that prince. He sent the count palatine Saltzbach to Augustus, to set before his eyes every object that could captivate his judgment. He insisted upon the necessity of uniting the protestants, as a proper barrier against the house of Austria, and the only measure that could prevent their being enslaved singly. All the power of that ambitious family arose from the discord of the confederates. A

resolution to act with unanimity would soon turn the scale in their favour, and enable them to chuse an emperor out of their own number. The count added, that considering the services performed by Gustavus Adolphus, in rescuing the princes of the empire from bondage, no one had so good a right to the imperial diadem. The gratitude of the electors, and his own signal merit; the power he had to defend the reformed religion, to curb the insolence of the catholics, and to enlarge the protestant interest, confessedly raised the Swedish monarch above all rivalship. Nor was the elector of Brandenburg less strenuous in urging the necessity of a general assembly and union of the protestants. This prince was entirely devoted to Gustavus, from the prospect he had of establishing an alliance between their families, by the marriage of the electoral prince to Christina, princess of Sweden. To accomplish this purpose, he laboured with the utmost zeal, from which he hoped to deduce an immediate advantage, namely, that of avoiding certain disputes likely to arise concerning Pomerania. However, the elector of Saxony's answers were general; nothing to the purpose could be extorted from him, and he declined, with great address, touching upon the principal business, because he proposed squaring his conduct according to conjunctures*.

These negotiations Gustavus was carrying on while he resided at the camp at Nuremberg. He resolved now to quit this situation, because he could neither oblige Wallestein to evacuate his post or give battle. Before he decamped, a strong garrison was thrown into Nuremberg, in case of an attack; and then Gustavus divided his army into two bodies. The command of one he gave to duke Bernard, with orders to remain in Franconia; the other he led in person towards the Danube and Bavaria. Immediately Wallestein broke up, and bent his course to Misnia, with intention to oblige the elector of Saxony to detach himself from Gustavus, and to draw the Swedes out of Bavaria to the succour of their ally. Already general Holken was committing dreadful ravages in Voigtland; this consideration altered the king's intention of protecting the protestant princes, to which he was strongly advised by Oxenstiern. Couriers every minute arrived from Saxony, and pressing letters from the elector, requesting his immediate assistance. Without reflecting upon the inconstancy of Augustus, he generously flew to his aid; he pined his misfortunes, while he despised his conduct. He feared his

* Lœcen. lib. ix. Harte, *ibid.* Puffend. tom. vi. lib. vi.

consternation would induce him to conclude a peace with the emperor, to the prejudice of Sweden and her allies; and he hoped, that his being so near might remedy the disorders that prevailed in the states of Lower Saxony. Leaving Gustavus Horn with an army in Alsace, where he had made considerable conquests, and Birkenfeldt, count palatine, in Bavaria, he joined count Bernard, and marched with incredible diligence to Misnia, where the imperialists were assembling their whole strength. He had recalled the duke of Lunenburg from Lower Saxony, and that prince was advanced as far as Wallemberg to join him; but hearing that the enemy were encamped at Weisenfells, and that Pappenheim had been detached with a strong corps, Gustavus resolved to attack the imperialists before they could again effect a junction. With this intention he marched to Lutzen, where he fought that memorable battle that robbed Sweden of her greatest monarch. He attacked Wallestein with incredible fury; the Swedish infantry behaved with astonishing valour; broke the imperialists in despite of their utmost endeavours to keep firm; and took all their artillery. The cavalry not being able to pass the river so expeditiously as the king thought necessary, he led the way, attended only by the regiment of Smaaland, and the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg; he charged with impetuosity, and was killed, as Puffendorf alleges, by the treachery of the duke, who being corrupted by the emperor, shot him in the back, amidst the heat of the action (A).

*Battle of
Lutzen.*

*Gustavus
is killed.*

The

(A) With respect to the king's death there are a variety of different opinions. Some writers positively assert, that the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg was the author: that he had entered as a volunteer in the Swedish service, under pretence of some affront given him by the emperor; and that Oxenstiern cautioned the king against confiding in a prince, whose desertion shewed how little he regarded the laws of honour. Gustavus, however, could not conceive, that a prince of his birth and general character, could possibly assume the character of a base

assassin: he therefore suffered him constantly to attend his person, out of respect to his rank. It is the opinion of other writers, that having defeated the enemy's right wing, the king was posting with all expedition to the other wing, where the Swedes were put in confusion. On his way he met a company of imperial horse, who ran him down, and trampled him under their feet. The most prevailing notion is, that receiving a pistol-bullet in the arm which shattered the bone, he endeavoured to conceal the wound for fear of dispiriting his troops; but

The report of his death soon spread itself over the whole army: the imperialists now made sure of the victory, but they were deceived. Animated by rage and despair, the Swedes redoubled their efforts, and determined to perish or revenge their brave monarch. Their attack was furious and irresistible; the imperialists were broke, defeated, and driven from the field, just as Pappenheim, with his fresh corps, came up to their assistance. This, for a time, stemmed the torrent; the action was renewed, and Pappenheim performed miracles, but he could not resist the impetuosity of the Swedes. He was mortally wounded, and the imperialists a second time were defeated and dispersed, with the loss of nine thousand men slain in the field and pursuit. However, the victory was bloody, and indeed fatal to Sweden and the protestant cause, as it was purchased with the life of the magnanimous Adolphus, the darling of his subjects, the terror of the house of Austria, and the admiration of Europe. It would be unnecessary to dwell upon his character; every action of his life displayed the hero, the statesman, and the sovereign; all was noble, sublime, and generous; even the shades of his reputation proceeded from a virtuous ambition; the inseparable attendant on true elevation of soul.

S E C T. IX.

Containing the Reign of Christina to her Abdication in the Year 1654.

A. D. 1633.

State of Sweden of the allies, and of the imperialists.

SWEDEN was plunged into the deepest affliction by the death of Gustavus. In an instant she beheld herself hurled from the summit of glory and power, to the dreadful condition of falling a prey to her neighbours, of being oppressed, ruined, and enslaved. The crown was settled upon a female infant; divisions were likely to arise about the tutelage of the queen; a foreign war had exhausted the finances, depopulated the country, and destroyed commerce; and the nation was threatened with all

but overcome with the extremity of the pain, he was retiring from the field, when a soldier, who did not know him, levelled his piece, and killed him on the spot. Amidst such discordant assertions, it is impossible to ascertain the truth. Sufficient it is, that all agree the imperialists were worsted before the king fell (1).

(1) Vide Harte, Loccen. Puffend. &c. ubi supra.

the horrors of a tedious minority. The signal victory of Lutzen, and the unfortunate circumstances of the imperialists, contributed however to support the spirits of the Swedes. Duke Bernard succeeded Gustavus in the command of the army; and he pursued the blow given at Lutzen with so much vigilance and address, that before the end of the year the enemy were almost entirely driven out of Saxony.

Before we proceed to military operations, it will be necessary to take a view of the situation of both parties after the death of Gustavus. Though the imperialists were baffled in every endeavour, subsequent to the death of the Swedish monarch, yet they considered the loss of that prince as a real defeat to the allies, though the consequences of it did not immediately appear. They foresaw that this great event would breed division in the confederate army; that the Swedish peasants, no longer dazzled by the virtues of their monarch, would refuse paying the heavy taxes with which they were loaded, for the support of the war; that the Swedish troops perceiving themselves destitute of a head vested with sovereign authority, would relax in their discipline, grow turbulent and mutinous, and at last disperse themselves, wherever inclination, or the hope of plunder directed; and that Denmark would gladly seize this opportunity of resenting the distance at which she had been long kept by Gustavus. Wallestein, however, knew the valour of the Swedish troops, and the great abilities of the duke of Weimar. He presaged, that if the issue of the war proved fortunate, yet it would probably be tedious and bloody; he therefore advised the emperor to propose an armistice, in order to settle the preliminaries of a general pacification. Instead of giving ear to this prudent advice, his imperial majesty, full of hope that the occasion now offered of completing all his designs, made vigorous preparations for continuing the war: the Spaniards and the elector of Bavaria entered into his sentiments, and new levies were directly set on foot in every quarter.

On the other hand, the protestants of Germany were all in consternation: they had flattered themselves with the hope of securing their religion and liberty by means of Gustavus; they had even been so sanguine as to think of settling the imperial diadem on the head of a protestant; but now the foundation of that edifice, which they had reared with so much care and labour, was destroyed; their hopes were disappointed, because they saw no person capable of filling the vast chasm left by Gustavus. They knew all the dissensions between the Swedes and Germans would
be

be renewed; the latter could not think of giving the lead as usual to the former; yet they were sensible of the impossibility of succeeding without their assistance: they even saw unavoidable destruction before them, unless seconded by Sweden. Some were for profiting by the Swedish troops, keeping them in good humour until their views were accomplished, and then sending them back to their own country. Others pretending that the alliance with Gustavus was dissolved by his death, proposed treating separately of their affairs; a measure which was the more necessary, as the success which had hitherto attended their affairs was not owing to the power of Sweden, but to the personal valour and abilities of Gustavus.

As to Denmark, the policy of that court was very different from what the emperor expected. Christian, instead of giving ear to the proposals of the aulic council, flattered himself with the thoughts of reuniting the Northern crowns by the marriage of the prince royal with the young queen of Sweden. France was secretly pleased with the death of Gustavus; but cardinal Richelieu still desired the continuance of the friendship of Sweden, as a proper balance to the power of the house of Austria. He knew that the diversion made by the Swedes alone, withheld the emperor from attacking France with all his forces: besides, this minister regarded the troubles in the empire as a happy opportunity of extending the French dominions from the Rhine to the Moselle. By these, and a variety of other reasons, the king of France was induced to write to Oxenstiern and the Swedish generals, exhorting them steadily to pursue the plan so nobly laid, and hitherto so bravely and vigorously prosecuted, assuring them on his part of all possible assistance. Similar promises were made by England and Holland. As to the king of Poland, he conceived some hopes of conquering Sweden; and he might perhaps have tried his fortune, had he not been harrassed by the Muscovites, who obliged him to defend his own dominions. But of all the powers in Europe, the Russians alone sincerely regretted the loss of Gustavus, whose virtues they admired, whose friendship they cultivated, and whose assistance they had reason to expect against the Poles, their ancient and inveterate enemy.

*Christina
proclaimed
queen of
Sweden.*

Such was the situation of Europe, with respect to Sweden, when Christian, at the age of six years, ascended the throne, and was publicly proclaimed. The regency was committed to the heads of the five colleges; namely, to the grand bailiff, the marshal, the high-admiral, the chancellor,

chancellor, and the treasurer of the crown. The chief direction of affairs was intrusted to the chancellor Oxenstiern, whose prudence and great experience had rendered him equally the favourite of his late master and of the nation. Oxenstiern was at Hanau when he received the news of the king's misfortune. Though overwhelmed with grief, he did not neglect the interest of his country. His greatest apprehensions arose not so much from the power of the enemy as from their zeal and unanimity, and the discordant views and interests of the protestant allies. The first act of the regency was to fix up placards against king Sigismund and his family. All correspondence with the kingdom of Poland was prohibited; and exhortatory letters were dispatched to all the governors of provinces, and bishops, to use their utmost endeavours in keeping the people in their duty and obedience to the government of Christina. Next they made great preparations for supporting the foreign war in which the kingdom was involved. This department, and the whole direction of affairs in Germany, was assigned to Oxenstiern, who was acquainted with the temper of the people, and the views and policy of the several princes, having resided for some time in quality of ambassador from Gustavus to the powers of the circles of the Upper and Lower Rhine. All his prudence, however, was scarce sufficient to surmount the difficulties he had to encounter: the pride and dignity of electors and sovereign princes could not easily stoop to the direction of a private gentleman, a foreigner. The rivalry among the generals, most of whom were Germans, presented another obstacle: Oxenstiern foresaw, and resolved to overcome every thing by dint of vigilance, perseverance, and policy. In the present state of affairs, it was next to impossible to preserve all their conquests in Higher Germany: to abandon them suddenly would expose the protestant interest to great danger, dissolve the confederacy, and greatly endanger the safety of the Swedish army, by dispiriting the troops, and depriving them of a retreat. Oxenstiern proposed the absolute necessity of maintaining the alliance with the four circles of Suabia, Franconia, and the Lower and Upper Rhine. To deliberate on proper measures, he convoked an assembly at Ulm, which was afterwards transferred to Hailbron; and he laboured the more diligently to promote this meeting, because the elector of Saxony was endeavouring to get the chief direction of affairs into his own hands, by consent of the protestant princes. That prince had, indeed, exerted fruitless attempts to break up the diet at Hailbron; but the chancellor penetrated and defeated

*Oxenstiern
conducts
affairs
with great
prudence.*

feated his designs during a visit which he made to his electoral highness at Dresden. He made proposals to Augustus, but could only obtain shuffling answers, though supported by all the weight of the elector of Brandenburg, who remained firm to the engagements contracted with Gustavus Adolphus. The elector of Saxony complained that Oxenstiern assumed too much power in Germany; and particularly resented, that a chancellor of Sweden should presume to hinder the duke of Brunswic from assembling the circle of Lower Saxony, under the pretext that the right of convoking was vested in the archbishop of Magdeburgh, now subject to the crown of Sweden.

In defiance of all obstructions, Oxenstiern went on pursuing the interest of his country, and planning the means of retaining the Swedish conquests. His first step was to send back some regiments for the security of the kingdom, to detach the duke of Lunenburgh with fourteen thousand men to drive the enemy out of Lower Saxony and Westphalia, and to send duke Bernard with the remainder of the army into Thuringia, to act in conjunction with Gustavus Horn. Old count Thurn was appointed to command in Silesia, where the face of the Swedish affairs had hitherto borne an unfavourable aspect. His chief object was to retrieve matters in that duchy, and at the same time to prevent the irruption of the imperialists into the Marche and Pomerania. Gustavus Horn had reduced the greater part of Alsace, and now entering Suabia, he defeated a body of Bavarian cavalry, commanded by general Kempten, preventing their taking quarters in the territory of Wirtemberg, and routing another entire regiment of dragoons, near Simmeringen. Nor was George duke of Lunenburgh less successful in Westphalia, where he reduced several towns, defeated count Mansfeldt, and laid siege to Hamel. The landgrave William over-ran the greater part of the diocese of Munster; but nothing was transacted in Silesia, on account of the divisions which reigned between the Swedes and Saxons. Arnheim assumed a kind of despotic authority, affecting to employ the Swedes as auxiliaries; the Swedes resented his usage, looked upon themselves as principals, and assumed the lead, as they had done in the life-time of their glorious monarch.

Oxenstiern's prudent conduct managed the diet at Hailbron to the best advantage. A league was formed between Sweden and the four circles; the chief direction of affairs was intrusted to the chancellor, in quality of plenipotentiary from the queen of Sweden; but the assembly thought proper to assist him with a council elected by consent of all the

the allies. Franckfort on the Maine was pitched upon for the place of his residence, and here he set about the necessary preparations. He had already discovered, that at Dresden they laboured to conclude a separate peace, to the exclusion of Sweden. This he opposed with all his might; in order to fortify himself against all events, he re-established the children of Frederic, count Palatine, in the electoral dignity; by which step he hoped to secure the friendship of England, the states general of the United Provinces, and the whole house of Palatine. He entered into treaty with France, and kept fair with Denmark, though he did not fail to watch narrowly the designs of the court of Copenhagen. His prudence quelled a dangerous tumult in the army under duke Bernard and Horn, supposed to be fomented by the latter, with a design of procuring the sole command; but all his caution could not foresee the disasters that fell out in Silesia, owing to the perfidy of Arnheim, who furnished Wallestein with an opportunity of surprising and defeating the Swedes, and at last of driving them out of the duchy^a.

The loss on this side was ballanced by the advantages gained in another quarter, through the diligence of Bauditz, who defeated the imperialists near Andernach. The landgrave William took Paderborn by assault; and William duke of Weimar repulsed a corps of imperialists in Franconia. Horn and other Swedish generals made rapid conquests in different places; but the most important was the reduction of Hamel, which surrendered at discretion to the duke of Lunenburgh, after he had defeated a party of five thousand men sent to its relief. In this action the enemy left three thousand men dead on the field of battle, though the victory was gained with no greater loss than three hundred men on the side of the allies. The city of Osnabrug was reduced by another body of Swedes under Kniphausen; and Horn made frequent successful invasions into the enemy's country, and would have certainly been in possession of the city of Constance, but for want of battering cannon. General Altringer, and a body of Italians under the duke de Feria, entered Alface, with intention to succour Philipsburg, which was besieged by the Swedes; but they were baffled by the diligence of Horn, who drove them out of the country, pursued them across the Rhine into Suabia, and harrassed their rear so grievously, that they were forced to throw themselves into Bavaria. Duke Bernard was so fortunate as to take Ratisbon by surprize; he af-

^a Loccen. lib. ix.

terwards he ravaged Bavaria, and reduced Straubingen and Deckendorf; but he was deterred from pursuing his conquests, by intelligence that Wallenstein was on his way from Bohemia to attack him. Here the imperial general had been extremely successful, over-running with astonishing rapidity a great number of towns and cities, insomuch that he might have penetrated to the Baltic, had he not been repulsed by the prudent measures taken by duke Bernard. Fortune, indeed, crowned with success the endeavours of the allies in every quarter, except in Bohemia and Silesia. In the latter, the war daily became more burthensome. Arnheim and the Saxons were grown bold in their treachery; they even almost avowedly kept up a correspondence with the enemy. Besides, France drained the country lying betwixt Basle and the Moselle; Holland regarded the Swedish conquests with a jealous eye; England interposed indeed but little in the affairs of the continent, but the king expressed a partiality to the Spaniards. Even the elector of Brandenburg could not be relied upon, because he began to despair of succeeding in the proposed union between his son, the electoral prince, and the young queen of Sweden. All Pomerania declared against the Swedes; and a variety of other false friends, or avowed enemies, were now discovered; though the greatest troubles arose from the infidelity of the Saxons.

A.D. 1634. Amidst all these difficulties, hedged in on every side by danger, and even weakened and exhausted by victory, Oxenstiern laboured to support the protestant interest, and to keep a confederacy, composed of so many members, closely united. One circumstance, however, merely accidental, contributed more to rouse their spirits and animate the Swedes, than all the endeavours of the chancellor. Wallenstein, by the machinations of his enemies, was disgraced at the imperial court, deprived of the command of the army, and afterwards assassinated. It was expected that this event would have thrown the imperialists into confusion; but it did not produce all the advantages hoped for by the allies, though it furnished duke Bernard with an opportunity of cutting in pieces a complete regiment of infantry. Horn was extremely fortunate in Upper Suabia, and the rhingrave had one continued flow of uninterrupted success in Alsace, where he defeated a body of imperialists, and reduced several important places^b.

These various turns of fortune in the operations of the field, made no change in the proceeding of the assembly

^b Puffend. lib. vi. tom. vi. Loccen. ibid.

held at Francfort. The chancellor had invited all the protestants to unite closely, in order to procure reasonable conditions of peace. The preliminaries were debated, but the rhingrave appeared too strongly attached to his own particular interest to pay any regard to the common interest of the league. What occasioned the warmest dispute was, the compensation to be made to Sweden for having so freely lavished her blood and treasure for the support of the protestant powers of Germany. Some mentioned Pomerania as a province that would be extremely agreeable to that nation, on account of its situation with respect to the other territories of the Swedish crown in the Baltic; but the elector of Brandenburg opposed, with all his interest, the giving a gratuity which must prove extremely prejudicial to him. Every other scheme met with similar objections; and almost the whole summer was consumed in those fruitless deliberations. In the beginning of autumn, the young king of Hungary, now at the head of the imperial army, desirous of signalizing his valour, marched towards Ratisbon, and laid siege to that city with numerous forces. Immediately duke Bernard and Horn entered Bavaria to its relief, but too late; the Swedish garrison, after a vigorous defence, had surrendered before their arrival. Those two generals had besides the mortification to see their troops extremely harrassed by the enemy, prevented from foraging, and reduced to great necessities by the imperialists posted at Nordlingen. This rendered the Swedes eager to come to a general action: every general in the army approved of attacking the enemy except Gustavus Horn, who advised waiting for the rhingrave, who was on his march with four thousand men, to reinforce the combined army. Even duke Bernard was for determining the fortune of the war by a single battle; and he was confirmed in this opinion by the fear of losing Nordlingen, which the imperialists were besieging vigorously. A motion was made to take post on Arensberg, an eminence from whence they could easily succour the besieged. To execute this purpose, the duke, who commanded in the van, charged the imperialists who were drawn up at the foot of the hill, and repulsed them with considerable loss, pursuing them beyond the eminence of which he was to take possession. Horn was for taking his station at Arensberg, as proposed in the council of war; but he was taxed with cowardice, and the unanimous voice was for pursuing the advantage already obtained; at length Gustavus Horn unhappily yielded to their impetuosity. Determined to wipe off their reflexions, he pushed on, to drive the Spaniards from an eminence on which

The battle of Nordlingen.

The Swedes defeated.

they had fortified themselves the night preceding. From break of day till noon the Swedes fought with the utmost fury, repeatedly renewing the charge with such obstinacy as they never upon any former occasion discovered, though all to no purpose. After the battle had raged for eight hours, and the field was covered with carnage, they were forced to abandon the enterprize, and pass through a valley to regain possession of Arensberg, where they ought at first to have remained. This design they must certainly have accomplished, had not the left wing, composed of Germans, been put in disorder, and the horse driven back on the foot. Then began a horrid slaughter, particularly of the Swedish infantry, of whom six thousand were left dead on the spot. A great number fell into the hands of the enemy; and among the prisoners was Gustavus Horn, whose valour had never appeared so conspicuous as when it proved unfortunate. All that conduct and courage could suggest he practised; he flew among the troops, reminded them of Gustavus, Leipzig, and Lutzen; they fought like men in despair, but it was impossible to redeem the error, so hard were they pressed by their own cavalry, and the whole weight of the enemy. All the artillery was lost, together with one hundred and thirty standards, and other trophies, which were taken by the imperialists; in a word, the defeat was total, and the blow so decisive, that the Swedes never afterwards appeared so formidable.

Oxenstiern's constancy was shaken by this sudden and unexpected misfortune; but he soon recollected himself; and instead of disbanding, applied diligently to repair the loss, by recruiting the army, and retaining the allies steady in their fidelity. The latter was the greater difficulty; the assembly at Hailbron were overwhelmed with consternation, deprived of every faculty, and disposed to receive whatever conditions the conquerors should prescribe. Oxenstiern and the Swedes were accused as the authors of all their misfortunes, though a little before they were extolled as the sovereigns of Germany, and protectors of religion and liberty. The chancellor's chief aim was to gain time, and endeavour, by all his address, to engage France in the quarrel, though he had hitherto tried to exclude that power from the affairs of the empire. By this expedient he hoped still to obtain an honourable peace, whereby Sweden might retain her conquests along the Baltic. With this view he refused, though strongly advised, to withdraw the troops from Higher Germany, from an apprehension that if he evacuated all the places he possessed on that side, it would be difficult to draw France into the war, and impossible to
keep

keep the imperialists from falling, with their whole strength, upon Lower Saxony. Besides, the Swedish forces were still considerable. All the corps under duke George, William landgrave of Hesse, Banier, and the rhingrave, remained complete; and, if united into one body, were capable still of making head against the forces of the emperor. It was discord alone that rendered the Swedish affairs desperate, and the chancellor's schemes hazardous. The elector of Saxony was labouring to effect a peace, to the exclusion of Sweden. The confederates were slow in their deliberations; the enemy were suffered to penetrate into the heart of Germany, and thereby to prevent the junction of the allies; the more distant members of the league paid little regard to the chancellor's remonstrances; their troops, who had escaped from the defeat at Nordlingen, completed the misfortune on that occasion by, now growing mutinous for their pay, and refusing to march until all their arrears should be advanced^c.

Under these circumstances the chancellor solicited the court of Versailles to order the mareschal de la Force to advance with his army, in order to afford the dispersed troops of Sweden an opportunity of rallying; and to give his request some weight, he offered to cede Philippsburgh. The rhingrave too, perceiving the impossibility of preserving all his conquests in Alsace, ceded the whole province, except Bensfeld, to the French, and marched with his army towards Strasburg. By these means the Swedish affairs were entirely ruined in Higher Germany, and the country of Wirtemberg was over-run by the imperialists. Duke Bernard, unable to support his troops in his present quarters, passed the Rhine, entered Veteravia, and proceeded to Bergstrafs, where he remained inactive during the whole season. As to Banier, he had done little to retrieve the Swedish affairs, though he was at the head of a considerable army in Bohemia, from whence he passed into Thuringia after the battle of Nordlingen, the better to assist the confederates. However, he did not chuse to advance farther, lest the enemy should cut off his communication with the Baltic. It was better, he thought, to maintain his posts, augment his army, and keep a strict watch over the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg. The conduct of the latter began to grow extremely mysterious, and the former had actually concluded a separate peace with the emperor at Pirna, which was afterwards ratified at Prague.

^c Loccen. *ibid.* Puffend. *ibid.*

It was after this manner that the late defeat had introduced confusion into the Swedish affairs, by entirely changing the dispositions of the allies, shaking the constancy of those who had hitherto continued steady, and entirely detaching others who before were wavering. The states of Sweden and the chancellor now sought nothing so eagerly as an honourable peace; but the enemy, flushed with success, would hearken to no terms but entire restitution, which Sweden was not yet reduced low enough to grant. Nothing, however, appeared so advisable, as engaging France in the alliance; for which purpose Oxenstiern went in person to the court of Lewis, and concluded a treaty, that was never observed. His next care was to satisfy, if possible, the demands of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg. He imagined Augustus might yet be gained, were his pride and avarice sufficiently gratified; but all his endeavours to this purpose proved fruitless. Mean while the imperialists sailed directly before the gale of fortune, surprised Philipburgh, where the French had laid up vast magazines, and reduced Spire, by which conquest they secured a footing on the opposite side of the Rhine. The Spaniards surprised Treves; the city of Augsburgh was forced by famine to capitulate; Wurtzburgh, Coburgh, Pappenheim, and other places, fell into the hands of the enemy. The landgrave of Hesse was reduced to extremities; duke Bernard made no progress; the elector of Saxony, not satisfied with deserting the Swedes, joined the imperialists, attempted to surprise Halberstadt and Magdeburgh, and establish a footing in Thuringia. All men were astonished to see this prince making vast preparations for war, at the very time he had concluded a treaty with the empire: but his motives were now obvious; he intended to assist in compelling the Swedes to quit Germany, should they refuse voluntarily to renounce their conquests, which had cost the kingdom so much blood and treasure. He even gained the elector of Brandenburg to make favourable concessions to him with respect to Pomerania.

To increase the misfortunes of Sweden, the neutrality for Poland was on the point of expiration; it was expected the Poles would immediately invade Prussia, to guard against which invasion, a powerful army was detached thither, under la Gardie; but as it appeared impossible to resist such a number of enemies, the chancellor purchased the friendship of Poland for twenty-six years, by ceding Prussia to that republic. France, England, and Holland, exerted their utmost influence to procure this cession; the first,

A.D. 1635.

*Treaty
with
France.*

first, in order to enable Sweden to continue the war in Germany; and the two last for commercial reasons, the Swedes having laid heavy duties upon all commodities imported to Prussia. Though by this expedient the chancellor got rid of a powerful enemy, still he had vast difficulties to encounter. He could place confidence in none of the confederates; the army under Banier grew mutinous for want of pay, and he was totally destitute of money. Besides, the elector of Saxony was practising every art to seduce the army, and the troops had even presumed to enter upon a negotiation with Augustus, who flattered them with magnificent promises. It was likewise discovered, that the Saxon was endeavouring to cut off the communication of the Swedes with the Baltic, to prevent which evil, Oxenstiern repaired with all diligence to Wismar, while Banier led his troops to the duchy of Brunswick, leaving a strong garrison in Magdeburgh. Thus Augustus gained possession of both sides the Elbe, whereby he was enabled to disturb the Swedish general in his new quarters, and even to cut off all his resources. Sensible of the impending danger, Banier exerted every quality of a good officer, to extricate himself. Assembling his army, he pushed on to Altemburgh, where he defeated the van of the Saxons, and pursuing his advantage, detached all his cavalry and a thousand infantry, to attack a body of seven thousand Saxons, who had crossed the Elbe with intention to surprize Domitz. Here the Swedes displayed their usual gallantry; they attacked the enemy with such impetuosity, that general Bauditz, who commanded the Saxons, was entirely defeated, with the loss of one thousand men left dead on the field, and two thousand five hundred prisoners, most of whom enlisted in the Swedish service. The consequences of this victory were important; the Swedish troops recovered their vigour; the Saxons were driven beyond the Elbe, forced to take shelter in Brandenburgh, and winter-quarters were established for Banier's troops in the Marche ^b.

Banier defeats the Saxons.

Notwithstanding the affairs of Sweden assumed a happier aspect, Oxenstiern had still great difficulties to encounter, and the emperor gained an important point in bringing the Swedes and Saxons to an open rupture. By this, Higher Germany was entirely lost, and the crown of Sweden deprived of all her allies, except the landgrave of Hesse, who was almost overpowered by enemies. France was prevented from declaring against the emperor, by the de-

A.D. 1636.

^b Puffend. tom. vi. lib. vi.

signs she formed upon Italy and the Netherlands; Holland refused being concerned in the German war; and as to England, that kingdom began now to bleed under the scourge of civil divisions. For these reasons the chancellor refused to ratify the treaty with France, because that crown would not perform her engagements; however, he concluded an eventual treaty with Chaumont, the French ambassador, which was to be extended and enlarged in the space of three months. By this Oxenstiern gained time to establish the negotiation on a better footing, and to wait the event of his military operations, which were planned with such vigour as promised success. Banier was appointed to act on the Elbe with the main army; Wrangel, with a strong detachment, was destined to make a diversion on the banks of the Oder; and general Lesly was detached towards the Weser, to drive the enemy out of Westphalia, or at least to preserve a footing in that country. Thus, although the Swedes had lost their allies, although their enemies were accumulated, yet they gained one very considerable advantage; it was that of sending their forces wherever they pleased, of pushing their operations with vigour, and of being unencumbered with litigious, false, useless friends, more pernicious to their affairs than open and avowed enemies.

Early in the spring the Saxons made certain motions which indicated an intention to cut off Banier's communication with Pomerania. This he perceived; but not chusing to hazard a battle, he resolved to baffle their designs by a stratagem. He advanced with his infantry to Werben, ordering the cavalry to repair with all diligence to Magdeburgh, and to seize the bridge to keep open the communication between the two corps. In his march he defeated a body of the enemy, and then posted himself at Hall; a circumstance which obliged the Saxons to return to Wittemberg. Their intention was to give battle to the Swedes, and the armies lay encamped within sight of each other, only divided by the Sala; they attempted to pass the river, but were always repulsed. After some time spent in this situation, Banier removed his quarters to the opposite side of the river, to canton his troops, and the Saxons went into winter-quarters, where they were beat up, and defeated by the Swede, together with a body of imperialists that came to their assistance. Banier now in the midst of winter made several motions, which extremely harrassed and perplexed the enemy, but produced no general action. Kniphausen defeated the imperialists in Westphalia after an obstinate conflict, in which they lost one

one thousand five hundred of their best soldiers; but unfortunately he was killed in the pursuit, and his troops were obliged to repass the Weser. Some advantages likewise were gained by general Lesly, in the neighbourhood of Minden, where he had assembled a considerable army; in a word, the Swedish operations were this year every where more vigorous and fortunate than in the former.

To the successes already mentioned, duke Bernard added some others, obtained in Lorrain and Alsace, over the imperial general count Gallas, whom he attacked and defeated, dispersing his army. But these advantages were balanced by some losses on the side of Saxony. Magdeburgh, contrary to the expectation of all men, surrendered to the elector for want of powder, which the garrison had wantonly consumed. Banier advanced to the relief of the city; but finding it had surrendered, and that he was too weak to make head against the enemy, he recalled Lesly from Westphalia, and marched to Werben, to facilitate a junction. Hearing that the Saxons had made conquests on the farther side of the Elbe, he hastened to Domitz, to prevent that important place from falling into their hands. This motion obliged the Saxons to turn towards Mecklenburgh; upon which the Swede repassed the Elbe, and went to meet Wrangel, whom he expected from Pomerania. The enemy had seized a very advantageous post in the neighbourhood of Perleberg, from whence they hoped gradually to destroy the Swedish army, and reduce the duchies of Mecklenburgh and Pomerania. They doubted not of forcing the Swedish garrisons by famine, and flattered themselves, that, when they were reinforced by the imperialists, they should be in a condition to defeat the whole Swedish army, should Banier venture to give battle. The Swede, however, determined to try his fortune rather than suffer by scarcity in his camp. He advanced towards Perleberg, which was closely blocked up by the enemy; and drove from a convenient post four regiments of Saxon cuirassiers, with the loss of four hundred men. His army amounted to nine thousand horse and seven thousand foot; a force greatly inferior to that of the Saxons, whose numbers exceeded thirteen battalions and fifteen thousand horse, all encamped in a strong situation. Banier endeavoured to draw them to a battle upon equal terms, and with this view attacked Havelberg and the fortress of Werben. This step produced the effect; the enemy marched out of their camp to cover a detachment sent to Old Brandenburg, and the Swede seizing an eminence, to prevent their return, forced them to engage. As their

*Banier de-
feats the
Saxons.*

post was covered by a forest, he marched along the skirts of the wood, to attack them in flank, ordering the other wing to make a circuit to the right, in order to possess a post which must greatly incommode the Saxons. The battle began with great fury, and was continued with obstinacy by the Swedes, who had almost sunk under the weight of numbers before they could be seconded by the left wing. Ten times they returned to the charge, and at last fought with such vigour, that the enemy were broke, put in confusion, and defeated^c. In the pursuit the carnage was terrible; five thousand Saxons perished by the sword; three thousand were wounded, and near as many taken, together with one hundred and fifty standards and colours, and several pieces of cannon.

A.D. 1637.

So signal a victory obtained over an enemy greatly superior, and finely situated, restored the lustre of the Swedish arms, and raised Banier to the highest pitch of reputation. The consequences of this victory were extremely important; the courage of the Swedes revived; the states of Higher Germany entertained hopes they might again be able to re-establish their affairs; France and Holland seemed to declare more openly in favour of Sweden; and the vast designs formed by the king of Denmark vanished into smoke. Banier was also enabled to repass the Elbe, to penetrate into Thuringia, and to chase the imperialists through Hesse into Westphalia. Thus were all the emperor's vast expectations disappointed. He flattered himself, that the Saxons would not only be able to drive the Swedes out of Germany, but likewise give a dangerous blow to France, while count Gallas might, with a considerable army, make an irruption into Burgundy. The Saxons were cut in pieces; and as to Gallas, he returned from his expedition with about half his army, the rest having perished by the sword and by famine.

During the winter some fruitless negotiations were set on foot; but Oxenstiern finding there was no prospect of peace, and that the imperialists and Saxons were assembling, to strike some decisive blow early in the spring, he ordered Banier to exert his utmost endeavours to disarm the princes of Lunenburgh, and the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony. Banier's numbers were very unequal; ye he did not content himself with acting defensively. Quitting winter-quarters early in the season, he fell upon eight regiments of Saxons, cantoned at Eulenburgh, pursued them to Torgau, and there obliged them to surrender

^c Puffend. ubi supra.

at discretion. The officers he dismissed, but the greater part of the soldiers enlisted, and were incorporated in the Swedish regiments. He defeated another party of Saxons in the territory of Henneberg, after which exploit, he proposed investing Leipzig; but his design was frustrated by the imperialists, who penetrated through Westphalia into Thuringia. This circumstance determined him to call in his detachments, and endeavour to prevent the enemy from crossing the Sala; but though he was baffled in this attempt, he had the good fortune to defeat two thousand imperialists near Pegau, and destroy several detachments that attempted to obstruct his march.

Notwithstanding all these advantages, Banier was greatly embarrassed. He assembled his army in the neighbourhood of Torgau, where he perceived he must, in a short time, be necessarily hemmed in by the enemy, whose forces were daily augmenting. It added greatly to the perplexity of his situation, that he could neither enter the Marche nor Pomerania, both being totally destitute of the necessaries for supporting an army. Westphalia was at too great a distance, and besides entirely out of the course he proposed. He therefore resolved to wait in his present encampment until he could be joined by Wrangel, and enabled to hazard a battle. Every thing that sagacity could foresee, or prudence direct, was effected; but the enemy gradually straitened his quarters, and Banier found that he should be forced singly to sustain the whole weight of the imperialists and their allies. He might indeed have penetrated into Higher Germany, and joined duke Bernard; but his orders were express, the regency enjoining him to be particularly careful of all that Sweden possessed towards the Baltic. To ward against the impending danger, he decamped with precipitation from Torgau, and directed his course to Pomerania. The enemy pursued; but the address and celerity of Banier saved his army. In the day he made several motions which deceived the imperialists, and at night, by forced marches, left them far behind, and uncertain with respect to his destination. Once his rear was attacked; but the Swedes behaved with such gallantry, that the enemy were repulsed with great slaughter. At length he reached Lower Pomerania, after having escaped the most pressing dangers, and soon obliged count Gallas to evacuate the province; but the future misfortunes of Wrangel brought the Swedish affairs again into the most critical situation^d.

*Critical
situation
of Banier.*

^d Loccen. lib. ix. Puffend. tom. vi. lib. vi.

When Gallas quitted Pomerania, Wrangel imagining himself perfectly secure, cantoned his troops and extended his quarters, the better to accommodate his army. While he was thus circumstanced, a Pomeranian gentleman gave notice of his situation to Gallas, and even conducted him through a secret path, into the province. The imperialists soon over-ran the country, and the Swedes were overwhelmed with terror and consternation. Deprived of all power of reflection by the celerity of the blow, Wrangel took no measures of opposition; Usedom, Wollin, and Demmin fell into the enemy's hands; the Higher Pomerania was entirely ravaged; and Gallas returned to his quarters in Saxony, after having left garrisons in the principal fortresses. The Swedish affairs were now again reduced to a deplorable situation; and to add to their misfortunes, a new enemy appeared in the person of duke George, who declared openly for the imperialists. All their forts on the Rhine were likewise abandoned to the enemy, because France did not support duke Bernard, as he expected, upon crossing that river. To complete their perplexity, the duke of Pomerania dying, this event involved them in a particular quarrel with the elector of Brandenburg, who laid claim to all the dominions of the deceased. Several princes indeed offered their mediation to accomplish a peace; but, as matters were not yet ripe, the Swedes tried to draw France into a closer alliance, and by this expedient to obtain better conditions. In the end, the treaty with the French king was extended to the space of three years, and a resolution taken to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour.

A D. 1638.

*He defeats
count
Gallas.*

Banier was forced to lie quiet during the winter, in expectation of a reinforcement from Sweden. The imperialists profited by his inaction, and seized upon Gartz; but they were so afflicted with a pestilential disease that raged in their camp, that an army of eighteen thousand horse and foot was reduced to half the number. When Banier was reinforced, he put the recruits into garrison, and marching with his veterans to Gartz, took the place by assault. He next penetrated into Higher Pomerania, seized upon all the passes, entered the duchy of Mecklenburgh, defeated the imperialists, and obliged Gallas to retire with the loss of three thousand men, who were killed and taken prisoners. He pursued his good fortune, and so harrassed the count, that he obliged him to repass the Elbe in great disorder, and take shelter in the hereditary dominions of

* *Idem. ibid. Mem. de Christine, par Arckenholtz, tom. i.*

the house of Austria. Fortune once more smiled upon the Swedes. Banier's exploits, though considerable, were exceeded by what duke Bernard performed. That general had so augmented his army in the protestant cantons of Switzerland and in Franche Compté, that he was in a condition to act without the assistance of the French. He supported himself wholly by his own sagacity and activity; and resolved that all his successes should confessedly flow entirely from his own merit. With this view he advanced to the Rhine, seized upon Laffenburgh and Seckingen, and laid siege to Rheinfeld. The imperialists, in conjunction with the troops of Bavaria, came to the relief of the besieged; the duke gave them battle, and the victory was disputed; the enemy threw succours into the town, and the duke chose to raise the siege voluntarily, that he might not weaken his army. However, he gave the enemy battle a second time within a month, entirely defeated them, and obtained so complete a victory, that only one imperial officer above the rank of a captain escaped being killed or taken prisoner. Among the latter were Savelli and the famous partizan John de Wert. Bernard resumed the siege, and not only reduced Rheinfeld, but a variety of other important places. Next he marched to Brisac, which he blocked up with intention to starve the garrison to submission. General Gotz endeavoured with a strong convoy to throw in one thousand waggons of provision, but he was defeated with such slaughter, that out of twelve thousand men, only two thousand five hundred escaped; the rest were killed or made prisoners. Duke Charles of Lorraine made a second attempt to relieve this town, which was of so much consequence to the emperor. He joined the remains of the imperial army, with four thousand men at Thaur, where he was surprised by duke Bernard, and his whole army cut in pieces. A third attempt to relieve Brisac, was made by Gotz, but it proved as unsuccessful as the former; he was repulsed with great loss, and the garrison, after having suffered the utmost extremity of want, was forced to surrender at discretion †.

*victories
obtained
by duke
Bernard.*

A. D. 1639.

Nothing could be more seasonable or glorious than this course of victory; the imperialists were every where defeated on the banks of the Rhine, and in the duchy of Mecklenburgh; and now the two victorious generals, Bernard and Banier, concerted attacking the enemy on their own ground, and penetrating to the heart of the Austrian dominions. In the month of January, Banier crossing the Elbe, made an ir-

† Loccen. lib. ix.

ruption into the territories of Anhalt and Halberstadt. Leaving his infantry and cannon behind, he pushed on with his cavalry, and surpris'd Salis, grand-master of the imperial artillery, in the neighbourhood of Oelnitz. The conflict was bloody, no less than seven regiments of the enemy being cut in pieces. He next entered Saxony, penetrated to the suburbs of Dresden, where he defeated four regiments of Saxons, and obliged a larger corps to take refuge under the cannon of that city. He undertook the siege of Freyberg; but quitted the enterprize, on advice that Hatfield was posting from Westphalia to its relief. This intelligence suggested the resolution of marching towards Zeitz to join his infantry. While he remained in this post, advice was received that the Saxons were encamped near Chemnitz, where they waited to be joined by the imperialists under Hatfield. To prevent this junction he attacked them, and after an exceeding bloody action, obtained a complete victory, only a very small number of the enemy escaping. This success was followed by divers others. Banier made an irruption into Bohemia, where he laid great part of the country under contribution. Then returning, he crossed the Elbe, and fell upon general Hoffkirk, who was encamped with ten regiments of horse and several battalions of foot, near Brandeiz. The action was maintained with great obstinacy, both sides fought with the utmost intrepidity; but in the end the imperialists were forced to yield to the fortune of the Swede, and, with the loss of two thousand men, leave him an undisputed victory. He pursued them to the walls of Prague, and took Hoffkirk and Montecuculi prisoners. To draw the war into Silesia and Moravia, Banier repass'd the Elbe, and marched towards these countries, but he had not all the success with which he flattered himself. The enemy's forces multiplied daily, and it was impossible for him, with inferior numbers, to succour all the places that required his presence. The protestants had promised him great assistance, but they were over-awed by the enemy. No insurrection appeared in his favour, either in Silesia or Bohemia, as he expected; yet he was not discouraged. All that could be expected from him in such circumstances, he performed. He defeated a body of imperialists at Glatz; three several times he drove the Saxons from their camp at Tirn, and yet was forced to evacuate the place, because he could not spare a garrison. However, with his little army, he reduced a great number of towns, and obtained a variety of other advantages, when of a sudden his whole hopes were blasted by the immature death of the duke of Weimar, who fell a sacrifice to the jealousy and ambition,

ambition of the French, as is asserted by Puffendorf, and divers other historians. Brisac, where duke Bernard had lately acquired so much glory, was now the occasion of his fall. France had an eye upon that place; but the duke strenuously opposed their designs, and so closely watched their motions, that it was thought necessary to remove him by poison, the better to accomplish their purposes. This at least is the assertion of Puffendorf; and it was the general opinion at the time, that the body of this hero had all the marks of poison.

It was now disputed to whom the army should belong. It had always been called Weimar's army, though the troops were levied by Sweden, had taken an oath to that crown, and were acting in the same cause with the Swedish forces under Banier. The duke, however, claimed the supreme direction; the soldiers obeyed him implicitly; and he supported them by contributions, and at his own expence, without any charge to the crown. Thus he was regarded rather as an ally than a dependent; his friendship was courted by both parties; but he adhered with great constancy to the Swedes, from a fixed rivetted aversion to the court of Vienna. The French monarch and the elector Palatine now appeared candidates for the disposal of the army; this former, after having arrested the elector, entered upon engagements with Erac, the commanding officer after the duke's death, and disposed of his troops and conquests as he thought proper. No sooner were the French in possession of Brisac, and the other places reduced in the last campaign by Bernard than they forgot all their great promises to his army, and even strove by every artifice to destroy it, lest it might again become formidable.

Besides being disappointed of the expected assistance from duke Bernard, Banier had other difficulties to encounter. The imperial army under Piccolomini was prodigiously augmented in the Netherlands, and the archduke Leopold William, in quality of generalissimo, was assembling his utmost strength to oppose the Swedes, or rather to crush them at one blow. The danger was the greater, because there remained no means of making a diversion, and dividing the enemy. Want of forage obliged him to evacuate Bohemia, and abandon all the designs formed upon that kingdom. His cavalry was his chief strength, and prudence dictated that he should be cautious of troops upon which every thing depended. At first he entertained thoughts of penetrating to the Danube, but on more mature reflection he

preferred the route of Misnia, in order to be nearer to the Weimar army and the troops of Hesse. Duke George of Lunenburgh had likewise conceived some disgust at the conduct of the emperor; Banier was not without hope he might be able to gain him, and this was a farther inducement to approach nearer to his country. Before he quitted Bohemia, he fell upon a body of Croats of three thousand men, which he cut in pieces. General Konigsmark also was fortunate; returning from Westphalia, he first defeated the imperialists at Gera; a second time he routed them at Schmolten, and a third time obtained a complete victory near Leipzig. This success infused spirits into the Swedes; Banier entered Misnia, and dispersed his troops along the Mulda, having first detached nine regiments under Wittenberg to Voightland. Here he strongly solicited the allies to join him, and more pressingly renewed his instances, upon advice that Piccolomini had invaded Voightland, and driven Wittenberg out of the country. His intreaties succeeded; the Weimar army, under the dukes of Longueville and Guebriant, the Russians, led by general Melander, and the troops of Lunenburgh, commanded by general Klitzing, joined him at Erfort. Now his army was once more equally brilliant and formidable, amounting to twenty-two battalions of infantry and twenty-two thousand horse, well mounted and accoutered. Nothing but unanimity was wanted to procure success; none chose to be directed by another; each entertained the highest notion of his own merit, and thought to display his judgment by proposing some new plan of operation. Banier, in a word, increased his numbers, but he gained little additional strength, as he was not allowed to follow the suggestions of his own genius. After long debates, it was at last agreed, that they should attack the enemy encamped at Sasfeld. With this view he seized upon an eminence at a distance, from whence they began a violent cannonading, and then attacked the intrenchments, sword-in-hand; but the artillery did little execution, and the imperialists had made their intrenchments too strong to be easily forced. In this situation both armies continued, until a scarcity prevailed in each camp. There seemed to be a kind of rivalry which army could longest endure the pressure of famine; but on the side of the allies their remaining in this place proceeded from irresolution, and divisions among the generals. Banier, however, determined not to expose his troops any longer. He resolved to march through Thuringia for Franconia, to seize upon an advantageous post on the Maine; but as he advanced to the Sala, he perceived the enemy had occupied the opposite side

*Farther
operations
in the field.*

of the river. They were intrenched, and it was impossible for him to force a passage; he, therefore, marched through Hesse, where his army suffered greatly by famine. To extricate himself from this difficulty, he proposed fighting the enemy, to the landgrave of Hesse and the duke of Lunenburg; but finding them averse to this measure, he pretended he would cross the Weser and the Elbe, with the Swedish army, by which motion the allies would be left exposed to the mercy of the confederates, and thereby obliged the princes to be more pliant. The imperialists were endeavouring to penetrate into Lunenburg; Banier's diligence baffled their endeavours. He prevented their crossing the Weser, and refreshed his own army in the duchy, which had not yet been exhausted by hostile armies ^b.

All this time the imperialists were pinched with hunger on the opposite side the river, and extremely harrassed by the perpetual alarms given by the Hessians, which determined them to return to Franconia. On their march they were attacked by the army of Weimar, and though not actually defeated, they were very roughly handled. Banier, that he might no longer be an expence to his ally, quitted Lunenburg, entered the territory of Culmbach, and there remained inactive for the season.

Early next year Banier made an attempt on Ratisbon, A. D. 1641. while the emperor presided in person at the diet, which was held in the place. The enterprize carried some appearance of success, as the imperialists were then dispersed in winter-quarters, and the Danube was frozen over. Just as his advanced guard was ready to cross the river, a sudden change of weather baffled the design, and greatly endangered the Swedish army. The ice broke while they were upon it, but fortunately none perished, and such vast pieces floated down with the stream, as rendered it impossible to throw a bridge over. But though he failed, in this spirited enterprize, Banier did not despair of penetrating into Bavaria; and he must have succeeded had not Guebriant, with the troops of Weimar, separated themselves from him, without regard to their own interest or his remonstrances. Mean while the enemy assembled with great expedition at Ingolstadt and Ratisbon. They were greatly superior in numbers, and Banier was in the utmost danger. To avoid certain ruin, and the total destruction of his army, there remained no other method than returning with all possible activity, through deep broken roads, scarce passable in the

^b Puffend, *ibid.*

rainy season. All his detachments were ordered to follow through the great forest of Bohemia; but colonel Slang, with three regiments, was overtaken by the enemy, besieged in Newburgh, and after a gallant and obstinate defence, by which he saved the Swedish army, was taken prisoner with his whole corps. Had the enemy marched directly to Cham, instead of suffering themselves to be amused at Newburgh, Banier must inevitably have lost great part of his infantry and all the artillery; yet, after he escaped this danger, a corps of ten thousand imperial irregulars harrassed the skirts of his army, though they never ventured upon an attack. At last the Swedes, after a long, fatiguing, and hazardous march, reached Annaberg, having traversed the whole forest of Bohemia, and passed the river Eger. Their rapidity baffled the designs of Piccolomini, who had taken a shorter route, in hopes of intercepting them at Priezinitz. At the persuasion of Konigsmark, the army of Weimar again joined Banier, by which he was once more enabled to face the enemy. The duke de Guebriant, when too late, perceived the error he had committed, in not permitting the war to be carried into the hereditary dominions; but this error, though attended with unfortunate consequences, was trifling to what the confederates were now about to suffer. Duke George of Lunenburgh breathed his last, and with him perished all hope of assistance from that family; and what was still more unfortunate, the active intrepid Banier was seized with a dangerous acute fever, at the time his abilities were most wanted¹. He died soon after upon a march, without suspicion that both he and the duke of Lunenburgh had been poisoned.

*Banier
dies.*

The loss of their brave general was a terrible blow to the Swedish army, at a juncture when the troops were become mutinous for their pay, and there was no money. The respect which the soldiers and inferior officers entertained for his character, was evinced by the licentious humour they discovered the moment he was laid in the ground. The colonels entered into a kind of league not to obey the four major-generals, and to oblige them to advance their pay. They likewise proposed taking separate commands, and dividing the army into as many corps as it contained regiments; but this scheme was broke by the vigilance of Wrangel, Konigsmark, Wittenburg, and Pfuhl, who gained the affections of the soldiers, and persuaded them against measures which would have necessarily rendered them an

¹ Puffen. Comment. de Reb. Suec. lib. xii. sect. 4. Loccen. lib. ix.

easy prey to the enemy. In such circumstances it was not possible that the imperialists could remain inactive. The opportunity was favourable, and Piccolomini was too prudent to suffer it to escape. He attacked and cut in pieces a Swedish detachment at Quedlenberg, then he proposed falling upon the main army, but was disappointed by the excellent and expeditious retreat made by the Swedish generals. Afterwards a detachment was sent to beat up the quarters of the Hessians, notwithstanding the emperor was at that time negotiating a treaty with them and the Lunenburghers; but Wrangel and Konigsmark, having some intimation of the design of the imperialists, threw themselves in their way, and obtained a complete victory, at the expence of two thousand men to the enemy. This advantage, however, did not retrieve the Swedish affairs; they were daily declining for want of a general, and anarchy and confusion threatened the dissolution of a body of men, who had for so many years been the terror of Germany, and the admiration of Christendom. The emperor by his solicitations, and the Danish monarch by the strength of magnificent promises, endeavoured to debauch the minds of the soldiers. Dissensions reigned among them, and the troops were destitute of money, cloaths, and provisions; it was, therefore, with the utmost difficulty, the generals could prevent their dispersing or deserting in whole regiments to the enemy, till the arrival of the new commander in chief, Leonard Torstenson, from Sweden. To give this general credit with the army, he was furnished with a large sum of money, and accompanied by a strong reinforcement. The Weimar troops, however, separated from the Swedish army, and thus the design he had formed of immediately giving battle to the enemy was defeated. Nor were the Swedes more fortunate in Silesia, though general Stalhanch laboured with extreme diligence to put affairs in the best posture. The enemy were incomparably stronger; they laid siege to all the fortresses that were possessed by the Swedes, and reduced them gradually. Stalhanch was forced to retire to the Marche of Brandenburg, where, happily for him, he found shelter under the wing of the young elector, who had determined to observe a neutrality with the crown of Sweden *.

*Torstenson
is sent to
command
the Swedish
army.*

In the winter, a negociation between the court of Vienna, A.D. 1642.
and the princes of the house of Lunenburgh, was set on foot at Gotzlar, and greatly forwarded by the inactivity of Torstenson, who had been forced to remain idle the whole pre-

* Id. ibid.

ceding autumn, on account of his inferiority, and a dangerous gout, which confined him to his chamber. A report was spread of his death, which encouraged the imperialists to begin a long march, through roads scarce passable, in hopes of surprising the Swedish army without a leader. They were farther induced to this attempt by a traitorous correspondence they maintained with certain Swedish officers, particularly with colonel Seckendorf, who was discovered, seized, and executed publicly at the head of the army. The criminal pleaded his intention of drawing the enemy into an ambuscade; but it was answered, that he ought to have apprized the general of his design, in order that the army might be put in a proper posture, and the necessary measures taken. It was too plain, indeed, that he was guilty, and his papers proved that he had been corrupted. Upon this discovery, Torstenfon advanced to Arnsee, and occupied a post that could not be forced; upon which the imperialists finding they could execute nothing, proceeded to Tangermonde. They made a feint, as if they proposed falling into the duchy of Mecklenburgh, and attacking the maritime towns; but Torstenfon penetrating their real design, was not to be moved from his advantageous situation. In a word, they suffered equally by this harrassing march as if they had fought a bloody battle. Upon the enemy's retreat, Torstenfon, by a fine manœuvre, which shewed him no unworthy successor of Banier, fell upon Silesia, joined Stalhanch, who had been driven out of the country, reduced great Glogau, with uncommon vigour and celerity took a great number of other important places, and then laid siege to Schweidnitz. The duke of Saxe-Lawenburgh endeavouring, at the head of all his cavalry, to throw in succours, was defeated with the loss of three thousand men killed in the field and the pursuit, which continued for the space of five leagues. The duke himself was taken prisoner, and died a few days after of the wounds he received in the engagement, and chagrin at his disappointment. With him perished all the vast designs which he had formed, at the suggestion of Arnheim, of driving the Swedes out of the empire.

In consequence of the duke's defeat, Schweidnitz surrendered at discretion, and Torstenfon sending a detachment to invest Neisse, marched with the main army to pursue his blow, and compel the imperialists to evacuate Silesia. This aim he effectually accomplished, obliging them to retire precipitately over barren mountains, harrassed by his light troops, and almost famished for want of provision,

by

by which means he entirely ruined the wretched remains of this lately victorious army. Resolved to carry all before him, he rushed like a torrent into Moravia, and in five days reduced the strong town of Olmutz: Litta and Newstadt met with the same fortune; a sure footing was established in the province, upon which the Swedes returned suddenly to Silesia, where they reduced Oppelen, Brieg, and laid siege to Breslau. Here the garrison made so vigorous a defence, that the imperialists, under the conduct of the archduke Leopold, had time to assemble and march to their relief. Torstenfon was greatly inferior in point of numbers; he dreaded the consequences of a defeat, avoided battle with great address, and raised the siege, but with so formidable a countenance, that the enemy did not presume to molest his retreat, or oppose his encamping in a fine situation, at the confluence of the Neisse and the Oder. The enemy embraced this opportunity of laying siege to Great Glogau; but after having spent several days before that place, and losing a great number of men, they were forced to abandon the enterprize upon the junction of Wrangel and Torstenfon, by which the Swedish army was put in a condition to offer battle. It was now that Torstenfon projected the scheme of penetrating into Bohemia, and wintering in that kingdom; a design that was frustrated by the vigilance of the enemy, though he had taken every measure that human prudence and foresight could direct. However, he was so fortunate as to reduce Zittau, where, for the first time, a cartel was established for the exchange of prisoners, by which the Swedish army was considerably augmented¹.

Perceiving, with regret, that he could neither force his way into Bohemia, nor draw the enemy into a battle, Torstenfon descended along the Elbe, crossed the river at Torgau, and directed his march to Leipzig, with intention to invest that important city, and, at the same time, make a diversion in favour of Konigsmark, whom he had detached to Lower Saxony. Immediately the archduke and Piccolomini assembled all their forces, and began their march for Saxony, to the relief of Leipzig. On their approach the Swede drew his army out of the entrenchmentss upon that very plain where Gustavus Adolphus had, a few years before, obtained a celebrated victory. The very sight of a spot so glorious to the Swedes, animated them with a double portion of courage, and made them eager to engage with greatly disproportioned forces. Nor were the impé-

*The Swedes
obtain a
second vic-
tory at
Leipfic.*

¹ Puffend. Comment. de Reb. Suec. lib. xvii.

rialists backward to come to blows, as they knew that Torstenson would soon be reinforced by the Weimar army, and the troops under Guebriant. A furious cannonading announced the battle, both sides plying their artillery with equal dexterity and vigour. One single bullet had almost proved fatal to Sweden, and insured a defeat; it carried away the furniture of Torstenson's horse, killed the count Palatine's horse, pierced general Rabenau through the body, and carried off the head of the celebrated counsellor Crabbe, together with the leg of a private soldier. The Swedish right wing, led by Wittemberg and Stalhanch, began the attack, and pushed it with such impetuosity, that the enemy were put in disorder, and rallied with the utmost difficulty by the archduke in person. On the other side the left gave way to the irresistible weight of the enemy, who poured down with the whole strength of the right wing and center; but the Swedish infantry pushing into the chasm which was left between the wings of the imperialists, soon changed the face of affairs, broke the enemy, surrounded their flank, made terrible slaughter, and gained a complete victory. The imperialists retreated in great confusion, leaving five thousand men dead on the field, among whom were several officers of distinction; near three thousand were wounded, and an equal number taken prisoners; but the fatigue the Swedes had undergone, the great number of their wounded, and the swiftness of the enemy's flight, prevented their pursuing their advantage. This victory was not obtained without bloodshed; it cost the Swedes the lives of near two thousand brave soldiers, including the intrepid Lilienhock, grand-master of the artillery^m.

The important victory of Leipzig was succeeded by the immediate surrender of that city, where Torstenson refreshed his army, before he undertook the intended expedition to Bohemia. Having given his troops sufficient breathing, he proceeded to Freyburg, in hopes that place, in which the enemy had amassed large magazines, would surrender in a few days; however, the siege cost him several weeks, and the obstinacy of the garrison obliged him at last to abandon the enterprize, and put his army into quarters. Mean while the Weimar troops and the Hessians had gained a glorious victory at Kempen, over Lamboi, and reduced almost the whole countries of Juliers and Cologne before the autumn; about which time Gue-

^m Loccen. lib. ix.

briant, with the Weimar army, returned to winter in Franconia.

As soon as the season permitted Torstenson to take the field, his first operations were directed against Freyburg; the siege of which place he resumed with redoubled vigour, but he was a second time baffled by the arrival of Piccolomini. The Swede was desirous of coming to a battle; but this the imperial general avoided, contenting himself with obliging Torstenson to quit an enterprize upon which he had spent so much time and blood. Thus disappointed, Torstenson directed his course towards Bohemia, where Gallas had just been vested with the command of the imperial forces, in quality of generalissimo. Gallas proposed obstructing the passage of the Swedish army into Moravia; but Torstenson, glad of the opportunity of shewing his contempt of so unequal a competitor, pursued his march within sight of the imperialists, who seemed confounded and over-awed at his courage. A detachment of three Swedish regiments, however, were defeated through the negligence of the commander; a loss which Torstenson soon after revenged, by the entire overthrow of a body of imperial cavalry, which occupied a strong post at Buchiem. While he was thus employed in Moravia, he was ordered by the regency to march with all possible secrecy and expedition into Holstein, in consequence of a rupture between the crowns of Sweden and Denmark. This order obliged him to lay aside his whole plan of operations, and to bend his course towards Silesia, after having provided Olmutz, Newstadt, and Eulenburg, with every necessary to withstand a siege.

All Europe stood astonished at this irruption into Holstein. In general it was condemned as rash and desperate. It was matter of surprize that Sweden, already exhausted by a tedious war, and ready to sink under the weight of her enemies, should increase their number, by a measure which did not seem supported by equity any more than sound policy; but the truth was, the regency were compelled to the necessity of resenting the conduct of his Danish majesty, who, under the character of mediator, took every method of embroiling the affairs of Sweden. Under the pretext of negotiating a peace, he endeavoured to deprive them of the fruits of all their victories in Germany; he had put the grossest affront on the queen-dowager; he established certain rights at Ruden extremely prejudicial to the Swedish commerce, by loading with duties all merchandize exported from Sweden to Pomerania. The regency remonstrated to the court of Copenhagen; but they

A.D. 1643,

*War with
Denmark.*

A. D. 1644.

received only vague, and frequently sarcastic answers; they therefore determined to have recourse to arms in defeating the designs of a partial mediator, who fought nothing so earnestly as the reduction of the power and glory of Sweden (A). The great difficulty was, to take their measures so secretly, that they should not be discovered by the Danes soon enough to make the necessary preparations. Such, indeed was the privacy, the closeness, and integrity observed upon this occasion, that, notwithstanding the affair was several days debated in full council, not the smallest intimation of it reached the ears of the Danish, the French, the English, or Dutch ambassadors. The design was to evacuate Pomerania, if necessary, and to recompence this loss at the expence of Denmark. The regency hoped now to curb the Danish monarch, and oblige him to observe an exact neutrality, provided the winter proved favourable; and probably the scheme must have succeeded, but for certain unavoidable accidents, beyond the reach of human foresight. The ice was too weak to support the weight of the Swedish forces, and the king of Denmark, notwithstanding his grey hairs, displayed all the activity and vigour of a young monarch, joined to the prudence of an experienced warrior and politician. At first Torstenson carried all before him in Holstein and Jutland; the Danes were frequently defeated; a body of five thousand infantry were surrounded, and forced to lay down their arms; and a variety of cities, towns, and fortresses, were reduced. Gustavus Horn, at the same time, made an irruption into Schonon with fourteen thousand men, where his conquests were extremely rapid. The Swedish fleet, likewise, ravaged the islands held by the crown of Denmark in the Baltic, and every circumstance promised success to the designs of the regency. At last the two fleets met; the battle was obstinate, and both sides claimed victory. The Swedes were forced to abandon Femeren, and the old king Christian received a hurt in the eye. Another battle, fought toward the end of the season, proved more decisive. Wrangel, in conjunction with

Naval engagements.

(A) The reader will see the origin of this war more fully explained in the history of Denmark. The causes there assigned are somewhat different; each nation endeavoured to throw the blame upon the other; but the most impartial

historians of other countries attribute the war to the jealousies of Denmark, and the spirit of Sweden. Such little inconsistencies are easily reconciled, when it is considered, that we deduce the history of every people from their own writers.

the Dutch admiral, attacked the Danish fleet, and, out of six, destroyed four men of war^a.

In the mean time general Horn had great success in Schonen, where he reduced Landskroon. He then penetrated into the provinces of Halland and Bleking, defeated the Danes in divers rencounters, took Laholm by assault, returned suddenly to Schonen, and laid siege to Malmoe with all his forces. As to Torstenson, though he was under the necessity of leaving the greatest part of his army in Holstein and Jutland, yet he did not neglect the affairs of Germany. After having provided the chief fortresses with every thing necessary, he dispatched general Douglas to Pomerania, and Gustavus Otter Steenboek to Westphalia, with considerable forces. Konigsmark had distinguished himself the preceding year upon a variety of occasions. Having penetrated into Misnia and Franconia, he laid the whole country under contribution quite to the Rhine; then opening his way through Thuringia into Lower Saxony, he surpris'd Halberstadt, and reduced Sladen and Asterwyk. Thence he flew to the protection of Pomerania, which was invested by the Polish general Crakau, with a body of four thousand horse and dragoons. Konigsmark soon drove him out of the province, and recovered all the places he had taken. But amidst these successes, the affairs of Sweden sustained a severe blow from the ruin of the Weimar army, which, after having gained several advantages, was at last attacked in the territory of Dettingen by the Bavarians, and so totally defeated, that of fifteen thousand men, scarce half that number saved themselves in the Upper Alsace.

Now Konigsmark had instructions to give all his attention to the affairs of the Higher and Lower Saxony. In consequence of these orders, he seized on Farden, a town belonging to the archbishop of Bremen, because he perceived that the prelate was biassed in favour of the court of Denmark. Such was the spirit of Sweden, that she never scrupled attacking those princes openly whom she believed secretly attached to her enemies. Hedged in on every side, and now destitute of allies, unless France and Holland might be deemed her allies, she boldly forced those powers to an open rupture, whose clandestine practices there was reason to suspect. The emperor, the elector of Saxony, the kings of Poland and Denmark, were all united against her; yet, with scanty revenues, and a handful of soldiers,

^a Puffend. tom. vi. lib. vi. Arkenholtz. Vie de Christine, tom. i.

did she face all her enemies, and at last extricate herself by a peace, that might be reckoned not inglorious, had she had only one of those powers to combat. The imperialists took occasion of the rupture between the northern crowns to attempt blocking up the Swedish army in Holstein and Jutland, for which purpose Gallas marched thither with a considerable army. They likewise hoped, that general Hatfield, assisted by the archbishop of Bremen, would be an overmatch for Königsmark; but the vigilance of the Swedish general defeated all their designs. While Gallas was waiting to be joined by the Danes at Odesloe, Torstenson marched up to his camp, and offered battle. Finding the imperialist was resolved not to engage, he contrived means to draw him from his advantageous situation, attacked and defeated his rear with considerable slaughter. By this expedient the junction of the Danes and Germans was prevented, and the latter were forced to return to Lawenburg. Though the Swedish general might now have attacked the Danes with success, he chose to pursue Gallas, in order to give satisfaction to the court of France, who complained, that she was saddled with the whole burthen of the war since the Swedish expedition into Holstein. Passing the Elbe, he followed him with all diligence towards Bernburg, reduced the fortress, and pointing its cannon against the imperialists, frequently obliged them to change their situation. He could not bring them to a battle, but he held the enemy in a manner besieged, and reduced them to so great necessity, that numbers of men and horses daily perished by famine. There was no outlet, or possible means to escape, except to Magdeburg, which might have been attempted, with some appearance of success, under cover of a dark night. Upon this scheme Gallas determined, while Torstenson was in pursuit of his cavalry that were detached as far as Aschersleben to forage. The project succeeded; his advanced guard reached Magdeburg before Torstenson's return from the expedition to Aschersleben; but all his foragers, wounded, cannon, and baggage, fell a prey to the Swedes. He remained with the infantry at Magdeburg, and detached the Saxon cavalry, that had lately joined him, to make a diversion in Silesia; but they were met on the road, and cut in pieces by Torstenson. Upon the whole, this expedition was extremely unfortunate to the imperialists, as it cost them all their cavalry, and great numbers of their infantry; the whole amounting to half the numerous army which Gallas had led out of Bohemia. Yet, with all these successes, nothing could

could have saved the Swedish affairs in Germany, but the powerful diversion made by the French in those famous campaigns, which render immortal the names of Condé and Turenne.

The new year was ushered in with a rapid conquest made by Wrangel in Holstein and Jutland in the depth of winter; nor was Königsmark less successful on the other side of the Elbe. After having reduced Altenland, and some other places in Bremen, he laid siege to Stade, and, in two days, forced the garrison to capitulate. The Swedes too made some progress on the frontiers of Norway, and got possession of the island of Borkholm. Gustavus Horn was preparing to attack Malmoe a second time, when happily a negotiation was set on foot at Bronsebro, under the mediation of France and Holland, and a peace at length concluded between the two northern princes. By this treaty his Danish majesty ceded to Sweden, in perpetuity, the provinces of Jemtland and Harndalen, with the islands of Gothland and Oesel; he likewise sequestered in the hands of the Swedes, the province of Halland, as security for his conduct for the space of twenty-six years. Thus did the vigilance, activity, and spirit of the Swedes, triumph over all opposition, and extort from a nation, formerly their conquerors, a glorious and advantageous peace, at a time when they seemed to be fully employed in the German affairs.

As the friendship of the Dutch became now suspected, it was happy for the Swedes they had got rid of so dangerous a war, before the republic had time to accept of the liberal offers of his Danish majesty. They were now at liberty to pay their whole attention to their quarrel with the emperor; accordingly Torstenson was taking measures for carrying the war into the bowels of the empire, and the heart of the Austrian hereditary dominions. He proposed ruining the new levies, and approaching within such a distance of Ragotzi, as to act in concert with that prince, who was making a powerful diversion in Hungary and Transylvania. In order to secure his retreat, and cut off all danger from behind, the Swedish general concluded a truce with the elector of Saxony, whereby the court of Vienna was deprived of a very useful ally. However, Hatfield assembled a considerable army to oppose the Swedes, and the emperor repaired in person to Prague, to animate his troops by his presence. The two armies came in sight at Jancowitz, and both generals resolved to hazard an engagement. The imperialists were encouraged by their superiority, by the emperor's exhortations, and the desire

*The Swedes
gain a vic-
tory at
Fanco-
witz.*

desire of disabling the enemy from penetrating into Austria. Torstenson was actuated by other considerations. His army suffered greatly by the severity of the climate; he wished to place his troops in better quarters, and doubted not but he should carry all before him, could he destroy this last stake of the court of Vienna. As the situation was mountainous and woody, it was impossible to draw up the troops regularly; however, both armies joined battle, and fought with great intrepidity. The impetuosity of the Swedes, broke and defeated the left wing of the imperialists, led by general Goetz, who was killed. They rallied, however, behind a wood, and made a stout resistance, but were a second time put in confusion, and driven off the field. In the center the battle continued obstinate for the space of two hours, neither side yielding an inch; but the Swedish victorious left wing joining the center, soon turned the scale, broke the imperialists, made prodigious slaughter, and gained a complete victory. The enemy left four thousand dead on the field, among whom was marshal Hatfield, with a great number of officers of distinction, and near five thousand were taken prisoners. Never was artillery better conducted than on this occasion. The Swedes had planted cannon upon every eminence, and swept away whole lines with their grape-shot; to which circumstance, in particular, the enemy ascribed their defeat ^p.

A path being now opened into Austria and Moravia, the Swedish general, without loss of time, penetrated to the latter through Bohemia. He reduced Iglau and Znaim, with all the surrounding fortresses, and then marching to Crems on the Danube, obliged the garrison of that place to capitulate. The want of boats prevented his crossing the river, he therefore resolved to join Ragotzi, and, on his way, took Conenburg, with a variety of other towns and castles beyond the Danube. After his junction with Ragotzi, Torstenson hoped to find a passage over the Danube, between Vienna and Presburg, by which he should be absolute master of both sides of the river; but he lost much time in the siege of Brinn, a place which was desperately defended by one Souches, a Swedish officer, who had deserted some years before. Since the junction with Ragotzi was effected, the combined army was very formidable in numbers. The prince had twenty-five thousand men, but so ill disciplined and provided, that they served only to ruin the Swedish quarters, and lay desolate every country

^p Puffend. Comment. de Reb. Suec. lib. xvii.

through which they passed : but he was soon eased of this troublesome ally, by a peace which Ragotzi concluded with the emperor. Having all his demands granted, he bid farewell to the Swedish general, and returned with his whole army to Hungary. Ragotzi's departure, and a pestilential disease which prevailed in the camp, obliged Torstenson to raise the siege of Brinn, after he had consumed much valuable time before a place, the reduction of which could not produce any very considerable advantage. In fact, his stay here served no purpose, but to give the enemy leisure to assemble, which they did, in such numbers, as obliged the Swedes again to offer them battle. With this view he marched to Stekerau; but, on his arrival, found that the archduke was gone, with the bulk of his army, to Suabia, to succour the elector of Bavaria, who had been lately defeated by Turenne. Leopold's march was so rapid, that it was not possible to overtake him, and he had left the passages over the Danube well guarded before his departure. This consideration, and the epidemical disease that raged in his army, convinced Torstenson of the necessity of providing winter-quarters before his march should be obstructed by the depth of the roads; he left strong garrisons in all the towns he had conquered, and kept open the communication between Cronenburg, Crems, and other places on the Danube, and Olmutz and Glogau. Now he directed his march to Bohemia, cantoned his army along the Eger, and detached Konigsmark into Moravia, to provide quarters, and every other necessary⁹.

Hitherto Torstenson had conducted the Swedish affairs in Germany with great ability, success, and reputation; but an inveterate gout, with which he was tortured, now obliged him to resign the command, and retire to Leipsic, where he expected to meet Wrangel, with a considerable reinforcement, from Holstein. Wrangel now presided in quality of generalissimo. His army was composed of fifteen thousand horse and eight thousand foot, all approved veterans, inured to action, hardened in the field, and ambitious of increasing the glory of Sweden, and their own reputation. The garrisons were besides complete, and Konigsmark had with him a considerable flying camp. Opposed to this force were thirteen thousand imperial horse, eleven thousand foot, together with eighteen regiments of Bavarian infantry, and twelve regiments of cavalry. The intention of the enemy was to fall upon Wrangel before he could be joined by the flying camp, or the Bavarians should be called away by the

A.D. 1646.

*Torstenson
resigns the
command to
Wrangel.*

⁹ Loccen. lib. ix.

opening of the campaign on the Rhine; but Wrangel, persuaded that he ought not to hazard a battle with an enemy so much superior, quitted Bohemia, advanced to Misnia, and quartered his army along the Sala. He then meditated a junction with the French forces under the viscount Turenne, marched with this view through Thuringia towards the Weser, took several towns in his march, penetrated into Hesse, and posted himself in the neighbourhood of Wetzlar. Here he expected to meet Turenne, as had been concerted; but the French general having met with some disappointments, failed in promise, and left Wrangel exposed to the most imminent perils, and the danger of being oppressed by the whole weight of the imperial and Bavarian army. The enemy were in full march to attack him, and had conceived the most sanguine hope of victory, because the victorious Torstenson no longer fought at the head of the Swedish veterans; but they soon experienced that Gustavus Adolphus had bred under him more than one warrior. They advanced, and encamped on an eminence, at the distance of half a league from the Swedish army; next day a sharp skirmish happened between the Swedes and Bavarians, in which the latter were defeated, after a bloody conflict, in which they lost a great number of soldiers and officers of some distinction. This cooled the ardour of the enemy, and obliged them to lay aside the design of fighting Wrangel for another more cautious and prudent, that of starving him in his entrenchments. Here too they were disappointed; the Swede had taken his measures with so much sagacity, that his camp flowed with plenty, while the enemy pined under the pressure of extreme famine. They were therefore obliged to retire, after four thousand men had perished by hunger, pestilence, and the sword; and thus the junction with Turenne was effected.

Now the confederate generals offered battle; but the challenge being refused they cut off the communication of the imperialists with Frankfort, Hanau, and the Maine, by which step they were greatly distressed. Next they cut in pieces a body of five hundred horse, which were detached to dispute their passage over the Nidda, and destroyed all their magazines on that river. Reduced to extreme necessity, the imperialists decamped silently in the night, and retired with the utmost precipitation to the river Laine, whither the confederate generals did not think proper to pursue them, as the country was destitute of forage and provisions. They therefore marched to the Danube, and near

near Donawert defeated a body of the enemy's cavalry. They crossed the Lech, reduced Stain, and presented themselves before Augsburg, a city of the utmost consequence to keep Bavaria and Suabia in subjection. At first the inhabitants offered to receive a Swedish garrison, but a reinforcement of two regiments arriving, they retracted their proposals, and prepared for a vigorous defence. Nothing was omitted on the side of the confederate generals, who carried on their approaches with the utmost address and intrepidity. The city was on the point of surrendering, when the imperialists found means to throw in powerful succours, which determined Turenne and Wrangel to raise the siege, and march to Laugingen, to secure the passage of the Danube. Wrangel proposed entering Bavaria, but this the French general declined, upon account of a truce that was now negotiating with the elector. The truce was concluded towards the commencement of the ensuing year, much against the inclination of the Swedish regency; but France urged the measure, and they were obliged to comply rather than come to a rupture with so necessary an ally. At Ulm articles were signed, whereby the elector ceded Memmingen and Uberlingen to the Swedes, and received, as an equivalent, the towns of Rain, Donawert, Wemdingen, and Mundelheim^r.

A. D. 1647.

Wrangel now separated from the French general, and marched to Franconia, where he soon reduced Scheinfort, a place conveniently situated to preserve a communication between Westphalia and Higher Germany. Wittemberg had been detached the preceding year to Silesia, to balance the conquests of the imperialists along the Danube, where they retook most of the places which had yielded to Wrangel during his residence in that quarter. The Swedish detachment was now recalled, because Turenne, with his army, was ordered to march to the Netherlands. As soon as the troops were sufficiently refreshed, Wrangel laid siege to Eger, after having first defeated three regiments of imperialists that lay carelessly encamped before the town. The garrison, consisting of four hundred veterans, made a brave resistance, and the imperial general Holtzapfel, was taking every possible measure to relieve them; but the vigilance of Wrangel baffled every attempt, and the town was obliged to capitulate, when Holtzapfel had advanced within three miles, with intention to hazard a battle. Disappointed in the design of relieving Eger, the imperialists encamped on an eminence in the neighbourhood of the town, a

† Loccen. & Puffend. *ibid*.

river only dividing them from the Swedish army. The emperor came in person to encourage the troops, and had well nigh been taken prisoner. Helm Wrangel, with a detachment, suddenly attacked the camp, and penetrated to the emperor's tent, killing, with his own hand, the centinels at the door. Had he been properly supported, his project must have succeeded; but the enemy rallying, separated the advanced party from the rear, and obliged them to fight their way back; an exploit which they performed with astonishing valour, and great slaughter on both sides.

Wrangel determined not to abandon his present situation, until he had fully repaired the fortifications of Eger, and put the town in a posture of defence. The imperialists were equally resolved to maintain their ground; but they laboured under such difficulties as soon obliged them to relinquish their design, after they had lost six thousand men by the sword, by famine, and sickness. Upon this motion the Swede led his army to Bohemia. In order to prevent his advancing far into that kingdom, Holtzapfel again put his troops in motion, and had the good fortune to surprize and defeat a detachment of five Swedish regiments. Another skirmish happened between the cavalry of both armies, in which the imperialists were worsted; though they claimed the victory, because they chanced to carry off a few standards. Another action fell out a short time after, in which three regiments of imperial dragoons were cut to pieces, in the face of the whole imperial army. For several days the two armies lay encamped close by each other, without being separated by a river or any other natural obstruction, and mutually guarded only by the works they had erected to prevent being surprized. A battle was hourly expected, but the want of forage obliged the enemy to decamp, and remove to a greater distance; thus, by dint of conduct and perseverance, the Swedes had the honour of obliging the enemy to decamp three times successively in one year, and in the heart of their own country*.

At last the emperor, having prevailed on the duke of Bavaria to break the truce, expected nothing less than the total destruction of the Swedish army, because he doubted not but the electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh would follow the example of Bavaria, and the French be induced to desert their allies, rather than draw upon themselves such a crowd of enemies. Circumstances indeed were so strangely altered of a sudden, by the conduct of the Bava-

* Puffend. Hist. Univ. tom. vi. lib. vi.

rians, that Wrangel thought it adviseable to retire to a place of security until he could be joined by the detachment under Konigsmark and the Hessians. With this design he marched to Misnia and Thuringia, detaching Wittenberg to make a diversion in Silesia. He was pursued by the enemy; but his measures were conducted with so much prudence, that, though greatly superior, they could obtain no advantage. The design of revenging himself upon the Hessians had indeed carried Holtzapfel to desolate that country, when he might have been more usefully employed against the Swedish army. All the exploits performed by the Bavarians since the breach of the truce, consisted in the reduction of Meningen, and two other inconsiderable places; after which achievements both armies retired to winter-quarters.

Early in the spring Wrangel took the field, with intention to surprize the enemy in their cantonments; but they were apprized of his design, and assembled their army. He was now joined to Turenne, whose orders were extremely limited, so that the spring was consumed in fruitless disputes. At last Wrangel prevailed on Turenne to draw nearer Bavaria. In their march they fell in with a detachment of Bavarian cavalry, which they defeated and dispersed, killing two thousand men on the field. Next they advanced to Freysingen, obliged the enemy to retire beyond the Iser, and reduced Landshut. Nothing could exceed the terror of the Bavarians, who saw their country exposed to the confederate generals, without an officer of ability to head their armies, and check the progress of the enemy. The duke retired to Salzburg, seeking protection from those very inhabitants he had lately oppressed. He left all the country between the rivers Lech and Inn exposed to the ravages of the Swedes, who had reason to be incensed at his conduct; but they could not profit by the opportunity, on account of the prodigious swelling of the river, which overflowed its banks, and rendered a passage impracticable. At length Piccolomini arrived from the Netherlands, to take upon him the command of the imperial and Bavarian army; and the spirits of the soldiers were revived by the presence of so celebrated a general. The measures indeed upon which he immediately entered were vigorous; he forced Turenne and Wrangel to evacuate the situation which they had long maintained; pursued them towards Landau, and encamped within a short distance of their entrenchments. Several skirmishes passed, in which neither side could claim any advantage; and at last both armies
encamped

A.D. 1648.

encamped within a league of Memmingen, and of each other. Wrangel had his eye upon the country between the Lech and the Inn, where he knew his army would be well supplied; and Piccolomini detached de Wert to oppose his entrance. A rencounter ensued between the advanced parties of the two armies, in which the Swedes were repulsed, and roughly handled. They, however, laid siege to Landsperg; but provisions failing, Wrangel crossed the Lech in the month of September, in his way to Suabia. Turenne ravaged Bavaria without remorse, and laid desolate all those places that refused paying contributions. The intention of the Swedish general was to penetrate into the Higher Palatinate, to join Charles Gustavus, count palatine, who was appointed generalissimo of the Swedish forces; but before he could execute this design, he received advice that a peace was concluded, in consequence of which all hostilities ceased.

Before we enter upon the particulars of the peace concluded at Westphalia, it will be necessary to relate succinctly the reasons of appointing Charles Gustavus to the supreme command, and particularize the military operations of this prince, since his arrival in Germany. Charles Gustavus had served with great reputation under the celebrated Torstenson, by whom he was taught the art of war. On that general's resignation he returned to Sweden, where he assiduously cultivated the queen's regard; and at last so established himself in her esteem, that he ventured to pay his addresses, and propose marriage. Christina was averse to the scheme of dividing her authority; however, she condescended to promise Gustavus, that if she ever consented to lose her liberty she would give him the preference. She had already determined, by some means, to raise Gustavus to the throne; though as yet her pleasure was not publicly declared. It was necessary to impress a high opinion of his merit on the minds of the people; for which purpose a fitter opportunity could not offer, than that of serving in Germany, where he might have frequent occasions to signalize his valour; a quality admired above all others by the Swedes. With this view he was appointed to the chief command, vested with the character of generalissimo, and sent with a reinforcement of seven thousand Swedes and Finlanders, provided with all the necessaries of a campaign. Since his arrival in Germany, Gustavus had tried every method to effect a junction with the main army; but, un-

*Charles
Gustavus
is appointed
generalis-
simo.*

Able to effect his purpose, he resolved to penetrate into Bohemia, and lay siege to Prague, by which means he hoped to divide the imperialists. The city was attacked with great vigour, and the garrison made a gallant defence; but would in the end have been forced to surrender, had Gustavus persisted. This, however, was not his intention, as it would probably have been attended with the ruin of the army. The besieged were numerous and obstinate, the fortifications were strong, the rainy season had commenced, and the chief design of investing Prague was already accomplished, that of disengaging Wrangel from the greater part of the imperial forces. These reasons determined Gustavus, count palatine, to raise the siege, after he had vigorously pursued it for three weeks, and to canton his troops in winter-quarters in Bohemia.

For the space of three years negotiations of peace had been in agitation. The imperialists, disappointed in their expectations of driving the Swedes out of Germany, and intimidated by the rapid conquests of Banier, made the first overtures: but they insisted that the Swedes should execute a separate peace, and engage not to interpose in the affairs of any of the German princes; their assent to which proposition would insure them of any terms they thought proper to make for themselves. It would be tedious and useless to trace the progress of this affair through all its intricacies and changes; sufficient it is to observe, that the interests of Germany and Sweden came at last to be debated among the other articles of a general pacification, at the conferences at Osnabrug and Munster. The parties agreed to treat expressly at two different places, to avoid disputes about precedency, and also differences which might arise on account of religion. The Swedes in particular declined any communication with the pope's nuncio. For this reason the Swedish plenipotentiaries, the imperial ambassadors, and the representatives of the protestant German princes, assembled at Osnabrug; while another congress was held at Munster by the French, Spanish, and catholic ambassadors. Here it was that the court of Vienna employed every engine of state to sow dissension between France and Sweden; but all her arts proved fruitless. There was no expedient omitted that was likely to produce disputes between Sweden and the protestant states of Germany; however, every sinesse was happily baffled by the abilities of her Swedish majesty's ministers, and the vigour of her generals. The duchies of Bremen and Verden, all the Upper Pomerania, part of the Lower, the city of Wismar, and the isle of Rugen, were assigned to Sweden, together with

*Congress
at Osnab-
brug and
Munster.*

a gratification of five millions of crowns to the army: nor was it less glorious to the Swedish nation, that she contributed chiefly to settle upon its ancient principles the Germanic constitution, and to remove all cause of those implacable disputes which had for so many years torn the empire, and deprived several princes of their titles and dominions.

Notwithstanding the honour and advantage attending the peace, the Swedish ministry are blamed for having accepted terms too precipitately, and set at no price the many advantages they possessed and commanded; advantages in exchange for which they might have stipulated any terms for themselves and their allies. Sweden maintained above a hundred garrisons in Germany, and many places in the very heart of the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria: she could lay under contribution the whole country from the Baltic to the lake of Constance; she kept up, chiefly at the enemy's expence, a fine veteran army of near seventy thousand men; every soldier of which was almost qualified by experience to be a general: under these circumstances she might, by continuing the war another campaign, have penetrated beyond the Danube, got possession of Austria, and brought the emperor to the most humiliating concessions. This, it is pretended, was the scheme of Oxenstiern, the most able statesman about Christina; yet had the queen strong reasons for desiring to terminate a quarrel, which had often brought Sweden into the lowest abyss of distress. Holland, abandoning her allies, made peace with Spain, and France began to be distracted with civil dissensions. Hence Sweden must have supported the whole burthen, and run the hazard of losing all her toil, blood, treasure, and expectations, by one general defeat. Besides, Christina affected philosophic repose; she panted after science, and persuaded herself that the arts, of which she declared herself the patroness, could never flourish but under the shade of public tranquillity. She determined, however, not to withdraw her troops, until she perceived that the principal articles of the treaty had been executed. The court of Vienna endeavoured to prevail on Gustavus to quit the Austrian dominions; but his answer was, that he could rely more upon the influence of his troops than upon the strongest seals and obligations, since the engagements of princes were deemed binding no longer than they had the power to enforce them. The event justified his suspicions. A particular congress met at Nuremberg, to

A. D. 1649.

Peace established.

* Puffend. tom. vi. lib. vi. Mercur. vera Hist. tom. ix. p. 325.

direct the execution of the treaty at Munster; and after it had sat a whole year, found it a matter of the utmost difficulty to remove and adjust all differences. It is probable indeed that had not Sweden rendered herself formidable, by maintaining an army ready to take the field upon the first notice, the engagements contracted by the plenipotentiaries would have been little regarded.

Christina had no sooner established the repose of her kingdom than she determined to secure and strengthen the succession. The voice of the people strongly recommended Gustavus, count palatine, to the honour of sharing the sovereign power by a marriage with the queen. The states foresaw the inconveniences that would ensue, should Christina or Gustavus declare either against marriage, or against a mutual alliance. Yet no arguments could induce this princess to participate her authority. She resolved, while she reigned, to maintain an undivided sovereignty; but she shewed her regard for her subjects, by taking the most effectual measures for settling the succession upon the most solid basis. She had always declined the addresses of Gustavus, and the solicitation of the states in his favour. That prince, during his absence in Germany, had permission to correspond with the queen, and he converted this opportunity to his own purposes, and used the occasion to promote his own interest in the queen's affections. Arckenholtz relates, that he declared in one of his letters, that if her majesty persisted in her refusal, he was determined to decline the honour she proposed of nominating him her immediate successor, and for ever to banish himself from Sweden². This, however, would seem to be only the language of gallantry; it is certain, that, when he found the queen resolute, no arguments were necessary to persuade him that he ought to accept the honour of being second to her in rank and power; since he could not attain his wish of being equal.

In the month of February the queen declared her intention, in a formal speech, to the senate. She acquainted her people with the repeated remonstrances which had been presented to her on the subject of marriage, but alleged, that there were certain duties required in the nuptial ceremony, with which she could not prevail on herself to comply (A). She commended the affection and providence of her

Charles Gustavus appointed heir to the crown.

² Arckenholtz, tom. i. p. 165.

(A) A variety of conjectures Christina's meaning. Some have been offered to explain writers attribute it to the cold-

her senate, but said, she should take a method which would as effectually secure the succession, without disturbing her own repose, as what they proposed. Her cousin, prince Charles Gustavus, possessed all the qualities which they could possibly require in her representative; and if they thought him worthy of sharing her bed, they could not justly think him unworthy of succeeding to her crown. She concluded with exhorting the senate to join their influence with her's, to render the proposition acceptable to the states of the kingdom. Upon their endeavours to dissuade her from this resolution, Christina replied, with some warmth, that she was not insensible to the designs of certain persons among them, who, knowing her firm determination against marriage, and that she was the last of the royal line, hoped to increase their own influence, by leaving the crown elective after her death. She was not ignorant, she said, that others had projected new schemes of government, all of which tended more to private than to public benefit. It is even alleged, that she threw out some insinuations against the chancellor Oxenstiern, who had praised and described a republican constitution in the queen's presence. For above a year this important affair had been agitated; at last it passed through all the usual forms, upon the count Palatine's return from Germany. Gustavus was nominated immediate successor to the queen; and this appointment was ratified by Christina and the states of Sweden. The title of highness was given him, a revenue assigned for the support of his court and dignity, and the states were for making over to him some principality; but the queen opposed the proposal, and alleged, it was one of the maxims of the royal cabinet never to assign lands to the hereditary prince. Gustavus thanked the queen and the states for the honour done him, and swore to observe all the articles proposed, of which the subsequent were the most important: that he should pay the most implicit obedience to the queen, and always regard her as his lawful sovereign: that as her majesty promised on her part to offer no violence to the rights of the hereditary prince, so he obliged himself to undertake nothing of consequence to the administration or the public, without the knowlege

ness of her constitution; some to a natural defect; and one, in particular, to her pride; for it seems she declared she could

not submit to be treated as the peasant tilled his field; an expression that indicates more pride than delicacy (1).

(1) Chanut. Mem. tom. ii. p. 353.

and consent of the queen and senate, and her express permission and instructions: that he should form no pretensions to a separate principality, since the queen and the states had determined that the Swedish dominions should suffer no kind of partition, division, or dismemberment; that while he continued in the station of hereditary prince, he should be disqualified from accepting any titles, honours, or preferments from foreigners, which should require his attendance abroad, and call him out of Sweden: that he should consult the queen and the states with respect to marriage: that he should contract no alliances without their participation: that the princess upon whom he fixed his choice should be of the faith prescribed by the confession of Augsburgh, and that his children should be bred in the same religion: that on his accession he should govern agreeable to the laws of the realm, maintain the reformed religion, and the constitution in church and state, agreeable to the diet at Augsburgh, and the council at Upsal.

To conclude this important business, the assembly of the states ordered the ceremony of Christina's coronation to be performed with the utmost pomp and solemnity. Custom prescribed that the Swedish sovereigns should be crowned at Upsal; but this city appearing too small for the celebration, and the prodigious magnificence intended, the states allowed the procession to be made at Stockholm; whence the superstitious drew unfavourable presages to Christina, from an observation, that the princes crowned in any other city than Upsal had never enjoyed the diadem to the end of their lives. Already, indeed, the queen had given some intimations of her disgust, and of her intention to devolve the administration on the hereditary prince. She had discovered an early passion for study, reflection, and retirement. Having experienced all that human grandeur could give, she wished for philosophical tranquillity, and was seduced by the flattery of the learned into notions very contrary to the natural dictates of the female heart. Christina began to affect a contempt of pomp, power, grandeur, and all the magnificence of dress and splendor of a court. To be thought wise and learned was her chief passion; though she forfeited her title to superior wisdom, by counterfeiting inclinations which she did not possess, and laying a constant restraint on her natural sentiments. Poets, painters, and philosophers, became her greatest favourites. She affected to correspond with the most celebrated scholars of Europe, and purchased the paintings of Titian at an extravagant price, only to shew that she wanted taste; they were clipped and mangled to fit the panuels of her gallery.

*Christina
crowned.*

In a word, vanity was the foible of Christina; it had already been gratified with respect to power and grandeur; and now it flowed into a new channel. She aspired at being the sovereign of the learned, and dictating in the lyceum as she had done in the senate.

*She proposes
to abdicate
the throne.*

A. D. 1652.

M. Puffendorf suspects, that a quarrel with the nobility, and the other members of the state, had first inspired the queen with the idea of transferring the crown to her successor. The ancient nobility, who considered all the highest employments as their birth-right, beheld with indignation that Christina bestowed them indiscriminately on her favourites. On the contrary, the people, accustomed to frugality, temperance, and modesty, were disgusted with the luxury and magnificence of the court; and they murmured, that the more they were oppressed by taxes, the more profligate their superiors became. They even complained of the queen's ill-placed liberality; they despised science and the arts, ridiculed the passion of the sovereign for the conversation of learned drones, for books, pictures, statues, and trifles, and were heartily disposed to break out into open rebellion, had their spirits been irritated by any additional impost. From the tranquillity with which Christina regarded this menacing storm, it was suspected she had in reserve some expedient for extricating herself out of the difficulty: none appeared more plausible than that of committing the reins of government into the hands of the hereditary prince; and the ensuing diet fully explained her intentions. She had given suspicion, and indeed a sufficient foundation for conjecture, as early as the year 1649, by her preparations for visiting the islands of Gothland and Oeland, in one of which, it was imagined, she proposed fixing her retreat. Oxenstiern, who had never been her favourite, was now caressed; whence it was inferred, that at her abdication she would live in friendship with all her subjects, and though she resigned the crown, would still maintain her empire in the hearts of the Swedes. The sieur Chanut, the French envoy, had intimated this resolution to his court, before it was thought of in Sweden; and this circumstance has afforded a handle to prattling obscure writers, to throw unmerited and scandalous reflections upon the queen's virtue.

As to Charles Gustavus, the nearer he approached the summit of his expectations, the greater caution he used. He manifested no inclination to reign, and seemed assiduous only about shewing a perfect obedience to the queen's

7 Arkenholtz, tom. i. p. 341. Puffend. tom. vi. sub cit.

pleasure. To avoid meddling in state-affairs, he seldom visited the court, kept close with the army, and prejudiced his health by his debaucheries, which he committed in order to gain the affections of his officers. When Christina acquainted him with her intentions, he seemed astonished, and asked if her majesty meant to put his ambition to the test. He foresaw the difficulties he would have to encounter on his first accession; the people discontented, the treasury empty, a revenue to be assigned for the queen's maintenance, and certain unadjusted disputes with the king of Poland, who had not yet acknowledged Christina as queen of Sweden, and would probably make the same objections to her successor. These, with a train of other inconveniences, Gustavus anticipated in his own mind; but the remedies were more doubtful. To levy new taxes would at least be unpopular in the first dawn of his reign; such a step might even excite an insurrection, and to redeem the crown-lands, alienated so liberally by Christina to her favourites, might on the other hand discontent the nobility. From these considerations it was that Gustavus used his utmost influence to prevail on Christina not to resign her authority in the present situation of affairs, when every change in the government would only serve to accumulate difficulties. He spoke to the grand-mareschal and the chancellor, requested they would join their interest to his in remonstrating to the queen the danger of carrying her purpose into execution; in a word, he did every thing that could evince his loyalty, his patriotism, and his perfect satisfaction with his present condition. The mareschal and chancellor, accompanied by the principal senators, requested her majesty to take the prince's arguments into consideration; the French ambassador spoke to her with the utmost freedom on this head, and made use of such powerful reasoning, as seemed to stagger her resolution; but she had now so long persisted, that she imagined she could not retract with a good grace. Her pride, her honour, and her philosophy, were all concerned. These turned the scale in favour of her first determination; and Christina gave for a reason, that as she herself had determined against marriage, it was necessary that the hereditary prince should think of strengthening the succession, and securing the repose of Sweden, by an alliance with some princess, who would sooner be induced to give him her hand, when she saw him in possession of the crown. After several months had passed in constant endeavours to divert Christina from her whimsical project of laying down her sovereignty, the senate, the chief favourites of the queen, the principal

*She lays
aside her
design of
resigning.*

members of the state, headed by the chancellor, waited upon her with the utmost solemnity; and, as a last effort, supplicated in so pathetic a manner, that she consented to postpone her design. Oxenstiern made a speech, which drew tears from the queen and the whole assembly: Christina yielded without stipulating on any other condition than that she should never be pressed to marry.

Christina had no sooner yielded to the earnest wishes of her people than the subject of the hereditary prince's alliance with the house of Mecklenburgh was dropped. Gustavus did not despair of gaining the queen's affections; he hoped, as she had relaxed in a point upon which she seemed obstinately bent, that she might one day be induced to complete the happiness of her people. An unfortunate accident, which fell out a few days after the queen had given her promise, almost blighted all the fruits of that regard which Christina had shewn for the good of Sweden. Attended by admiral Fleming, she went to see a new fleet just launched, and talking carelessly to him, standing on a board laid from the shore to the side of the ship, her foot slipped, she plunged into the sea, and must inevitably have been drowned, but for the diligence of the bystanders. On this occasion she displayed the generosity and heroism of a daughter of the great Gustavus, without discovering the least emotion or female timidity; she agreeably ridiculed the admiral upon having pulled her after him into the sea, dined in public, and ever after delighted to recite the accident.

A.D. 1654.

She resumes her intentions.

Until the year 1654, nothing memorable occurred in Sweden. The people were felicitating themselves with the hope of a closer union between the queen and the hereditary prince; they were beginning to taste the blessings of repose, and to cherish the pleasing prospect of a long series of domestic happiness, when Christina suddenly resumed the thoughts of resigning, and excited fresh matter of disquiet in Sweden. Her intention was spread over the kingdom almost instantaneously; and though the queen was not universally beloved, the extraordinary resolution she had formed, greatly exalted her character, and affected the Swedes like a sudden explosion of thunder. All were struck dumb with her firmness, no one attempting to dissuade her from a purpose upon which they perceived she was determined: The senate assembled at Upsal, heard Christina declare her design with silent astonishment; they only ventured to reply, that they were in expectation her promises to continue the government would have been of longer duration.

While

While the senate was deliberating upon the measures which would be necessary in consequence of the queen's resignation, Christina dispatched count Fleming and Sternwick to the hereditary prince, to treat with him on the revenues to be assigned for the support of her dignity after her abdication. The prince renewed his solicitations to divert her intention; but finding that all his arguments produced no effect, it was proposed, that two hundred thousand rix-dollars should be annually paid her majesty at certain installments, and that Gottenburgh, Pomerania, the islands of Oeland and Gothland, should be appropriated, so as to render this revenue certain and unalienable. Great objections were made to dismembering Gottenburgh from the crown-revenue, as it was the only port which Sweden possessed towards the ocean; nor did the senate approve of Christina's demand, that Wolgast and the other territories of Pomerania should be ceded to her in full right and sovereignty, with power to sell and dispose of them as she might think proper. These points, however, were at length adjusted to mutual satisfaction; upon which the queen turned her eyes to the security of the succession, in case the hereditary prince should die without issue. She disliked the person and conduct of Adolphus, brother to the hereditary prince; it was her design, therefore, to cut him off from all expectation, and settle the reversion of the crown in the family of the count de Tot, who was allied to the royal blood, and himself a great favourite of Christina. She found that the people universally opposed her design; and, therefore, prudently declined it, resolving to content herself with confirming upon him the title of duke, a dignity hitherto borne only by the children of the kings in Sweden. To qualify these extraordinary honours, she made the same offer to the chancellor Oxenstiern; but they wisely declined titles, which they knew would serve no other purpose than to excite the envy of all the nobility of Sweden, and their conduct obliged the queen to relinquish her scheme of making the count de Tot the first grandee in the kingdom².

She now assembled the states at Upsal, where in a set 21st May, speech, she recapitulated all the transactions of her reign, and the numberless instances of her care and affection for her people; she specified all the measures she had taken to prevent any inconveniences that might result to the kingdom from her determination, and concluded with fixing upon the 16th of June, as the day on which she proposed

² Puffend. *ibid.* Arken. tom. i. *ibid.*

resigning

Quits
Sweden.

resigning her crown and sovereignty to prince Charles Guſtavus (A). When the day arrived, which ſhe expected with as much eagerness as other princeſſes have wiſhed for their coronation, ſhe was aſtoniſhed to find that the ſtates propoſed to fix her reſidence in Sweden. This reſtriction would have effectually deſtroyed the intention of her abdication. It was her deſign to be at liberty to live where ſhe pleaſed, and retire to countries where the ſciences had made greater progreſs, and where the catholic religion, which ſhe had lately embraced, was eſtabliſhed. This difficulty, however, ſhe removed, by a promiſe of returning as ſoon as ſhe ſhould have confirmed her health by a ſhort reſidence at the Spa. She then diveſted herſelf of all her authority, reſigned the crown to her couſin, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly with a pathetic oration, which drew tears from all the bearers. A few days after her reſignation, ſhe quitted the kingdom; and inſtead of proceeding to the Spa, went directly to Rome, where ſhe chiefly reſided for the remainder of her life:

Such was the extraordinary manner in which Chriſtina reſigned her crown, at the age of twenty-seven years, after a reign equally glorious to her government and to Sweden, during which ſhe had foiled the whole power of the houſe of Auſtria, broke thoſe chains which were forged to enſlave the liberties of Germany, and hold in bondage the proteſtant religion. Never was the reputation of Sweden elevated to ſuch a pitch of fame as under Chriſtina. The valour of the nation was univerſally acknowledged; Germany and Denmark could produce fatal inſtances of the military ſkill of this people. The reward of all the Swediſh victories was an extension of territory and of influence in the ſcale of Europe. In other countries, the arts languiſhed during tedious bloody wars; under Chriſtina they

(A) The day preceding Chriſtina's abdication, ſhe offered an unprecedented affront to the Portugueſe reſident, ordering a paper to be read to him without the conſent of her council or ſenate, whereby ſhe diſavowed the duke of Braganza's title to the crown of Portugal, and conſequently his enſeign's authority. She ordered the miniſter to quit her dominions, and by this violence equally aſtoniſhed all her people and the court of Portugal. The ſenate, however, ſent privately to the reſident, acquainting him, that as the queen's power would ſoon be at an end, he might depend on the countenance of the ſucceeding government. (1).

(1) Arkenholtz, tom. i.

flouriſhed

flourished by the force of her own example, though she cultivated them more from vanity than taste. Upon the whole, Christina was a princess of extraordinary qualities, quick, penetrating, eloquent, and spirited, endowed with talents truly masculine, but tinged with the weakness of her sex, whim, caprice, vanity, and inconstancy (B). Protestant writers have been too severe on her character, because she was an apostate from their faith, and catholics have triumphed too much in the conversion of a princess so eminent, and distinguished for her philosophy, learning, and sound understanding^e.

S E C T. IX.

Wherein the Swedish History is deduced to the Accession of Charles XII. in 1697, comprehending the reigns of Charles X. and XI.

C H A R L E S X.

ON the same day that Christina resigned her sovereignty, A.D. 1655
the hereditary prince, Charles Gustavus, was solemnly crowned at Upsal. At his first accession, he encountered several difficulties which he exerted his utmost address to remove. The treasury was quite exhausted, great part of the revenue was applied for the support of Christina's household, the people were oppressed with taxes, and the Swedish nation, now disarmed for several years, began to lose its credit among foreigners, and that reputation acquired, and only to be maintained by the sword. To remedy these evils, Charles Gustavus assembled the states, proposed reuniting to the crown all the lands which had been alienated by grants to favourites during the late reign; strongly recommended the necessity of putting the kingdom in a state

^e Vid. auct. citat. ibid.

(B) As it is a history of Sweden, and not the lives of the sovereigns that we profess to write, it would be unnecessary to enter upon the intrigues carried on by Christina, to recover the authority which she had so wantonly resigned. Certain, however, it is, that finding the world did not pay all the ho-

mage she expected to so extraordinary an act of humility, her ambition revived, and, unable to obtain the Swedish crown, she became a candidate for the throne of Poland. The reader may find the particulars fully related by Arkenholtz and other biographers.

of defence, and of repealing the duty on salt, which had been renewed in consequence of a war between the Poles and Russians. As there was no particular cause of complaint against any of the neighbouring powers, and the king's designs had no other object than to restore the reputation of the Swedish arms; by engaging in some war, it was long debated whether hostilities should commence on the side of Denmark, of Russia, or of Poland. The two former were engaged by actual treaties with Sweden; to declare war, therefore, against either, would have been highly injurious to the faith and honour of the nation. There was some appearance of a pretext for declaring against Poland, because that crown had always declined adjusting the differences with Sweden, and had besides broke through divers articles of the truce. When Casimir, king of Poland, had sent Canasill in quality of envoy to Upsal, with instructions to protest against Christina's abdication, and the cession of the crown to Charles Gustavus, Canasill made remonstrances to the archbishop, the clergy, and the other orders of the state, which afforded a seasonable and fair opportunity for coming to a rupture. His Swedish majesty accordingly declared against the Polish minister's conduct, ordered him to quit the kingdom, and expressed his astonishment, that the king of Poland did not immediately send plenipotentiaries to terminate the differences between the two crowns. Nothing indeed could be more unjust than the measures entered upon by Sweden, determined at all events to restore the credit of her arms, by a war with Poland, under pretence that she questioned the title of a powerful monarch, at the very time she was engaged in actual hostilities against the Russians and Cossacks.

Charles invades and conquers Poland.

Before either party proceeded to open declaration, several embassies went from Poland to Stockholm, under pretence of negotiating a peace; but some scruple of ceremony always disappointed them of an audience of the king, and they returned without their errand. As soon as every thing was in readiness for taking the field, general Wittenberg received orders to make an irruption into Poland, on the side of Pomerania. He obeyed, and advanced to Templeburgh, where he found the Polish army, amounting to fifteen thousand men, ready to oppose his progress. Next day, however, the Poles desired to negotiate the matter; a conference was set on foot, and before it broke up the enemies army entirely dispersed, many of the Polish soldiers enlisting in the Swedish service. In consequence of this defection, the vaivods of Posnania and Calis submitted

mitted and took an oath of fidelity to Charles Gustavus. They were terrified into this measure by the approach of his Swedish majesty, who had now in person entered Poland with a numerous army. Dread and dismay accompanied his march, all submitted to his power, and every thing plied beneath his yoke. He prudently treated the Poles with the greatest lenity, gained their affections, joined Wittenberg, and then set out with his whole army in quest of Casimir. The Polish king was encamped at Calo, from whence he dispatched Prizimiki, with proposals of peace; but Charles made no other answer to the minister than that he would speak to his master upon the subject of his embassy. In effect, he pursued his march without obstruction, all the towns and cities throwing open their gates as he approached, and offering to supply him with all manner of necessaries. The Swedish army was advancing to Cracow, when Casimir resolved to hazard a battle rather than see his capital fall, without resistance, into the hands of the enemy. His army did not exceed ten thousand men, troops who had never stood fire: they engaged, made a feeble resistance, and then fled precipitately with the loss of one thousand men, killed and taken prisoners^a.

Some days after this victory, Charles a second time defeated the Poles, on the banks of the river Donacia, about eight leagues from Cracow; and Casimir finding no place of security in his own dominions, fled with his family to Oppelen in Silesia. The Swedes invested Cracow, and the city was defended with the utmost valour by Stephen Czarneski, though after prodigious carnage he was forced to capitulate. By the reduction of the capital, Charles might be deemed in possession of the kingdom of Poland. None of the other cities presumed to make the least shew of resistance, and the militia of the country scrupled not taking an oath of allegiance to king Charles, as their own sovereign had abandoned his people. Their example was followed by the voivods and governors of provinces in Great and Little Poland, Podolia, and Volhinia, who all sent deputations to the Swedish monarch at Warsaw, with offers of their fidelity and submission. Had written obligations, seals, and solemn oaths, been sufficient to keep the Polanders in subjection, Charles Gustavus might be said to have conquered a kingdom, of extent and power equal to his own, in the space of three months. Matters indeed were carried to such a length, that making an offer of the crown to Charles was the general subject of conversation in Poland;

^a Puffend. lib. vii.

but it soon appeared that the Poles had only yielded to necessity, without any serious intention of abandoning their sovereignty.

*He excites
the jealousy
of several
powers.*

A.D. 1656.

Charles had now drawn upon himself a new enemy, in the person of the elector of Brandenburg, a prince no less politic and ambitious than the Swedish monarch. While the Swedes were employed in Poland, the elector invaded the royal and ducal Prussia, and reduced the most considerable towns with little opposition. Charles took umbrage at his progress, marched against him, defeated the electoral forces in divers slight encounters, advanced to Königsberg, and constrained the German prince to acknowledge that ducal Prussia was a fief of Sweden, for which he promised to do homage. Such a rapid course of conquest alarmed all Europe. The pope feared the Poles would withdraw themselves from the religious obedience of the holy see, and embrace the doctrines of Luther and Calvin. The emperor dreaded the vicinity of the Swedish monarch; he apprehended if that prince should establish a firm footing in Poland, he might one day give a mortal blow to the house of Austria. The republic of the United Provinces began to tremble for their commerce, fearing that if the Swedes became masters of Prussia, and particularly of Dantzick, they would be deprived of the great trade they carried on in grain. His Danish majesty could not avoid being disturbed by such sudden conquests made by a neighbouring power, the rival and the bitterest enemy of Denmark. He doubted not but the next attempt of Charles would be against his dominions. Lastly, the Russians, though at war with Poland, beheld with jealousy the aggrandisement of Sweden; and the czar was particularly incensed at the claim which the Swedish monarch laid to Lithuania, of which the Russians had already begun the reduction. All these different powers sought the means of re-establishing the affairs of Poland, and of chasing the Swedes entirely out of that kingdom and Prussia, while Charles remained without a single ally or resource, except what he drew from his own courage, and the valour and fidelity of his subjects. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that fortune shifted sides, and terminated the war in a manner very different from what the first appearances promised. Valour tutored by conduct was not alone sufficient to insure success; it was necessary that some degree of equality in strength should be maintained, and that money, the sinews of war, should be provided.

The Poles no sooner observed a prospect of succour than they began to recover from the panic into which they were

were thrown by the sudden invasion of the kingdom. King Casimir returned from Silesia, while the king of Sweden was engaged in Prussia. It was no difficult matter to persuade the Poles to break an oath which they had taken out of fear, and to renounce all allegiance to a prince whom they considered as a heretic, a stranger, and an usurper. Priests gave absolution, and the pontiff dispensed indulgences to this simple ignorant people; the revolt was general, and those very troops and generals who had almost voluntarily acknowledged the sovereignty of Gustavus, now ranged themselves under the banners of Casimir. In all the little villages the Swedish soldiers were massacred; and in the province of Lithuania, where a great number of Swedish troops were quartered, scarce one escaped the sword. Charles immediately marched from Prussia to chastise the Poles, and revenge the cruel death of his brave soldiers. In his march towards the capital, he encountered and defeated general Czarneski, who commanded a corps of twelve thousand men: above half the Polish army was cut in pieces or taken. This check however did not hinder all the Poles, who were incorporated with the Swedish regiments, from deserting to Casimir, by which means his numbers were considerably augmented. As this campaign was made in the depth of a severe winter, the Swedish army was in a short time reduced to a most deplorable situation. In the march to Jarislau the troops sustained the united pressure of hunger, cold, fatigue, and disease; to which we may add the attacks of the peasants, who murdered and stripped all the stragglers. Besides, Czarneski had set a fresh army on foot, with which he grievously harrassed the Swedish rear, and gave perpetual alarms by means of his light cavalry^b.

At length Charles, after having surmounted incredible hardships, arrived off Jarislau; but finding it was impossible to subsist his troops, he again begun his march towards Prussia. The Poles thought to surround him near Sandomir; and a report had already prevailed, that the Swedes were cut in pieces, and that Charles was killed in the engagement. In fact, he was in the most imminent danger, cooped up in an angle formed by the confluence of two great rivers, his passage over which was opposed by forces more numerous than his own: this spirited king however surmounted every difficulty; he forced a passage, repulsed the Lithuanians, and opened a way to Warsaw, from

*The Poles
revolt and
drive the
Swedes out
of the king-
dom.*

^b Id. *ibid.* *Revol. de Pologne*, par. M. le Abbé des Fontaines, p. 293.

whence he pursued his march to Prussia. This retreat was not accomplished without some loss. The margrave of Baden, who commanded a body of four thousand Swedes, was surpris'd and defeated by the Poles at Warka; a loss which was in a short time compensated by a complete victory, which Adolphus, the king's brother, and general Wrangel obtained over Czarneski, while the king was employed in measures for laying siege to Dantzick. This design he was forced to lay aside on account of the interposition of the Dutch, who arrived before the city with a squadron of twenty-eight men of war, offered their mediation, and dropped hints of their resolution of opposing Charles, unless a proper regard should be paid to their interest. A negotiation was therefore set on foot, and very advantageous terms were granted to the Hollanders. However, as the Poles had received a strong reinforcement of Tartars, Charles did not think it sufficient that he had bought off the Dutch; it was necessary to gain the elector of Brandenburg, in order that he might be at liberty to turn the whole strength of Sweden against Casimir; but the elector procrastinated matters, and drew out the negotiation to such a length, that Warsaw was forced to capitulate, after it had been for three weeks besieged by the whole Polish army.

At last, not only a treaty of peace was concluded, but an alliance contracted between the king and the elector, whereby the entire sovereignty of Prussia was ceded to the latter, on condition that he should assist Charles Gustavus in the reduction of Poland. Accordingly these two princes marched in concert against the enemy, who were encamp'd in a strong situation in the neighbourhood of Warsaw, with the Vistula in front. The allies began the attack, and pursued it with such vigour and obstinacy, that the Poles were driven from their intrenchments, entirely defeated, prodigious carnage made, and a great number of prisoners taken. So brilliant a victory greatly heightened the lustre of the Swedish monarch's glory; but it did not produce all the expected advantages, because the elector acted but coldly and remissly on this occasion, barely executing the articles of the treaty. The Poles and Tartars laboured to break the alliance; with which view they made an irruption into Ducal Prussia, where they defeated the electoral army near Licca, taking prince Radzivil and several officers of distinction prisoners.

This defeat was soon revenged by the Swedish general Steenboek, who attacked the same Polish army at Philipowa, and overthrew it with such slaughter, as obliged the
Poles

Poles to quit the field for that season. On this occasion prince Radzivil was rescued out of the hands of the enemy; and general Welleberg, who had been arrested on the reduction of Warsaw, contrary to an express article of the capitulation, was exchanged for certain Polish noblemen taken in this battle. Even this important advantage could not keep the elector steady in the interest of Sweden. Better terms than those stipulated in the late treaty were therefore granted, in order to preserve this only ally, at a period when Muscovy and the greatest powers in Europe were arming against Sweden. The Russians had already commenced hostilities in the provinces of Carelia, Ingermania, and Livonia; but they were every where defeated by the Swedes. At last, fortune began to desert the Swedes in Livonia; two important fortresses fell into the hands of the enemy, and they were now preparing to invest Riga. For the space of seven months had they battered the walls of this town, without once venturing to pass the ditch and storm the practicable breaches. The besieged, under the conduct of Magnus de la Gardie and Simon Helmsfeld, had defended themselves with great intrepidity, and cut off several thousands of the enemy in divers vigorous sallies. At last they ventured to attack the Russian camp; they pierced the intrenchments, put the whole army in disorder, made terrible slaughter, entirely defeated the enemy, and obliged them to raise the siege with the utmost precipitation.

In the mean time Charles was not discouraged by the number of his enemies; he knew the superiority of his own troops over the Poles and Russians, in point of discipline and valour. The very report of his approach frequently put whole armies to flight. This was the case with general Czarneski, who was approaching Dantzic; but on advice that Charles had advanced to oppose him, he retired to Poland with the utmost precipitation, and in such hurry and disorder as subjected his cavalry to a defeat from a small party of Swedes under colonel Aschenberg. The Poles, finding they were unable to face the Swedes in the field, and to stand the issue of a general engagement, contented themselves with harrassing the enemy, alarming them in their march, and cutting off their foragers and convoys. This conduct obliged Charles to alter his system, and to employ irregulars, who should fight the Poles in their own manner. With this view he concluded a treaty with Ragotski, prince of Transylvania, whereby certain provinces of Poland, contiguous to his dominions, were assigned to that ally. In consequence of this treaty the

A.D. 1657.

confederates entered Lithuania; but not being able to bring the Poles to an engagement; the expedition terminated in the reduction of a single fortress. Perceiving that nothing considerable could be effected in Poland, Charles returned with the Swedish army to Prussia^a.

It was now that Leopold, the young king of Hungary, resolved to declare in favour of Poland, and exert his utmost endeavours to break all the ambitious schemes of the Swedish monarch and Ragotski. Before he declared himself he joined the Dutch in soliciting the king of Denmark to come to a rupture with Sweden. When the resolution of attacking Poland was first taken in Sweden, some of the senators had given it as their opinion, that Denmark should be deprived of the power of hurting the kingdom during the absence of the king and army in a distant country. But as the Danish monarch had given no cause for attacking his dominions, Charles Gustavus preferred the more generous and just method of securing his friendship by treaties, which were mutually advantageous to both nations. As these treaties proposed to exclude the Hollanders from the trade and navigation of the Baltic, they drew upon the king the resentment of that republic, and gave birth to those warm remonstrances made by the Dutch deputies at the court of Copenhagen. Charles sought every opportunity of cultivating the friendship of a neighbouring power so capable of giving him great disturbance; but he soon perceived that the Danes declined engaging in any measures which might tie them up from attacking Sweden. The Dutch, he saw, were well received, the conferences to establish a treaty of alliance procrastinated, new demands every day made upon Sweden, and the price of the Danish friendship rated so high, that he could no longer doubt their design was to suffer him to enfeeble himself with the Polish war, and then to attack him, when he should be languid and exhausted. Wrangel advised the king to anticipate the schemes of the Danish monarch, and fall upon him before his levies were complete; but Charles resolved not to be the aggressor, imagining, perhaps, that his moderation would induce the powers, who had guaranteed the treaty of Westphalia, to take part in his quarrel. He likewise might possibly think it sufficient to be engaged in one unjust war, which had been undertaken merely from motives of policy and ambition.

The king of Denmark declares against Sweden.

It was not long before what Charles had foreseen happened. The king of Denmark declared open war; giving

^a *Revol. de Polog. ibid. Puffend. lib. vii.*

for a reason, that the Swedes had deprived him of the duchy of Bremen in the last reign, notwithstanding he had maintained an exact neutrality during the war in Germany (A). We have already seen the falsity of this allegation; but it could only be effectually refuted by the sword. Charles, on advice that the Danes had invaded Bremen, and taken Bremerwerde and other places, marched with all possible expedition to Stetin, leaving the affairs of Prussia and Poland in the hands of his brother, duke Adolphus. Before he took this measure he had concerted matters with Ragotski, and given him a plan of operations, which, had it been duly followed, must have brought the war with Poland to a speedy and fortunate issue; but Ragotski, offended at the king's departure to oppose a fresh enemy, became negligent, followed different measures than those recommended by Charles, and suffered himself to be surprised, and his army to be cut in pieces by the Poles and Tartars. To fill the measure of his misfortunes, the Turks made an irruption into Transylvania, under pretence that Ragotski, as a vassal of the Porte, had no right to invade Poland without authority from the grand signor: the prince gave them battle and perished in the action, whereby his Swedish majesty lost the sole ally upon whom he could have any kind of dependence.

The Danes defeated in Bremen and Holstein.

Mean while Charles Gustavus having traversed Pomerania and the duchy of Mecklenburgh, fell upon Holstein, while general Wrangel with another corps entered the duchy of Bremen. Nothing could exceed the vigour and intrepidity with which this general pursued his measures. In the space of fifteen days he retook all the towns which the enemy had reduced; attacked, defeated, and drove the Danish army out of the country, after having killed three thousand of their best soldiers. Nor were the enemy more fortunate in Holstein: here the king carried all before him, taking several fortresses, reducing Itzehoe to ashes, defeating a corps of Danes in the open field, and laying siege to Fredericks-Udda, into which the enemy had thrown a strong garrison. The conduct of this siege the king left to

(A) In the history of Denmark we have seen a variety of reasons specified for the rupture between the two Northern crowns. Among others, his Danish majesty demanded restitution of certain territories in Norway, violently withheld

from him by the king of Sweden. He likewise required satisfaction for the protection afforded by Charles to the count Ulfeldt, a Danish refugee; and indeed to the resentment of this nobleman the war is chiefly ascribed.

Wrangel, and retired to Wismar, to observe the situation of affairs in Poland. Wrangel imagining that to besiege this place in form might consume the whole season, and expose his army to the rigours of the winter, resolved to attack it sword in hand; a resolution which he executed with such astonishing gallantry, that in the space of two hours he became master of a numerous garrison and exceeding strong fortification^b.

Sea-fight.

On the frontiers of the kingdom the Swedes were less successful: they had lost one battle near Guarö in the province of Halland; but the enemy derived no considerable advantage from their victory. At sea the fleets met, and maintained a hot engagement for two days; at the end of which both sides claimed the victory. Puffendorf, and some other historians partial to Sweden, positively affirm, that the Danes sheered off in disorder; but they confess that the Swedes profited nothing by their victory; a circumstance which they attribute to the misconduct of certain officers of inferior station.

*The house
of Austria
declares
against
Charles.*

In Poland the Swedish affairs were still more unprosperous. The house of Austria had now declared for Casimir, a German army had already entered Poland, and obliged the Swedish garrison in Cracow to surrender that capital, though Wartz the governor had defended it with great intrepidity, and made dreadful carnage among the besiegers. General Czarneski had likewise entered Pomerania, where he desolated the country with all the fury of a barbarian, determined to revenge his late disgraces upon the innocent peasants, whom he put to the sword without pity or remorse. Dreading however the approach of the Swedish army, he retired with precipitation, before his expedition had answered any other purpose than that of transmitting his name to posterity as a monster of cruelty.

Charles, finding himself environed by enemies, and his strength divided to oppose the troops of Austria, Brandenburg, Poland, Russia, and Denmark, determined upon striking some spirited blow which should induce the latter to listen to terms of pacification. With this view he formed an enterprize upon the island of Funen, the success of which would he knew be of great consequence, though the utmost difficulty attended the execution. Providence indeed seemed to second his designs; a sudden frost came on uncommonly early in the season, the sea which separates the Danish islands was frozen, and the Swedish monarch enabled to transport his forces without

^b Des Roches Hist. Den. tom. iv. Puffend. lib. vii.

the expence of shipping. Charles did not fail to improve the opportunity. He instantly put his army in motion, passed over to Funen upon the ice, and surpris'd a body of four thousand Danish soldiers, and five hundred peasants, whom he cut in pieces. Having in a few days reduced the whole island, he passed from thence to Langland, next to Laaland, then to Falstre, all of which he conquered, and lastly march'd to Zealand, the great object of his operations. The unexpected arrival of the Swedish army entirely disconcerted the Danes: they were seiz'd with a panic, deprived of all fortitude and presence of mind, and giving themselves up to despair, when Charles gave them to understand that he would hearken to equitable terms of accommodation. He was nevertheless strongly advis'd to lay siege to Copenhagen, at that time badly fortified, and overwhelmed with consternation; but Charles, reflecting that the capital could be of little service towards the reduction of Denmark, while Cronenburg and other strong fortresses were in the hands of the enemy; that the conquest of these places must equally diminish his army, and afford his other enemies time to penetrate into the Swedish dominions, determin'd upon peace, and immediately set on foot a negociation for that purpose. It cannot be imagin'd that the king of Denmark, in his present situation, would be very difficult about the terms; it was his business to sheath the sword at any expence, especially as he secretly determin'd to draw it again with the first opportunity. Charles however contented himself with the cession of those provinces to which the crown of Sweden had always laid claim. Accordingly, by the treaty of Roschild, concluded on the 12th of March, the provinces of Schonon, Halland, and Bleking; Lyster and Huwen; the isle of Borkholm; the bailliages of Bahus and Drontheim, in Norway; and a free passage through the Sound, were obtained as the fruits of the Swedish king's gallant conduct. The treaty was ratified at a personal interview between the two princes, which pass'd at Fredericksburg, where they gave each other exterior marks of reciprocal esteem; after which Charles Gustavus set out for Gottenburg, to assemble the states of Sweden. His army was quartered in the Danish dominions for the remainder of the season, in order to recover by repose and good living the disorders contract'd in consequence of the excessive fatigue and hardships of a winter campaign^a.

A. D. 1658.

*Peace with
Denmark.*^a Hist. Dan. tom. iv.

*War re-
newed
with Den-
mark.*

*Copenhagen
besieged.*

His Swedish majesty had now room to hope that he had rid himself of one troublesome enemy; and that the Danes, who had been so unsuccessful in their last attempt, would have no great inclination again to try the fortune of war. Nevertheless, he was disappointed: Denmark soon entered into a league with other powers to check the prowess of the Swedish arms, and revenge the late indignity she had sustained. The measures which the Danish monarch had taken, and the pains he was at to persuade the count de Guldenlew to quit the Swedish service, left Charles no room to doubt but his intention was to attack him, as soon as he found the Swedes deeply engaged either against the emperor in Germany, king Casimir in Poland, or the Russians in Livonia. He therefore resolved to anticipate designs which might prove of fatal consequence, and again to attack Denmark, before she had sufficiently provided for her security. He thought it adviseable that Denmark, rather than his own dominions, should become the theatre of war: for which reason he ordered his fleet to the coast of Holstein, where he embarked his troops with all possible expedition. He spread a report that his intention was to lay siege to Dantzic; but he set sail strait for Zealand, and appeared very unexpectedly before Copenhagen. Had he immediately given the assault, before the inhabitants had recovered from their first surprize, it is probable he would have carried the city without the trouble of a siege or blockade; but as he landed at the distance of seventeen miles from the capital, the Danes had time to recollect themselves, and take the measures necessary for their defence. In effect, they behaved with admirable courage, fought with incredible intrepidity, and defeated the Swedes in every attempt that was made to take the city by assault. The siege was spun out to a great length, and the besieged were reduced to extremities, when at last a powerful Dutch fleet arrived in the Sound, laden with ammunition and provision for their succour. Charles gave battle to the Hollanders; but admiral Opdam, in despite of all his endeavours, pushed into the harbour of Copenhagen, and relieved the city just as it was on the point of surrendering. This circumstance obliged Charles to convert the siege into a blockade, and to entrench his army at the entrance of the Sound, in which situation the army remained until the end of the war. Mean time general Wrangel had been dispatched with a body of forces to lay siege to Cronenburg, the strongest fortress in the Danish dominions, which he took, after a siege of three weeks, by such a series of gal-
lant

lant actions, intrepidity, and vigour, as raised his reputation beyond that of any officer of this period in the Swedish service.

Notwithstanding the whole strength of Sweden was employed in Denmark, the Poles made no considerable advantage of this diversion. All they effected was penetrating into Livonia, and laying siege to Cebron; in which enterprize they were foiled. In concert with the Austrians, indeed, they reduced Thorn. A new enemy now appeared, and had no sooner declared himself than he was crushed. The duke of Courland had, under the pretext of a neutrality, done many ill offices to Sweden; the king therefore directed general Douglas to attack the fortress of Mittau; an order which he executed with such address, that the place was taken, and the duke carried off prisoner to Riga; from whence he was sent to Novogorod, where he remained during the war. With such vigour did the Swedes combat and humble their numerous enemies.

While Charles kept all Denmark in a manner blocked up, A. D. 1659.
the enemies of Sweden continued closely linked together, determined to clip those soaring wings which endangered the liberty of all the northern nations, and disturbed the repose of Europe. Even France and England appeared partial to the enemies of Sweden, and ready to declare in their favour, as far as could be judged from a treaty called the Concert of the Hague, or a kind of agreement between France, England, and Holland, to reconcile the two northern monarchies. To frustrate the effects of this agreement, Charles made an attempt in the night to surprise Copenhagen; but the scheme was baffled by the strength and vigour of the besieged, who greatly exceeded in number his whole army. He then laboured to establish a firm footing in the Danish islands; for which purpose he made himself master of Langland, Mona, Falstre, and Laaland. He persisted in his resolution, notwithstanding the arrival of an English and Dutch fleet in the Sound; and was encouraged in his perseverance by the news of a truce concluded between his general and the Russians, and of the defeat of the Poles before Riga.

Notwithstanding this disaster, the Poles found means to drive the king's forces out of Courland, and to gain possession of Grandentz in Prussia. At the same time the Austrians, in concert with the electoral forces of Brandenburg, penetrated into Holstein and Jutland, and were preparing to invade Funen; but were repulsed by the brave Wrangel. Their loss on this occasion was so considerable, and the conduct of the Swedes so remarkably spirited, that

the enemy, convinced they could gain nothing by persisting in the attempt to reduce the island, they returned to Pomerania, and laid siege to Stetin with all their forces. Here they were not more successful : after great loss of time, and soldiers, the allies were at length forced to relinquish the siege, and break up camp in great disorder ^b.

A war merely defensive, however successful, contributed nothing towards the completion of the ambitious hopes of Charles Gustavus. He therefore made another attempt on Copenhagen ; but it terminated in the same manner as the preceding. He was more unfortunate in another quarter. The Dutch fleet transported the allied troops to Funen, where they attacked the Swedes under count Saltzbach with such superior numbers, that, after an obstinate defence, he was forced to retire with scarce half his army to Nyburg, the other half having perished in the field of battle. A few days after this action, the Swedes, who had taken shelter at Nyburg, were forced to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion ; by which means the king lost the service of four thousand of the best soldiers in his whole army. The loss and disgrace affected him sensibly ; but did not weaken his courage, nor damp that spirit of enterprize for which this prince was celebrated. He was preparing to take his revenge, and had assembled the states at Gottenburg to deliberate on the means of pushing the war with redoubled vigour, when he was attacked by a fever, which was epidemical and fatal in the camp. After a few days illness, he died, on the 23d of February, having reigned not more than six years ; during which he obtained the reputation of a bold, busy, warlike, undaunted, and rash monarch, whose ambition stirred up the greatest powers of Europe against him, whose ardour after glory engaged him in the most unjust quarrels, and whose genius, fruitful in resources, would probably have triumphed over all difficulties, and obliged the six powerful nations with which he was then at war to grant honourable terms of pacification, had he lived a few years longer.

C H A R L E S XI.

THE death of Charles Gustavus, who was the soul and invigorating principle of Sweden ; the minority of his son Charles XI. that ensued ; the distressed situation of the kingdom, ready to sink under a ruinous fruitless war ; made it absolutely necessary that measures should be immediately

^b Puffend. lib. vii.

*The
Swedes
defeated.*

A. D. 1660.

taken for restoring the public tranquillity. The regency, as it had been settled in the deceased monarch's will, underwent some alterations. The queen-dowager was left in possession of all the power and honours assigned her by the king; but the office of grand-mareschal was taken from duke Adolphus, and conferred on Kayge, the oldest general in Sweden; and after his death, which happened in 1669, was given to Charles Gustavus Wrangel, who was succeeded in the office by Steinboeck. The states and the regency unanimously agreed, that the first step was to get rid of the war upon any terms, that were not in a very extraordinary manner injurious to the honour and interest of Sweden; and their views were the more easily accomplished, as the death of Charles Gustavus considerably diminished the jealousy the northern powers had conceived of the designs formed by Sweden. Provided Schonen, Bleking, Halland, and Bahus were retained, no other conditions could prove unfavourable in the present conjuncture. Accordingly a treaty of peace with Poland was set on foot, and prosecuted with such diligence, that it was signed and finally concluded at Oliva by the 3d day of May. In this treaty were comprehended the emperor and the elector of Bavaria: John Casimir renounced his pretensions to the crown of Sweden, and the republic of Poland ceded her pretended right to Livonia. *Treaty of
Oliva.*

The peace with Denmark met with greater difficulties, and the conferences were frequently on the point of being broke off. King Frederic refused to declare himself, until Sweden should make explicit proposals, under pretence that he had been attacked in the midst of profound peace, and at a time when he thought himself perfectly secure on the faith of solemn treaties; but the Swedish commissaries having protested, that their sole view was to restore the repose of the North, the mediators found means to adjust all differences. Conferences were appointed in tents, erected for the commissaries, between the Swedish camp and Copenhagen. By the 21st of June the treaty was signed, upon much the same conditions as the late treaty of Roschild; only that Bornholm and Drontheim were now ceded to Denmark, while a certain equivalent in Schonen remained with Sweden. Soon after the disputes with Holland were terminated by a treaty, and peace with the Russians was concluded at Cardis^b. Thus the tranquillity of Sweden was once more restored, in a manner that cannot be deemed dishonourable, considering the number and power

^b Bar. Hist. de Allem. tom. x.

of her enemies, the length of the war, and the distressed situation in which the kingdom was left by the sudden death of the monarch, and the prospect of a tedious minority.

A.D. 1667. Sweden was now regarded as a power of considerable importance in the scale of Europe. The regency interposed in the war between England and Holland, and their mediation greatly contributed to the peace concluded at Breda. Some years after Charles XI. king of Sweden, composed one of the members of the triple alliance, formed for the security of the Netherlands, to retrench the growing power of

A.D. 1672. Lewis XIV. At last, however, perceiving the storm which threatened Europe on the invasion of the United Provinces, Charles closed in with the designs of Lewis, as the method he judged would most effectually bring about a general pacification. The treaty between France and Sweden professed nothing more than the preservation of the treaties of Westphalia; though it was obvious that each of the parties entertained other designs, and projected the extension of their several dominions. It must, however, be confessed, that Sweden gave signal proofs of moderation, as soon as it was perceived that the French king would have pushed his ambition to the utter destruction of the Dutch republic. The king then offered his mediation to terminate all differences, before he should be reduced to the necessity of applying force. Matters were brought to such a length, that conferences were appointed at Cologne; and the negotiation was in a fair way of arriving at a happy issue, when the emperor disconcerted the whole by ordering cardinal Furstenberg, plenipotentiary from the elector of Cologne, to be arrested at the congress. Charles, incensed at this violence, attached himself more closely to France, and by that attachment involved Sweden in a fresh quarrel with the elector of Brandenburg.

A. D 1674. The manner in which the Swedish monarch began this war was very particular. He ordered his troops to enter Brandenburg; but rigorously to abstain from all violence, and whatever could be construed into an act of hostility. By this means he hoped to oblige the elector to listen to terms of accommodation, and detach him from the grand alliance which was forming against Lewis. Soon after he published a manifesto in justification of his conduct, refuting therein all the calumnies asserted by the elector, with respect to the depredations committed by the Swedish forces. Here too he complained of the unjust seizure of divers Swedish ships by privateers licensed by the elector, previous to any declaration of war, contrary to a treaty subsisting between

*The king
invades
Brandenburg.*

tween Sweden and the electorate, and the established laws of nations ^b.

When this manifesto appeared, Wrangel detached two thousand men to seize the passage of Loekmeit: here the first hostilities were commenced. The Brandenburgers made an obstinate resistance; but were at last forced to give way, and suffer the Swedes to pursue their march to Middlemere, where they reduced Bornau, Britsen, and some other places. Notwithstanding Wrangel fell sick, and was forced to quit the army, the Swedes pursued their conquests under general Mardenfeldt, and possessed themselves almost without opposition of all the towns and fortresses in Brandenburg. At length the elector marched to the relief of his dominions, retook several important towns, fell upon the rear of the Swedish army, and cut it in pieces. In the end, the two armies came to a general engagement near Fehr-Bellin, in which, after a bloody contest, the Swedes were forced to retreat; but in such good order, that the elector did not venture to pursue. He, nevertheless, improved the advantage with so much address, that the Swedes were forced to evacuate all their conquests; and, what proved of worse consequence, they were deprived of the assistance of certain powers who were ready to declare for them, had they not been discouraged by the declining situation of their affairs. Instead of their being reinforced by alliances, the king of Denmark, the United Provinces, the duke of Lunenburg, and the bishop of Munster, all seized the opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on Sweden, and bringing down to their own level a power that had lately towered over all her neighbours, and given law to the northern hemisphere. It was likewise probable that Russia would have joined in this confederacy, had not the death of the czar happily delivered Sweden from so formidable an accession to her enemies. Charles could only oppose to this powerful combination the feeble aid of the elector of Bavaria, with whom he concluded a treaty offensive and defensive; for as to France, her armies had full employment in the Netherlands, and on the Rhine.

A. D. 1675]

*The Swedes
are every
where
defeated.*

The bishop of Munster was the first of the allies who sent an army into the field. In concert with the Brandenburgers, his troops reduced Verden, which soon became a bone of contention, and broke the confederacy against Sweden. The war, however, still went on with vigour in Pomerania; where the Danes, imperialists, and Brandenburgers, assisted by a Dutch squadron, attacked the Swedes in different places.

^b Puffend. Hist. lib. vii. Volt. Siecle, tom. i.

After divers other conquests, the electoral forces took Wollin by assault, and put the garrison and governor, count Schwerrin, to the sword. Thence they passed to the isle of Usedom, and soon reduced Wolgast; while the Danes gained possession of Damgarten, and were laying siege to Wismar. Though this town was strong by nature and art, it soon surrendered for want of provision.

A.D. 1676.

The rigour of the season could not deter the Swedes from keeping the field, in hopes of recovering, by a winter campaign, what they had lost during the summer. They passed to the isle of Usedom, invested Wolgast, and were forced, after a tedious siege, to relinquish the enterprize. Nor were the king's affairs more fortunate in Bremen, where the enemy laid siege to Stade, and reduced the brave garrison to extreme necessity. But what gave the most violent shock to Sweden was the defeat of the fleet, in an engagement with the combined squadrons of Denmark and Holland near Bornholm; and afterwards in a more decisive action off Oeland, in which the Swedish admiral was blown up, and the vice-admiral, with several other officers of distinction, and five ships, were taken. In consequence of this victory, Van Tromp the Dutch admiral reduced Udsted, which fortifies the governor abandoned, after having made a vigorous defence. His Danish majesty likewise, now master of the northern seas, embarked eighteen thousand men, and landed at Helsingburg, to which place he laid siege in form. The garrison, amounting only to two hundred and fifty men, evacuated the town, and retired to the citadel, which they bravely defended for the space of a week; at the end of which, a breach being made, they surrendered at discretion.

It was now that the Swedish monarch took into his own hands the reins of government, and resolved to reign without the assistance of a regency. He was induced to this determination by the factions which prevailed in the senate and regency. He declared his intention by taking upon him the command of the army, which he joined in person, with a view of opposing the irruption made by the Danes into Schonen. His forces, however, proved too weak to face the enemy: Charles was forced to evacuate Schonen, with the mortification of being baffled in his first attempt, and leaving a fine province to be desolated by hostile armies. On the king's retreat to Christianstadt, the Danes besieged Landskroon, and reduced the garrison in a few days to the necessity of capitulating, after which they directed their march to Christianstadt. This town, though strong by nature, and bravely defended, yielded at last to the obstinacy of

of the besiegers, who took it by assault, and put five hundred of the garrison to the sword.

All these disgraces served only to whet the ardor and stimulate the courage of the young monarch, who first turned the scale of fortune by defeating the Danish general *Charles's good fortune returns.* Duncamp near Helmstadt, and so entirely ruining his army, that of four thousand men not above three hundred escaped. This advantage was succeeded by the obstinate battle of Lunden, in which both the kings of Sweden and Denmark claimed the victory. That Charles prevailed appears from his having kept the field of battle, obliging the enemy to raise the siege of Malmoe, and his Danish majesty to retire to Copenhagen.

The same fortune did not accompany the Swedish arms in Pomerania, the defence of which province was committed to count Konigsmark. At first this general was extremely successful: he had gained a variety of inconsiderable advantages, which were soon obliterated by a series of disgraces, losses, and misfortunes. In a word, there remained only Stetin, Stralsund, and Gripswald, in the possession of the Swedes; and to the former of these the elector of Brandenburg laid siege with all his forces. After he had in vain consumed the whole autumn before this town, he was at last obliged to convert the siege into a blockade, and return for the winter to Berlin. Amidst all the rigours of a severe season, the electoral army remained encamped before this city, using every possible expedient to reduce it to extremity. Vander Hoot, who was governor, performed every thing that could be expected from an active, skilful, and resolute commander. He made frequent sallies, drove the besiegers from their posts, and was in a fair way of obliging them to raise the blockade, when he received a mortal wound. Wolfren, the new governor, copied exactly the example of his predecessor; he made a great number of vigorous sallies, harrassed the besiegers, but not having the necessary authority over the townsmen, who were reduced to extreme misery, the populace revolted, and obliged him to deliberate on the means of obtaining an honourable capitulation. By this time a garrison of three thousand was reduced to three hundred and twenty effective men: however, this slender corps obtained all the honours of war, and was conducted to Livonia.

Since the battle of Lunden the Swedes had remained masters of the field in that country. They reduced Helmsburg, obliged Christianhaven to capitulate, and were laying siege to Christianstadt; but his Danish majesty marching

A.D. 1678.

ing with a powerful army to the relief of this last place, they broke up camp and relinquished the enterprize. Nor was the Swedish fleet more successful than in the preceding year. Admiral Zeeblad quitting Gottenburg with eighteen sail of the line, in order to join the main fleet, was attacked and defeated, with the loss of six ships, by the Danish admiral. This advantage encouraged Frederic to invest Malmoe, in June, a city that was obstinately defended and attacked. On the 6th of July the Danes gave a general assault. They mounted the ramparts sword in hand, carried two bastions, and were opening a way for the cavalry, when the draw-bridge broke down with the prodigious weight of the soldiers who crowded upon it, put the Danes in confusion, inspired the besieged with fresh courage, and destroyed all the hopes of the besiegers, who were driven from the walls with prodigious slaughter; upon which they raised the siege a second time ^P.

The Swedish fleet a second time defeated.

Four days after the Swedish fleet fell upon the Danes near the isle of Mona, and was defeated, with the loss of seven ships. When the engagement began, the Swedes had the weather-gage; but the Danish admiral found means to deprive them of this advantage, and to break their line, to which circumstance the defeat is ascribed. To complete the misfortune, the Dutch Squadron, which had already entered the Sound to assist the Danes, cut off the Swedish admiral's passage to Gottenburg, and blocked him up at Malmoe, where he remained in the utmost distress.

It was but a few days after this sea-engagement that the battle of Landskroon was fought, in which both the Swedish and Danish monarchs commanded in person, each performing every duty of a soldier and general. The Swedish right broke the left of the Danes; but Charles was forced to draw off his troops to succour the left wing, which was put in confusion by the enemy. By this incident the battle was renewed, and maintained with the most obstinate fury, from ten in the forenoon until six in the evening, when the excessive heat of the sun and fatigue of the combatants obliged both parties to retire to their camp, as if by mutual consent. The Swedish writers however allege, that the king of Denmark retired to Landskroon, leaving king Charles master of the field, of thirty-two pieces of cannon, some mortars, and a great number of loaded waggons.

The scene of blood was not confined to the ocean, to Schonen, and Pomerania; Norway likewise was the theatre of some considerable actions. In September a battle was fought

at Oldeval, sword in hand, because the heavy rains would not admit of the use of fire arms. Here the Swedes were defeated, the infantry being cut in pieces, and the cavalry escaping only by means of the swiftness of their horses. To crown the misfortunes of Sweden, the Danes made a descent on the islands of Oeland, Smaaland, Unno, and Kuno, some of which they laid desolate; while the electoral troops and imperialists reduced count Konigsmark to the utmost distress in the neighbourhood of Stralfund. At length, however, by dint of vigilance, he found an opportunity of attacking them to so much advantage, that he retrieved his affairs by a complete victory; after which he ravaged the duchy of Mecklenburg.

All this while the Swedes were besieging Christianstadt, from which the Danes hoped to draw their attention by an attempt on Gottenburg, by descents in the neighbourhood of Stockholin to alarm that capital, and by investing Bahus; but none of these diversions answered the intention. The king adhered closely to his purpose, and continued the siege with the utmost vigour, notwithstanding he every moment expected to be attacked in his camp by the whole strength of Denmark. Success was the reward of his perseverance: the garrison capitulated on the 14th of August, and Charles had the satisfaction of becoming master of this important fortress in spite of the spirited defence of the besieged, and the utmost endeavours of the Danish army, headed by their monarch in person. However, this conquest was not made without some retribution on the side of the enemy. Helfinburg fell into their hands, and might be said to be the price of Christianstadt, though by no means of equal value.

Though Konigsmark had lately obtained some advantages in Pomerania, he could not prevent the elector of Brandenburg from laying siege to Stralfund, and reducing it, after a siege, which continued from the middle of the month of September to the end of October. Gripswald followed the fate of Stralfund, and surrendered on the 15th of November, so that the Swedes were absolutely dispossessed of every town and fortress in Pomerania. But Sweden wanted something more to fill up the measure of her distresses. The fleet which transported the army from Pomerania to Sweden was ship-wrecked in the night, on the coast of Bornholm, by which near two thousand men perished in the sea, and the remainder were pillaged and taken prisoners by the Danes, notwithstanding they had passports from king Frederic. Some ascribe this misfortune to the ignorance of the admiral; others to the treachery of the elector

The Swedes evacuate Pomerania.

elector of Brandenburg: at this distance of time it is difficult to ascertain the truth; though we must observe, in justice to the elector's memory, that nothing ever appeared to prove this imputation ^d.

A. D. 1679.

During these transactions in the North, the Dutch signed a peace with Lewis XIV. The emperor had done the same, whereby Lewis stipulated, that his allies the Swedes should be put in possession of all they retained after the treaty of Westphalia. He laboured likewise to effect a reconciliation between the courts of Vienna and Stockholm, proposing the treaty of Westphalia as the basis of the negotiations; and that all acts, decrees, and edicts, declaring Sweden an enemy to the empire, should be revoked. Thus the king of Denmark and elector of Brandenburg, perceiving they were actually to be deserted by all their allies, and exposed to the whole united strength of France and Sweden, made overtures of a separate peace with Lewis; but that monarch refused to listen to any propositions in which Sweden was not included. The Swedes, perceiving their affairs were in a better posture since the treaty with the emperor and the republic of Holland, and supported by so powerful an ally as Lewis, determined to relax in nothing, but to keep up to the rigour of the proposals they had given to the courts of Copenhagen and Berlin. This resolution necessarily prolonged the negociation; and the armistice being at last expired, the French troops in Cleves and Juliers put themselves in motion to cross the Rhine, fall upon the electorate, and oblige the Brandenburgers to sue for a renewal of the cessation of arms. The truce was granted; but it produced no effect, as the elector of Brandenburg seemed determined only to conclude peace with France, that he might afterwards be able to treat upon a better footing with Sweden. In the end, the marshal Crequi defeated the electoral forces under general Spaar, and obliged the elector to precipitate the negociation. The treaty was accordingly signed at St. Germain, the basis being laid in the peace of Westphalia. Sweden ceded certain territories beyond the Oder to the elector of Brandenburg; and he, in return, promised not to assist Denmark, directly or indirectly; a condition which the court of France obtained from all her enemies.

*Peace with
Denmark.*

Denmark was now left singly to combat a power which had fully employed her forces at a time when they were assisted by numerous and formidable allies. Frederic was immediately sensible of the necessity of terminating the war.

^d Puffend. lib. vii. Hist. Dan. tom. iv.

With this view he sent directions to his resident in France to sign a peace, upon the conditions already proposed by Lewis for the entire satisfaction of Sweden. By the fourth article of this treaty Frederic declared, that Sweden should be restored to all she possessed at the commencement of the war. Thus Charles, after a series of losses and defeats, found means to extricate himself with honour from a quarrel begun in his childhood, and obstinately maintained ever since his accession to the throne, against a combination of the most respectable powers in Christendom.

The treaty of peace with Denmark paved the way to a treaty of marriage between the king and the princess Ulrica Eleonora, daughter of Frederic III. On the 13th of May the princess arrived at Elsinour, and next day was received at Helsinburg by the queen-mother of Sweden. At Schotterup the nuptial ceremony was privately performed, the king having met her there in a hunting-dress. As the kingdom had suffered greatly by the late war, Charles convoked the states to deliberate on the means of restoring matters to their former situation, and establishing the revenue upon a proper footing. The assembly was opened with a speech by Oxenstiern, the prime minister, in which he recapitulated the chief occurrences of the war, the state of the nation, and of the finances, concluding with the king's demands, which he reduced to four articles. These respected the external security of the kingdom by foreign alliances, its intrinsic importance by means of respectable fleets and armies, the reformation of all abuses which had crept into the administration, and the due adjustment of taxes and impositions necessarily laid upon the subject in consequence of a tedious war. After warm debates, the resolution was taken of maintaining the fleet in the same situation as in the year 1669. For the support of the army two taxes were ordered to be levied on the peasants in the course of the subsequent year, and in the next year following. They were besides ordered to board the soldiers, at a certain price, for the two ensuing years; and it was left to the king's pleasure to maintain a certain number of troops at the expence of the factories, the society of hunters, and other public bodies and corporations. It was deemed great condescension in the nobility that they agreed to advance a sum of money towards the relief of the peasants; yet the payment was so inconsiderable, that it was obvious they wanted rather to screen themselves against the public odium than minister to the necessities of the government. Another resolution of the states was to re-annex to the crown all the lordships and lands, feudal and allodial, which had been

A D 1680.

The king marries.

A.D. 1681.

disfranchised from it since the year 1609, together with all the royal palaces alienated since the year 1655. Several other decrees extremely favourable to the crown passed; and the clergy voluntarily offered a fifth of their revenue to the king, provided they might pay it in kind, or brass money.

It was now that the states likewise determined to make a small alteration in the constitution. The authority which the senate assumed gave umbrage to the king, and to the different orders of men and degrees in the kingdom. The senators claimed to themselves a middle rank, between the king and the states: they assumed a right of mediating between both; of reminding the king of the obligations he owed the people; and the subjects of the duty which they owed their sovereign. The states appointed a committee to examine whether the authority assumed by the senate was founded on the laws of the realm, and perfectly constitutional. The report of the committee was, that the king was bound to govern by the advice of the senate; nevertheless no law of the constitution allowed of their claim to the middle rank they asserted. Upon this report the king declared, by an edict, that the laws should remain in their full vigour; that he would govern by the advice of his senate; but that he should be judge of what affairs were proper to be communicated to this body. In a word, the senators were forbid taking the title of counsellors of the kingdom; they were only called counsellors to the king; and the sovereign rendered himself in a manner independent, by retaining the power of consulting them only on such points as he thought proper. These changes gave birth to a new department of state, called the Grand Commission, which assumed a right to inquire into all transactions of the ministry, and to punish the usurpations and exactions of the senators.

As soon as the states broke up the king determined to proceed to the queen's coronation, which was celebrated at Stockholm with all possible magnificence. Soon after this ceremony the states were again assembled, a circumstance which occasioned much speculation, as it had been unusual to assemble them only once in four years, except upon very extraordinary occasions. In the speech made by the chancellor he acquainted them, that notwithstanding the king was sensible of the expence resulting from frequent meetings of the states, yet he thought it absolutely necessary to concert measures with his faithful subjects for the safety of the kingdom, and the preservation of its present happy tranquillity. His majesty had nothing more at heart,

he said, than the felicity of the kingdom, and that a strict union should subsist between the two northern crowns: With this view he had renewed the ancient treaties with Denmark. He had likewise, for the greater security of the kingdom, not only renewed the old treaties with France, but contracted new engagements for the execution of the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen. That, for the convenience and advancement of commerce, he had done the same with the states general of the United Provinces, and the emperor was desirous of becoming a party. In a word, he recapitulated whatever respected the king's conduct with regard to foreign transactions. He next proceeded to domestic affairs, and particularly the ordonnances of the last assembly, which occasioned warm disputes between the nobility and the other orders of the states. The deputies of the burghers and peasants however passed an act, declaring the grand commission to have punctually performed the duty required by the establishment of the board; requesting that the sums levied by taxes might be employed in the payment of public debts; that a commission should be issued to liquidate arrears, and to reduce the tax of eight per cent. on estates to six per cent. A number of other articles were likewise inserted, to prevent the embezzlement of public money among favourites of the nobility, and the alienation of the crown-lands.

A.D. 1682.

The king acquires absolute power.

With one voice the nobility exclaimed against this act; but, without paying any regard to their opposition, the deputies of the burghers and peasants began to add, that the king had power to put the kingdom in such a situation as he thought most conducive to its interest and security. The conduct of Charles was artful; he pretended to hold a middle course between the violence of both parties: he instigated the deputies of the lower order to proceed in this manner; yet, with seeming reluctance, he publicly approved of the acts they had passed. By the article which had given him power, of his own authority, to alter the constitution, and put the government in what hands he thought proper, he was in fact made absolute and despotic; but the commons did not appear to have foreseen the consequences. They acted merely out of opposition to the nobility; they were desirous of humbling them, and bringing them nearer to their own level; they effected their purpose; but they likewise went beyond it, when they enlarged the royal prerogative.

A.D. 1683.

It was in the year 1685 that the extraordinary expedient was projected of liquidating the public debts, by raising the value of money without increasing its intrinsic value; an expedient since practised, as a refinement in policy, in

The nominal value of money raised.

other countries, though it partakes but little of common honesty, and generally brings discredit upon government.

A. D. 1686. At this time the creditors of the crown lost above nine millions of crowns by this single measure; the revenue, indeed, was cleared thereby; but thousands of the most industrious families were involved in irremediable destruction.

Next followed a regulation, or rather an ordonnance, in the church; whereby the king forbid the exercise of any religion except the Lutheran, within the Swedish dominions.

A. D. 1687. However, at the solicitation of the Dutch, Charles relaxed somewhat from the rigour of this law, and afterwards permitted Protestants in general, the followers of Calvin as well as Luther, publicly to profess their doctrines.

Since the accession of the princess of Denmark to the throne of Sweden, the two northern crowns had lived in the utmost harmony. This proceeded chiefly from the influence of the queen of Sweden with the kings, her husband and father, and the necessity of respiring for a time after the fatigue of a ruinous long war. There were, indeed, some points of dispute still subsisting; but the resolute prudence of the monarchs kept them steady in pacific measures, and determined them to avoid whatever had a tendency to renew the ancient animosity of the two nations. The difference between his Danish majesty, and the duke of Holstein Gottorp had, indeed, almost broke through all the prudential pacific maxims of Charles and Frederic; happily, however, a conference, set on foot at Altena, warded off the storm, re-established the tranquillity of the North, and gave birth to a fresh treaty between Sweden and Denmark.

A. D. 1689.

While Sweden cultivated peace with all her neighbours, there were not wanting causes of domestic discontent. The new establishment, called the Grand Commission; the diminution of the power of the senate; the liquidation of the crown debts; the iniquitous increase of the nominal value of the coin; the reduction of estates all over the kingdom: these, with a variety of other new measures, gave disgust to all the nobility, to all the crown creditors, and to the commercial interest. In Livonia they were highly resented, and the nobility sent repeated petitions and remonstrances to court, by the hands of deputies, who had orders to insist upon their privileges, which had been confirmed by the repeated acts of the king's royal predecessors. The deputies could obtain nothing, and therefore returned to Werden, where the diet was assembled. On their report the body of nobility resolved to draw up a stronger remonstrance

france than any of the former, to be presented to the king by count Patkul, one of the five deputies, who had already distinguished himself for his boldness and attachment to liberty. The remonstrance breathed the true spirit of freedom; Patkul enforced it with the manly eloquence of a rough intrepid spirit, fired with the love of liberty and dread of despotism. In the end, however, he became the victim of the court's resentment, and of his own zeal for the privileges of the nobility. An accusation was drawn up against the remonstrants, and particularly Patkul. In vain did the whole body of nobility interpose; the process went on, without any regard to their defence, and they were convicted of high treason. The load of punishment and ignominy fell upon Patkul. He was sentenced to have his right hand cut off; to be deprived of his life, honours, and estates, to have the latter confiscated to the crown, and his papers were burnt by the hands of the common executioner. The counsellor Cronersten lost his employment, and several other persons of distinction were imprisoned for six years, but pardoned on their submission; and the secretary to the nobles of Livonia was condemned to spend eight days in close confinement, living on bread and water. Neither Patkul nor his colleagues could avail themselves of the decision of the university of Leipsic, which formally declared the accusation unjust: he was forced to fly his country, to avoid the execution of his rigorous sentence, only that it might recur with redoubled vengeance in the subsequent reign.

A.D. 1693.

A.D. 1694.

We have, in a former volume, recited the generous endeavours of his Swedish majesty to establish the peace of Europe. To his mediation was in a great measure owing the congress of Ryswick; but while he was labouring to effect a general pacification, he was seized with a disorder which cut him off in the forty-second year of his age. Charles died with the reputation of a moderate, peaceable, and politic prince; and yet, the unhappy war in which France involved him before he attained the age of manhood, and the vast extension of the royal prerogative, seem to contradict this character. He certainly cultivated peace during the remaining part of his reign; gave a seasonable check to the insolence of the nobility; put his army and fleet in a respectable posture, cherished commerce, threw off the shackles in which Sweden had for many years been kept by the court of France, asserted the independency of his court, and renounced an alliance, the very basis of which was contrary to the interest of his people. Upon the whole,

A.D. 1697.

April 15.

Charles XI. was a wise and respectable monarch, whose failings were absorbed in the lustre of that glory which he acquired by a series of politic, spirited conduct for the ten last years of his government.

S E C T. XI.

Containing the Particulars of the War with Denmark, Russia, and Poland.

C H A R L E S XII.

CHARLES XII. the son and successor of the deceased monarch, was a minor at the death of his father, and left under the tuition of his grandmother, the queen-dowager Eleonora, the same wise princess who had governed the kingdom during the late king's minority (A). To her were joined five senators in the regency, until the young king should attain the legal age for taking upon himself the charge of the government. Upon his accession

(A) The princess Ulrica Eleonora, wife of Charles XI. and mother of Charles XII. died at Carelsburg about three years before the king's death, whither she had been conveyed for the recovery of her health. She was a princess of excellent understanding, piety, charity, and great munificence. Her last request was that she might be buried without pomp or splendor, and that the sayings of a magnificent funeral might be applied to the relief of the poor. The king, however, determined otherwise, ordering the last obsequies to be performed with the utmost solemnity. It is reported of this queen, that when Charles XI. had stripped great part of his subjects of their wealth by the new chamber of liquidation, and great numbers of citizens,

gentlemen, farmers, tradesmen, widows, and orphans had filled the streets of Stockholm with their complaints, and pierced the palace-gates with their grievances, Eleonora assisted the distressed with all she had in her possession. She gave them her money, her jewels, her furniture, and even her cloaths. When she had given all, she threw herself, melted into tears, at the feet of the king her husband, beseeching him to have pity on his subjects. Charles's answer was by no means consonant to the idea given of him by historians. It was the reply of a tyrant: "Madam, (says he) we have taken you to bring us children, not to give us advice." The expression of an insolent mind, and an unfeeling callous heart (1).

(1) Volt. la Vie de Charles XII. p. 11.

Charles was fifteen: he found a throne secured, and respected abroad; a crown more extended in prerogative than any Swedish monarch had ever before enjoyed; subjects poor, but loyal, hardy, brave, and frugal; a treasury well managed, and the whole administration in the hands of honest and able ministers. He was the absolute undisturbed master of Sweden, Finland, Livonia, Carelia, and Ingria, the towns of Wismar and Wiburg, the duchy of Bremen and Verden, great part of Pomerania, and the isle of Rugen, secured to his crown by the treaties of Munster, Oliva, and now by that of Ryfwick, which was executed soon after the accession of Charles. By the last will of Charles XI. the young king's majority was put off to the age of eighteen; but he soon found means to lay aside this clause of his father's testament, and enfranchise himself from the regency of the queen-dowager, whose ambition and ability made her hope that she should long enjoy the sweets of power under her grandson. Count Piper and Axel Sparre were the persons employed to accomplish this revolution in the administration. Both were bold, spirited, artful, and ambitious of distinguishing themselves in the young monarch's favour. The counsellors of the regency were easily seduced by their arguments to come over to the scheme concerted, and thereby to recommend themselves to the king's esteem. In a body they proposed to the queen, that Charles should take into his own hands the reins of administration. She was startled at the proposal; but not caring to refuse her consent, agreed that it might be referred to the states. Here all were unanimous: the queen found that opposition would be fruitless; she therefore resigned with a good grace, and Charles had the whole power devolved upon him, within three days after he had first expressed his inclinations to reign alone.

The crown was scarce fixed upon the head of this youthful monarch before a storm began to gather in the North, that pointed at his destruction; to repel which required the utmost exertion of his courage and policy. Three powerful princes hoped to profit by his inexperience, and at least wrest from Sweden all the acquisitions she had made since the accession of Gustavus Adolphus. The mean opinion which not only the court of Stockholm but foreign ambassadors entertained of Charles's capacity, raised the expectation of the kings of Denmark and Poland, and Peter, czar of Muscovy, afterwards the bitterest and most formidable enemy of Sweden. King Augustus of Poland formed designs on Livonia at the instigation of Patkul, who had taken refuge at his court. The king of Denmark, regard-

A.D. 1699.

less of the treaty of Altona, of which Sweden was guarantee, revived the disputes with the duke of Holstein; and the czar of Muscovy, Peter, afterwards justly surnamed the Great, thirsted after the conquest of Ingria, a province which had formerly been annexed to the Russian dominions. The first appearances of hostilities were observed on the side of Holstein. Frederic IV. was preparing to attack the young duke, who claimed the king of Sweden's protection. Charles marched a considerable body of forces to his succour; but, before the arrival of the Swedes, Holstein was ravaged, the castle of Gottorp taken, and close siege laid to Tonningen by the king of Denmark in person, assisted by the troops of Saxony, Brandenburg, Wolfenbüttele, and Hesse Cassel. England and Holland, as guarantees, in concert with Sweden, of the treaty of Altona, joined Charles against this confederacy, and sent fleets to the Baltic. First, however, they tried the method of negociation, and proposed, that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Holstein; and the affairs of the duchy restored upon the ancient footing. Charles and the duke accepted the proposals; but they were haughtily rejected by the Danish monarch, who too much relied upon the alliance of Russia, Poland, Saxony, and Brandenburg, while he despised the youth and inexperience of the king of Sweden.

By this time almost all the towns of Holstein Gottorp had submitted to the duke of Wirtemberg, at the head of the Danish army. That general hoped that Tonningen would yield to the terror of a bombardment; but he was deceived. The inhabitants seemed animated by the imminence of the danger, to a more strenuous defence of their liberty; and king Frederic found it necessary to accelerate the siege by his personal appearance in the camp. He ordered the town to be stormed; and had the mortification to see his troops driven headlong from the walls by a handful of Swedes, led on by general Bannier. This circumstance determined him to raise the siege; some writers, however, attribute this measure to the influence of the French ambassador. Possibly the true reason was the necessity which Frederic was under of marching to the relief of his capital, then invested by the Swedish monarch.

Charles, having intrusted the affairs of the kingdom in the hands of a council, chosen out of the senate, set out on the 8th of May from his capital, never more to return thither, embarked at Carlscroon, and joined the fleet of the allies. Making a descent with his forces, on the island of Zealand, he defeated a body of cavalry that opposed his landing,

landing, marched towards the capital, and was preparing to lay siege to Copenhagen by sea and land, when the Danish monarch, then in Holstein, beheld with astonishment and terror the celerity of Charles's motions, and the danger of his capital and kingdom. He saw the Baltic covered with a hostile navy, a young conqueror in the heart of his dominions, his capital ready to surrender, his people overwhelmed with consternation, and his whole kingdom a scene of dread and confusion. His embarrassed circumstances obliged him to sue for peace: he saw the necessity of doing justice to the duke of Holstein, or of having Copenhagen laid in ashes. The former was his choice; a negotiation was begun at Bramsteede, continued at Travendal, and finally concluded in the space of eleven days, on much the same conditions as the treaty of Altona. Thus Charles, whose youth and inexperience exposed him to the machinations of all his neighbours, finished the war in six weeks, reduced the most powerful of his enemies to submission, and at eighteen years of age became the terror of the North, and the admiration of all Europe.

*Peace with
Denmark.*

Being now at liberty to turn his arms against the other princes who had conspired his ruin, the young Swedish monarch was leading his troops against Augustus of Poland, who was laying siege to Riga, the capital of Livonia, when advice arrived that the czar of Muscovy had invested Narva with a hundred thousand men. Charles has been falsely charged with beginning this war; the czar first commenced hostilities, and his declaration evinces, that ambition, and the hope of profiting by the situation of Sweden, were the motives of his conduct. Perhaps the strongest reasons that appear in his declaration of war are, that sufficient honours had not been paid him when he passed incognito to Riga, and that provisions had been sold at an exorbitant price to his ambassadors. In the depth of winter, when the Baltic was scarce navigable, Charles embarked at Carlscroon, and landed at Pernaw in Livonia with part of his forces, the rest being ordered to Revel. His army did not exceed twenty thousand men; but he had every advantage, besides numbers, over the Russians. The czar and the duke de Croy, a German, were the only soldiers among the besiegers; their example was to civilize and instruct a vast multitude of barbarians. The nobility of Russia had been accustomed to march at the head of a tumultuous crowd of slaves. Peter wisely fell upon the only method of establishing discipline and subordination;

he began himself with the meanest employments in the army, and beat a drum before he wielded a truncheon. Charles, on the contrary, set out a general at the head of the best disciplined troops in Europe. He marched towards Narva, and found that the czar had thrown every possible obstruction in his way. Thirty thousand men were posted on the road in a defile to oppose his passage; this corps was supported by another, composed of twenty thousand streletz, posted some leagues nearer Narva. The czar himself had set out to hasten the march of a reinforcement he expected of forty thousand men, with which he intended attacking the Swedes in flank and rear; but the rapidity, the fortune, and valour of king Charles, baffled every endeavour. With four thousand horse, and an equal number of foot, he advanced in person, ordering the army to follow with all convenient expedition. With no more than eight thousand men he attacked the Russian armies, one after another, and defeated them, pushing his way to the czar's camp before Narva, which he found fortified in a manner that ought to have removed the contempt he always entertained of Peter's capacity. Lines of circumvallation and contravallation had been formed, and fortified by redoubts, and one hundred and fifty pieces of brass cannon, placed in front; but these arts of defence Charles regarded as the precautions of fear. He scarce gave his troops, who were fatigued with a long march, and three successive engagements, time to rest before he issued orders for attacking a fortified camp, defended by eighty thousand men, with a body not exceeding a tenth of that number. One of his officers having remonstrated to him on the rashness of the attempt, "What (says Charles), do you doubt whether the king of Sweden with eight thousand men^d shall not beat the czar of Muscovy with eighty thousand?" The czar, however, was not present; he was then assembling another army.

The Russians defeated at Narva.

On the 30th of November the Swedes began battering the Russian entrenchments, and, having effected a breach, advanced with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets, pouring in their fire quite in the face of the enemy, and sustaining the shock of the whole weight of the Russian army with admirable constancy and intrepidity. For half an hour the engagement was obstinate, and victory doubtful. The enemy stood the Swedish fire without yielding an inch; and the king, to distract them, made an attack on another quarter of the camp. Here, likewise, he was received

^d Idem *ibid.*

more warmly than he expected. Upon the enemy's first discharge a ball grazed along his shoulder, and wounded him slightly. Soon after his horse was killed; a second horse had his head shot off by a cannon-ball, and Charles, mounting the third, cried out peevishly, "These fellows will give me exercise." In the space of three hours the entrenchments were carried; and the king, with four thousand men, that composed the wing which he commanded in person, pursued a flying army of fifty thousand men to the river Narva. The bridge gave way under the weight of the fugitive Russians, and the river was immediately covered with floating bodies. Great numbers returned in despair to the camp, and defended themselves for a while; but at last the generals Gallowin and Fedorowitz surrendered; thirty thousand were either killed in the entrenchments and pursuit, or drowned in the Narva; twenty thousand surrendered at discretion, and were dismissed unarmed; the rest were dispersed. A hundred and fifty pieces of fine cannon, twenty-eight mortars, one hundred and fifty-one pair of colours, twenty standards, and all the baggage of the enemy were taken; and, what was still more important, the duke de Croy, the prince of Georgia, and seven other generals, were in the number of the prisoners. Nothing could be more glorious to the Swedish monarch than a victory gained under such circumstances, except the generosity he shewed to the conquered. Being informed that the tradesmen of Narva refused to trust the officers whom he had detained prisoners, he sent the duke de Croy a thousand ducats, and every inferior officer a proportionable sum, that they might admire alike his liberality and valour.

Mean time the czar was advancing with forty thousand men to surround the Swedes. On receiving intelligence of the defeat before Narva, he was greatly chagrined, but not disconcerted. "I knew (said he) that the Swedes would beat us; but in time they will teach us to beat them." He returned to his own dominions, applied himself diligently to raising another army, and bestowed the utmost labour in establishing discipline, and removing the terror which had overspread all his dominions. He evacuated all the provinces he had invaded, abandoned for a time his great projects, and suffered Charles to exhaust his strength, diminish his forces, and empty his treasury, in prosecuting this quarrel with Augustus of Poland. Charles had actually determined to attack Poland, as soon as he had reduced the

A.D. 1701.

Charles attacks the king of Poland.

king of Denmark and the czar of Muscovy to the necessity of relinquishing their ambitious designs. While he was marching to Narva he ordered magazines to be formed at Lais. "I am going (says he) to defeat the Muscovites; get magazines ready at Lais; I will take that place in my way to chastise the Poles and Saxons." The event justified the prediction, however vain-glorious it might appear, and an attack was what Augustus expected. For this reason he united himself more closely with the czar; and both princes met at Birsen, to concert the measures of defence against a warrior whose victories threatened all the kingdoms of the North with subjection. It was agreed, that Augustus should lend the czar fifty thousand German soldiers, to be paid by Muscovy; that the czar should send an equal number of his troops to be trained up to the art of war in Poland; and that he should pay the king the sum of three millions of rixdollars in the space of two years. Charles had notice of the treaty and the interview; and, by means of his minister, count Piper, found the method of frustrating the effects, which might have proved fatal to Sweden, and indeed to all Europe.

*Charles
defeats the
Saxons.*

The Swedish army had wintered at Lais, where they were joined by a reinforcement from Sweden. As early as the season permitted, Charles took the field, and suddenly appeared on the river Duna, along the banks of which the Saxon army was posted. They had been foiled in the attempt on Riga, the king of Poland was sick, and the Saxon army was now commanded by Ferdinand duke of Courland, marshal Stenau, and general Paykel, all officers of valour and experience. They had fortified certain islands which defended the mouth of the river, and taken every other precaution against an attack. Their numbers were nearly equal to those of the Swedes; the soldiers were hardy, well disciplined, and faithful; but Charles surmounted every difficulty. He contrived a kind of light boats for crossing the river, with high sides, to screen his troops from the fire of the enemy; and observing that the wind blew from the north, ordered large quantities of wet straw to be set on fire, the smoke of which blew directly in the enemy's faces, and effectually covered his motions. By these means he effected a landing, fell upon the Saxons with great fury, and, after an obstinate engagement, obtained a complete victory. The Swedes at first were put in disorder, and driven back to the river; but Charles, with astonishing composure, rallied them in the water, led them back, carried all the enemy's works, pursued them for two leagues, killed two thousand five hundred men on
the

the spot, took fifteen hundred prisoners, together with thirty-six pieces of cannon, five pair of colours, six standards, and all the Saxon baggage^a (A).

Next day general Morner was detached to take possession of Mittau, the capital of Courland. The garrison surrendered almost at the first summons, and all the other ports and towns in the duchy followed the example of the metropolis. His majesty passed to Lithuania, and reduced all the towns by his presence; then he advanced to Birsen, where a few months before the czar and king of Poland had planned his destruction, and by the terror of his name obliged twenty thousand Russians to retreat with the utmost precipitation. It was now that he projected the great design of dethroning Augustus, by means of his own subjects. That prince had been accustomed to govern despotically in Saxony: he imagined he might do the same in Poland, and by this conduct lost the hearts of his people. With extraordinary accomplishments king Augustus suffered himself to become the tool of a fierce warlike barbarian, who took advantage of this slip in his administration. The Poles murmured at seeing their towns enslaved by Saxon garrisons, and their frontiers covered with Russian armies. The republic of Poland, jealous of her liberty, regarded the war with Sweden as a measure of the court to introduce foreign troops. She perceived, that, if the war proved unfortunate, the country would be exposed to the invasion of the Swedes; if otherwise, it would be subjected to Saxons and Russians. The alternative was either being enslaved by their own king, or ravaged by the Swedish monarch. When Charles advanced to the heart of Lithuania, the Poles ventured to speak their sentiments freely: they clamoured against the war, and against their sovereign; and with the more freedom, says Voltaire, that he was unfortunate. Besides, the Swedes had a strong party in Lithuania, which was at that time divided by faction. The princes of Sapieha sought the Swedish king's protection against their inveterate and implacable enemy the house of Oginski. All these circumstances, and the weakness of the Polish standing army, determined him to push his design with vigour; which he first communicated in a letter to

A.D. 1702.

^a *Hist. de Pologn. per abbé Parthenay, tom. i. lib. iii.*

(A) The reader will perceive in a separate volume. We have the necessity of our taking only only, indeed, touched upon a cursory view of the affairs of such events as properly belong to the history of Sweden.

Radziewischi,

Radziewifchi, cardinal-primate of Poland. This important personage, together with all the adherents of the princes of Sobieski, and indeed the principal nobility, he soon gained, rather out of opposition to Augustus than affection for the king of Sweden. When the diet was called, it appeared that his Swedish majesty had more influence in that assembly than the king of Poland. Charles acted with more policy in this than upon any other occasion: the project of an entire revolution was concerted between the cardinal-primate and count Piper, the prelate all the while concealing his sentiments from Augustus, and pretending the strongest attachment to his sovereign, the more securely to become his most dangerous enemy. Intrigues and cabals were held with impenetrable privacy at his house, while he was publishing circular letters to the people to keep them steady in their fidelity to Augustus. The diet was filled with confusion: at last it broke up in disorder, and the affairs of the kingdom came into the hands of the senate, which was less numerous, consequently less tumultuous, and more accustomed to business. Here the Swedish party was full as strong as in the diet: it was agreed they should send an embassy to Charles^b; and that the *pospolite* should mount, and be ready against all events; but the chief regulations respected the king's authority, which it was the great aim of the senate to retrench.

Augustus now, when too late, perceived his error: he could not, however, think of retracting; and preferred the shame of receiving hard laws from the victorious Charles, rather than from subjects he had been used to consider as slaves. It was to avoid this bitter disgrace that he determined to solicit a peace upon any terms; but in what manner to set on foot a negotiation, without giving umbrage to the senate, he did not know. It was at last resolved to commit the whole to the management of the countess of Konigsmark, a lady famous for her wit and beauty, a native of Sweden, and for that reason privileged to make a visit to her natural sovereign, without incurring suspicion. She set out for Lithuania; but as Charles refused to see her, and all the stratagems she had laid proved abortive, she was forced to return, chagrined and disappointed, to Warsaw. The ambassadors of the senate, on the contrary, immediately obtained an audience. They requested that his majesty would maintain the peace between the crown of Sweden and the republic, protect the country, and suffer them to enter into conferences with his ministers.

^b Volt. lib. ii. Puffend. lib. vii.

The king granted all they desired, assuring them that he took arms against the Saxons in defence of the liberties of the Poles, whom he should ever esteem as his friends and allies. Accordingly the conferences were appointed to be held at Kinschin; but Charles soon altered his mind, and told the ambassadors he would confer with them at Warsaw.

Mean while Augustus, finding that his scheme of peace was frustrated, threw himself upon the senate; but met with so rough a repulse, that he determined once more to have recourse to the haughty Swede. With this view he detached his chamberlain to Charles; but a passport being forgot, Charles ordered the ambassador to be arrested. The Swedish monarch continued to advance towards the capital of Poland, where all was in confusion by this sudden resolution. Almost all the nobility fled to their country-seats: and king Augustus was left in the metropolis of his dominions attended only by foreign ambassadors, and a few palatines who were attached to his person and fortune. With these he held a council, where it was agreed to have recourse to arms, since nothing could be obtained in the way of negociation: however, this little council, though strongly in the king's interest, would not suffer more than six thousand Saxons to remain in Poland; insisting too, that this slender body should be commanded by the grand general of Poland; so much were they attached to the privileges of the republic. Upon this resolution he quitted Warsaw, just as Charles had approached within a few miles of the city. A summons was immediately sent to the inhabitants, who, finding that resistance was in vain, presented the keys to the Swedish monarch; but the citadel held out some days^d.

Enters Poland, and takes Warsaw.

No sooner were the Swedes in possession of Cracow, than the primate was seized with a strong inclination of having a personal conference with Charles; to effect which he persuaded Augustus, that he had some hints given him that the king of Sweden was disposed to listen to terms, provided they were properly insinuated. Augustus knew the prelate's address and dexterity; but he did not yet suspect his fidelity. Accordingly he was deputed to the Swedish camp, in conjunction with the count Leclinsky, to set on foot a negociation. The false prelate converted the opportunity to his own purposes; and, in a personal interview with the enemy of his country, plotted the fall of his sovereign.

^c Volt. lib. ii. Puffend. lib. vii.

^d Parthenay, lib. iv.

*The Poles
and Saxons
defeated.*

By this time the king of Poland published orders for assembling the *pospolite*; but it proved no more than a vain ceremony. His whole dependence was on the Saxon army, now advanced to the frontiers, and on the nobility of the palatinate of Cracow, who came in a body to offer their fortunes and lives to his majesty. As soon as the Poles and Saxons were joined, Augustus marched in quest of his enemy, determined to rest his crown on the issue of a battle. Charles had intimation of his design, and went as far as Gliffaw to meet the combined army of Poles and Saxons, which he found encamped in a very advantageous situation, and greatly superior in number to the Swedes. Without regarding this disparity, and the fatigue of his troops, he attacked the enemy with incredible fury and irresistible impetuosity. The front of the Poles was covered by a morass; but Charles pushed the attack with such vigour, that the enemy were soon put in disorder, and defeated, though Augustus led them thrice back to the charge. The Saxon left wing, however, attacked the right of the Swedes with intrepidity, and would have overpowered them with numbers, had not several regiments been detached from the left to their support. After an obstinate conflict, the Saxons were at length driven behind the morass, and at last from the field, in despite of the strength of their situation, their *pallisadoes*, *chevaux de frise*, and their own valour. Thus, with a body of twelve thousand men, Charles gained a complete victory over thirty thousand brave well-disciplined forces, led on by a king who was fighting for his crown and his honour. Four thousand of the enemy were left dead on the field, two thousand were made prisoners, together with all the Saxon cannon and baggage^e.

A.D. 1703. His Swedish majesty pursued the blow, marched strait to Cracow, whither Augustus fled before him, and took every possible measure to render this action decisive. The citizens of the capital had the courage to shut their gates in the face of the conqueror: they were forced open, and the citadel a second time was taken; but the Swedes offered not the least violence to the inhabitants. Having just refreshed his troops, the Swedish monarch quitted the capital, with intention to pursue the enemy, and prevent their assembling another army; but he had marched only a few leagues when his horse fell under him, by which accident he broke his thigh, and was forced to return to Cracow, where he remained six weeks under the hands of his sur-

^e Parthenay, Hist. Polog. lib. iv. tom. i.

geons. By this accident Augustus had some respite, which he turned to all possible advantage. He assembled the different orders of the kingdom at Marienburg, and next at Lublin. The assembly was numerous, and entirely gained by the presents, the promises, and the address of Augustus, whose affability, engaging manner, and fine accomplishments, were never so fully exerted as in his distress. Even the cardinal-primate appeared affected by his misfortunes; he waited on the king, kissed his hand, and offered to serve him with his influence, fortune, and life; though the temporizing ecclesiastic soon renounced the duty and allegiance which he had solemnly sworn. By the diet it was resolved, that the republic should maintain an army of fifty thousand men for the service of the prince; that six weeks should be given the Swedes to declare whether they made choice of peace or of war; and the same space of time granted to the princes of the house of Sapiha, and other authors of the troubles in Lithuania, to make their concessions. To destroy the effects of the resolutions formed by the diet at Lublin, Charles convoked another diet at Warsaw. These two assemblies disputed about the rights and the constitution of the republic, while the Swedish monarch, having recovered of his fall, and received a strong reinforcement from Pomerania, marched against the remains of the army he had defeated at Glistaw. Throwing a bridge over the Vistula, he came up with the Saxons, who were commanded by general Stenau, gave them battle at Pultausck on the first day of May, and entirely routed and dispersed them, before he had well entered upon an engagement; such was the terror of his name. Augustus fled to Thorn, in Prussia-Royal; and finding that the king of Sweden proposed laying siege to that place, he retired for the greater security to Saxony. His Polish majesty offered to surrender the town, on condition the garrison might be allowed to withdraw to Saxony; but Charles answered, that he invested the place merely with a view of becoming master of the troops that defended it. The season was almost spent before the Swedes could get up their battering cannon; then Thorn was attacked with vigour, and defended with intrepidity by general Rovel, and a garrison of five thousand Saxons. After the walls had been battered for a month, a breach was at last effected, and the Swedes preparing to storm it, when Rovel surrendered at discretion, and the garrison were sent prisoners to Sweden.

*The Saxons
are again
defeated.*

† Puffend. lib. vii. Volt. lib. ii.

While the Swedish army was employed in this siege, the magistrates of Dantzick ventured to disoblige Charles, at a time when all the princes of the North trembled at his name. They refused to suffer convoys coming to the Swedish army to pass up the river, and were soon punished for their temerity, general Steenboeck having levied a heavy contribution upon the burghers. Elbing, for much the same reason, was handled more roughly: Charles entered the town in person, quartered his troops upon the citizens, whom he disarmed, raised a contribution of two hundred and sixty thousand crowns, and seized upon two hundred pieces of cannon, and four hundred thousand weight of gunpowder, lodged in the arsenal.

A.D. 1704.

*Augustus is
deposed.*

While Charles was gaining advantages equal to victories in their consequence, the diet at Warfaw regularly deposed king Augustus; and the cardinal-primate, who had lately sworn eternal allegiance to him, pronounced the sentence, whereby he was declared incapable of wearing the diadem. Count Piper advised the king of Sweden to propose himself a candidate for the crown of Poland; Charles, however, had already determined it should be bestowed on James Sobieski, the eldest son of the late king of Poland; but this prince being seized in the neighbourhood of Breslau, and carried prisoner with his brother Constantine to Leipfick, by a party of Saxon dragoons, the crown was offered to prince Alexander Sobieski. The generous prince could not however be prevailed on to take advantage of his brother's misfortune: he requested Charles to revenge the injury done his family; to employ his victorious arms in giving liberty to the unhappy captives; and to penetrate into Saxony; all which requests Charles readily granted. Several disputes, however, had arisen in the diet at Warfaw since the king's absence. To give an account of them, young Stanislaus Leszcynsky, palatine of Posenia, was detached to the Swedish army by the assembly. The impression which the figure, the address, and the character of this nobleman made on Charles, obliterated the promise made to prince Alexander Sobieski. He declared his intention of giving the crown of Poland to Stanislaus. His election proved extremely agreeable to the diet; and even the primate, who was desirous of prolonging his own authority during the inter-regnum, could not deny that Stanislaus possessed merit which deserved a crown, though he insinuated that his youth and inexperience rendered him incapable of governing so capricious a nation. These objections had no weight with Charles; he told the primate, "I think Stanislaus is about my age;" fixed the day for the election;

*Stanislaus
made king
of Poland.*

election; and on the 12th day of July placed the crown on the head of the young palatine of Posnania, in despite of all the intrigues of the primate, who absented himself from the diet on the day of election, and watched the opportunity of equally prejudicing Augustus, to whom he had sworn obedience, and Stanislaus, to whom he refused paying allegiance^s.

While Charles was employed in giving a monarch to Poland, his troops, dispersed up and down the country, had frequent skirmishes with the adherents of Augustus. In general, they proved victorious; but on one occasion a body of four hundred Swedes was cut off by the Saxons and Lithuanians. To revenge this disgrace, Charles suddenly advanced to Newstadt with the bulk of his army, in expectation of surprising king Augustus in the neighbourhood of Jarisslaw. In this hope he was disappointed, and therefore resolved upon laying siege to Leopold, the capital of the great palatinate of Rullia. It was imagined the city would hold out a fortnight, by means of the numerous garrison, and strong fortifications erected by king Augustus; but Charles carried it by assault in one day, put all who resisted to the sword, and took the prince Galefchi, and the palatine of Kalisch, prisoners. This was one of the most glorious conquests made by the Swedish monarch, and the place was deemed the most important and strongest in Poland. Here he found a booty of four hundred chests of gold and silver coin, plate, jewels, and other effects of great value. King Augustus, however, gave him the slip, took the route of Warlaw, and was on the point of surprising his rival, who lived in the capital in perfect security, while the king of Sweden was fighting his battles and deciding his quarrel. Reinforced by nine thousand Russians, and finding the passes open, Augustus advanced by forced marches to the city, took possession, obliged Stanislaus to cross the Vistula with precipitation, appeared again a sovereign of the country, taxed the inhabitants beyond their ability, and gave the primate's house, with those of the adherents of the young king, to be plundered by his soldiers. It was remarkable that the pope's nuncio, who attended Augustus in every revolution of fortune, now demanded that the bishop of Posnania should be put into his hands. Augustus, willing to gratify the holy see, complied with the request, and surrendered the bishop, who, after having seen his palace plundered by the soldiers,

Augustus returns to the capital.

was carried to the nuncio's lodgings, and sent from thence to Saxony, where he died.

All this while count Horn, with fifteen hundred Swedes, vigorously defended the citadel. At last, the place being no longer tenable, he was forced to surrender at discretion, and with this additional mortification, that he was the first Swedish general officer who had fallen into the hands of the king of Poland. He was treated with the utmost respect, and released upon his parole, with several other Swedish officers, all of whom were struck with the affability, the generosity, and the noble manner of Augustus^a.

The reduction of Warsaw, and the consequent advantages, was no more than the last struggle of the Polish monarch, who was about to yield all to the superior fortune of the king of Sweden, and his rival Stanislaus. His troops were composed of Saxon recruits, and undisciplined, unattached Poles, ready to forsake him on the first danger. Charles, accompanied by Stanislaus, was advancing with a victorious army; the Saxons fled before him, and the towns for several leagues round sent him their submission. The Poles and Saxons were under the command of Schulemberg; a general fruitful in stratagem, cautious, wary, and sagacious, who used every expedient to check the progress of the Swedes, by seizing the advantageous posts, and sacrificing small parties to procure the safety of the whole, and mislead the enemy. However, with all his penetration, Schulemberg was deceived and out-generaled. After a variety of motions, artifices, and counter-marches, he pitched his camp near Punitz, in the palatinate of Posnania, imagining the Swedish monarch must have been at the distance at least of fifty leagues, and was astonished to find that he was just in the neighbourhood, ready to fall upon him unprepared. The truth was, Charles had marched all that space in nine days, imagining the Saxons would take this route. With a superior army, but entirely composed of horse, Charles attacked the enemy, posted in a manner which prevented the possibility of their being surrounded. Schulemberg received the charge with intrepidity: his first rank, being armed with pikes and fuses, presented a kind of rampart composed of bayonets. The second line stooping over the first rank that kneeled, fired over their heads; while the third line standing erect, kept up a perpetual fire, extremely galled the Swedish horse, and put them in disorder. This was almost the first line of horse that had

^a Parthen, lib. v.

been regularly opposed to foot in the northern wars; the superiority of the latter was obvious in the present instance, and Charles lost the opportunity of destroying the whole Saxon army, by omitting to order his horse to dismount. This was what the Saxon expected; he dreaded the consequence, and he rejoiced at the oversight. After the engagement had continued for three hours, the Saxons retreated in good order, leaving the field, but not a victory to the Swedes. Charles pursued the enemy to Gurau, and obliged them to retreat towards the Oder, through thick woods almost impervious even to infantry; however, the Swedish horse pushed their way through, and at last enclosed Schulemberg between the wood and the river Oder, where Charles doubted not he must surrender at discretion, or die sword in hand, as he had not boats or bridges; but the genius of the German general supplied every want; in the night he ordered planks and floats of trees to be fastened together, upon which he waded over his troops, while the Swedes were employed in dislodging three hundred men which he had placed in a windmill to defend his flank, and amuse the enemy. Nothing could be more glorious than this retreat; Charles spoke of it with admiration, and said he had been conquered by Schulemberg; but no benefit resulted to Augustus, who was again forced to quit Poland, retire into Saxony, and fortify the capital of his hereditary dominions, which he every day expected to see invested. In Poland there remained a few scattered parties, unable to make head against the victorious Charles, at the head of a numerous disciplined army, flushed with conquest^b.

The fine retreat of Schulemberg.

Poland was now entirely in the hands of the Swedes, who had likewise defeated divers bodies of Russians, unable, or rather unwilling, since the battle of Narva, to try the fortune of a general engagement. Wherever the Swedes were, victory attended; they regarded no inequality of numbers; and Schulemberg was the first who had shewn Charles that other troops besides the Swedes understood the art of war. In Livonia indeed the great superiority of the Russians rendered it scarce possible for the Swedish general Sclippenbach to keep his ground. Ever since the battle of Narva he had, with the utmost diligence, provided for the defence of that place and of Derpt, judging that the enemy's first efforts would be directed against towns that were so necessary to the conquest of the province. He strengthened his little army with new levies, made incursions into the

Charles becomes master of Poland.

^b Id. *ibid.* Volt. lib. iii.

*The Rus-
sians take
Narva and
other
towns.*

enemy's territories, but was obliged to drop offensive measures, by the crowds of Muscovites who poured in like a torrent into the province. They seized on all the posts on the river Narva, blocked up the town on all sides, and entirely cut off the communication between the garrison and the sea. A small Swedish Squadron in vain endeavoured to penetrate to the relief of Narva, in order to throw in provisions. The admiral finding this design impossible, contented himself with landing a battalion of twelve hundred men on the coast of Esthonia, to reinforce Sclippenbach, who advanced as far as Wissemberg, to favour the debarkation and junction. He was attacked on his march by eight thousand Russians, whom he obstinately opposed for several hours, with no more than fourteen hundred horse; but was in the end obliged to retreat, with the loss of two pieces of cannon. Not discouraged by this repulse, Sclippenbach pursued his resolution to relieve Narva, with indefatigable diligence; but the prodigious numbers of the Russians, and the prudence of the czar, baffled all his endeavours. That prince now conducted the siege in person, and pushed his works with the utmost vigour. Count Horn, already famous for the brave defence of the same place, resisted all his endeavours with all the arts that experience and genius could suggest: but an unforeseen accident destroyed the fruits of his labour. The foundation of a principal bastion failed, the building tumbled to the ground, buried great part of the garrison in its ruins, and opened a breach so large, that one hundred men could mount a-breast. The czar Peter ordered it immediately to be stormed by eighteen thousand chosen men. The Swedes defended the breach with admirable constancy, and several times drove the Russians from the walls; but being divided by opposing three other attacks, fatigued, and quite spent with their long resistance, and at last overpowered by numbers, the enemy entered tumultuously, spared neither age nor sex, and put all to the sword except the garrison, part of which surrendered at discretion, the rest retiring to the citadel of Iwanógrad.

Derpt, notwithstanding all the pains taken for its defence, shared the same fate. An army of twenty thousand Russians laid siege to it, and continued for a whole month to batter the walls with heavy cannon, and shower in bombs into the town. The besieged, who did not exceed fifteen hundred men, neglected nothing to repulse the enemy; sallies, stratagems, and surprizes, were all practised to annoy the besiegers; but all served only to prolong the siege. The garrison, after a brave resistance, was forced to

to surrender upon condition, that they should march out with their arms and baggage, and be escorted to Revel at the expence of the Russians. This part of the capitulation was broke; the enemy refused to transport the soldiers, and, contrary to the faith of treaty, detained the officers prisoners for several days; but the menaces of the court of Stockholm at length obliged them to do justice and fulfil their engagements^c.

After the reduction of Narva, the castle of Iwanogrod was summoned by general Ogilby, a Scotch officer in the Russian service; however, the garrison determined to stand in their defence: they held out a few days, and then obtained honourable conditions, which were badly observed. Not only this garrison, but count Horn and the officers taken at Narva, were sent to Moscow, where they were thrown into a dungeon, and in every respect treated like the prisoners of a barbarous people, deaf to the dictates of honour and humanity. The czar Peter imagining that the terror of these conquests would force Revel into submission, marched within a few leagues of that city; but finding that the garrison had provided for a vigorous defence, he did not think proper to lay regular siege at so unfavourable a season of the year. Then, having left garrisons in the places in his possession, he returned with the rest of the army to Russia.

Since the retreat of Augustus, Poland had been wholly governed by the king of Sweden, the new king Stanislaus being entirely led by his counsels. Preparations were made for the coronation of this prince, before fortune should a second time drive him from his capital. A diet was appointed to meet at Warsaw; and the opposition of the court of Rome seemed the only obstacle to the full establishment of Stanislaus. The pontiff could not avoid declaring for Augustus, who for a crown had abjured the protestant religion, and preferring him to Stanislaus, who was set up by the heretic king of Sweden. Accordingly he published briefs, denouncing excommunication against the primate and any of the Polish bishops who should assist at the intended coronation. It was the business of Charles and Stanislaus to prevent the dispersion of these briefs; some of them however found their way to Warsaw, and strongly influenced the people. Placarts were published, by which ecclesiastics of all degrees were prohibited meddling with affairs of government; and for the greater security, the doors of the prelates houses were guarded by

A. D. 1705.

*The pope
opposes
Stanislaus.*

^c Puffend. lib. vii.

armed soldiers, to prevent the ingress or egress of strangers; and Charles took upon himself the odium of these little severities, that no difference might happen between Stanislaus and the clergy on his first accession. Both princes solicited the cardinal-primate to perform the ceremony of coronation; but that prelate retired to Dantzick, to avoid consecrating a king who had been elected contrary to his inclinations. However, he made shift to steer with such steadiness as prevented his disobliging either Augustus, Charles, Stanislaus, or the pope; and yet all had reason to blame his cunning, chicane, and tergiversation, to despise the man, though they could not legally impeach any part of his conduct^a.

The proceedings of the diet, together with the authority of the king of Sweden, and the flight of Augustus, induced several of the nobility to espouse Stanislaus, although they had been the staunch adherents of his rival. Smielgiskia, starost of Gnesna, the most determined follower of the fortune of king Augustus, made several spirited attempts in his favour; but all his exploits produced no real advantage to his master, who was forced to have recourse to the mediation of his Prussian majesty. He solicited the court of Berlin to interpose, and procure him peace upon any terms; but his Prussian majesty was too prudent to involve himself in a dispute with so warlike and fierce a monarch as the king of Sweden. At last Augustus lost all hope, on finding that his rival was solemnly crowned at Warsaw; that most of the nobility had sworn allegiance to Stanislaus; and that none of the powers of Europe, except the Russians, paid the least regard to the affairs of Poland, being either afraid of the king of Sweden, or otherwise employed. The czar indeed stretched out a helping hand to the distressed Augustus. He met him at Grodno, and conferred with him and general Schulemberg on the unhappy situation of his affairs. Augustus was now dethroned, and for that reason no longer afraid of exasperating the Poles by the admission of Russian armies into the dominions of the republic; it was resolved therefore that an army of a hundred thousand men should attack the Swedes in their new conquests. This prodigious force soon entered Poland, and dividing into smaller parties, burnt and destroyed the estates of all those who had declared in favour of Stanislaus. Sixty thousand Cossacks, under general Mazeppa, likewise entered the Polish dominions, and ravaged all before them with the fury of barbarians. Schulemberg was

^a Puff. tom. vi. lib. vii. Parth. tom. ii. lib. v.

at the same time advancing with an army of Saxons; and if numbers could determine the fate of war, Charles must have sunk under the force of his enemies; but conduct, courage, and his good fortune, still prevailed. The Russian corps were attacked and defeated with surprising expedition. Dislodging forty thousand Russians scarcely obstructed the march of the Swedes; the enemy, thus terrified, defeated, dispersed, and ruined, fled precipitately beyond the Boristhenes, wholly evacuating Poland, and leaving Augustus to his ill fate ^b.

The Russians and Saxons defeated and dispersed.

Nor had Schulemberg better fortune with all his merit and superiority of numbers. While Charles was driving the Muscovites before him in Lithuania, Schulemberg with fourteen thousand Saxons, and seven thousand Russians, who had been disciplined in Germany, and were reputed excellent soldiers, crossed the Oder to give battle to Renschild. The Swede, notwithstanding he had no more than thirteen battalions and twenty-two squadrons, was equally desirous of coming to an engagement. He marched in quest of the enemy, and found Schulemberg posted in a very advantageous situation, with the village of Jagerdorff on the right, Boersdorff on the left, and the rear defended by the town of Frawenstadt. The Swedes formed only one line, drawn up along the river, the foot and horse intermixed, with several battalions of reserve posted advantageously in the rear. With this disposition they on the 12th day of February, attacked the Saxons, drove them from Punitz, a place already fatal to the troops of Augustus, and in less than half an hour, obtained a complete victory, and blighted the great reputation which the long and important services of Schulemberg had so deservedly acquired. Renschild had before this battle been called the Parmenio of the northern Alexander; so important a victory, gained over a celebrated general at the head of superior numbers, advantageously posted, raised his fame upon a level with that of his sovereign, and even excited jealousy in Charles, who could not help exclaiming, "Surely Renschild will not compare himself to me." It is true, that his cruelty destroyed the fruits of his courage. Six hours after the engagement he ordered above a thousand Russians to be massacred in cold blood, to revenge their barbarities in Poland, and by this single action rendered infamous a victory which would otherwise have transmitted his name, in the list of Swedish heroes, to the latest posterity. Nothing could be more complete than the defeat of the

A D. 1706.

^b Volt. lib. iii.

Saxons, whole regiments threw down their arms, and begged their lives in the most suppliant posture. Six thousand were slain on the field, and seven thousand taken prisoners; yet Schulemberg's disposition was so skilful, that nothing but a panic which seized his troops could have occasioned his defeat. Thirty-six pieces of cannon, eleven thousand muskets, forty pair of colours and standards, and all the Saxon baggage, fell into the hands of the Swedish general; but the consequences of the victory were still more important. A path was now opened to Saxony, and there remained no obstruction to the king of Sweden's taking possession of the hereditary dominions of the unfortunate Augustus, now a vagrant in Poland, in which he possessed not a single town besides Cracow. He threw himself into this city with a few Saxon, Polish, and Russian regiments, and begun erecting some fortifications for its defence; but the approach of the Swedish general Meyerfeldt, and the news that the king of Sweden had taken possession of Saxony, broke his resolution, disconcerted all his measures, and reduced him to the verge of despair.

The king of Sweden enters Saxony.

Charles, at the head of twenty-four thousand men, had in the month of September, actually entered the electorate of Saxony by the way of Lusatia. The diet at Ratisbon, without the power of checking his progress, declared him an enemy to the empire, should he presume to cross the Oder; but Charles despised their impotent menaces, and pursued the course of conquest, fearless of the whole Germanic body, and perhaps glad of an opportunity of rivaling the glory of Gustavus Adolphus, by humbling the pride of the house of Austria. Certain it is, that his approach overwhelmed Saxony with consternation, and indeed spread terror over the whole empire. The Saxon peasants deserted their habitations, and the whole country was left a wide desert, until Charles published a proclamation that revived their spirits, increased their confidence of his honour, and brought them back to their several occupations. The declaration imported, that he had entered Saxony with no other view than to bring to a speedy issue an unjust war, excited by the ambition of king Augustus and the czar of Muscovy; that Saxony having abetted and assisted their designs, it was reasonable the electorate should share the punishment, and be disabled from pursuing measures that tended only to the spilling of blood, and the destruction of the human species; that whatever cause he

might have for resentment, he was determined to moderate his vengeance, and therefore assured the states and inhabitants of the electorate, that all who remained quietly in their houses, and furnished their contributions for the support of his troops, should enjoy his protection, and be kept in possession of their estates and effects: whereas, those who should either take up arms in their defence, withdraw themselves, or secrete their effects, should be treated with the utmost rigour, as open enemies to his government.

The effects of this proclamation were equally salutary to the Swedes and Saxons; the one had every enjoyment of life quietly provided for them; and the others were not only exempted from the terrors of war, but kept in some measure in the possession of their liberties and property; at least that little portion of liberty which they enjoyed under their lawful sovereign Augustus. The people returned in shoals to their former occupations, industry and labour went on in their usual channel, the strictest order was observed in the Swedish army; yet the country was terribly loaded with contributions, and fleeced with taxes. From his camp the king issued orders, for assembling the states of Saxony, and transmitting to him an exact account of the revenues of the electorate. When he had properly informed himself of what the country could bear, he imposed a monthly tax of six hundred and twenty-five thousand rix-dollars; and ordained besides, that the inhabitants should furnish every Swedish soldier with two pounds of meat, an equal quantity of bread, two quarts of beer, four pence a-day, and forage sufficient for the cavalry. This contribution was exorbitant; but in return, Charles took the most effectual methods of protecting the people against the ravages of the soldiers. It was ordered, that in all the towns where Swedish troops were garrisoned or quartered, the innkeepers should give certificates of the behaviour of the soldiers lodged in their houses; without which, the soldier was deprived of his pay. Besides this regulation, inspectors were appointed to visit the quarters every fortnight, and bring an exact report to the king of the behaviour of his forces. In a word, the Swedes lived under the severest discipline; but the Saxons groaned under the most terrible oppression, of which they durst not complain, because it was authorised by their conqueror (A). All, however, lived

(A) M. Voltaire relates the a proof of the strict discipline following pleasant anecdote, as observed. "As the king was
one

lived in perfect security; they were a nation of slaves, but then they were protected in their lives, out of regard to the interest of the master. The great fair of Leipzig was held as usual; the tradesmen went thither without fear, sold their goods, and returned home with the profits without molestation^d.

*Augustus
begs peace.*

By the defeat of the Saxon army, and the seizure of the electorate, Augustus was reduced to the utmost despair: he lay exposed to the mercy of the Russians, who were naturally his enemies, and cemented now to his interest only by selfish motives. In this extremity, abandoned by the Poles, and deprived of the assistance of his hereditary subjects, he was forced to write a letter with his own hand to Charles XII. soliciting peace upon such terms as the conqueror should think fit to grant. With this letter he charged baron Imhoff and monsieur Pfingsten, with full powers to sign such a treaty as they could obtain. "Go, said he, and endeavour to procure me reasonable and Christian conditions." As he was then in Poland, at the mercy of the Russians, he dreaded lest those overtures should become public; and the dangerous ally, whom he wanted to abandon, would revenge this submission to the king of Sweden. The transaction was therefore kept a profound secret; his emissaries were introduced to the Swedish court in the night, and being presented to Charles, received their answer to the following import: that king Augustus should for ever renounce the crown of Poland, acknowledge Stanislaus, and promise never to re-ascend the throne should an opportunity offer. That he should renounce all treaties with the enemies of Sweden, and particularly those subsisting between him and the czar. That

^d Puffend. lib. vii.

one day riding out near Leipzig, a Saxon peasant threw himself at his feet to implore justice of a soldier, who had robbed him and his family of their dinner. The king ordering the soldier to be brought before him, asked, with a stern countenance, whether what the peasant alleged was true? Sir, says the soldier, I have done him less mischief than you have done

his master. You have taken a kingdom from Augustus, I have only taken a turkey from the peasant. Charles ordered ten ducats for the countryman, and pardoned the soldier for the wit and boldness of his reply; telling him; Remember friend, I have taken a kingdom, but I have kept nothing for myself (1)."

(1) Voltaire, lib. iii.

he should release the princes Sobieski, and all the Swedish prisoners made in the course of the war; surrender Patkul, who was at that time resident at his court, as ambassador from the czar of Muscovy, and stop proceedings against all who had passed from his into the Swedish service. These articles Charles wrote with his own hand, delivered them to count Piper, ordering him to finish the negotiation with the Saxon ambassadors. A conference was accordingly set on foot in the neighbourhood of Leipsic, which by various accidents were spun out to a considerable length^e.

Mean while all the powers united against France, and Spain took the alarm at the irruption made into Saxony. The princes of Germany, in particular, pressed Charles to explain his motives for this extraordinary infraction of the privileges of the Germanic body; but they could obtain no satisfactory answer. The emperor finding that menaces were vain, had recourse to soothing, which he imagined might operate more powerfully on the stubborn haughty disposition of the Swedish monarch. With this view count Wratisslaus was sent to Saxony, to apologize for the rough proceedings of the diet at Ratisbon, the blame of which was laid on certain fiery, turbulent members of the Germanic body. Here too the ministers of England and Holland paid their compliments to the northern hero; emulous who should most gain his favour and regard. Charles, indeed, was now at the pinnacle of his glory; feared, courted, and caressed, by the greatest powers in Europe. He had placed a crown on the head of a private nobleman, and ballanced whether he should reduce a sovereign prince to the station of a subject. The plenipotentiaries from Augustus used all the arts of intrigue, intreaty, and supplication, to obtain terms more favourable than those prescribed from the conqueror; but Charles was inexorable, and the constant answer of count Piper was, "Such is the will of the king my master, and he never alters his resolution." The peace, consequently, went on but slowly. It was almost impossible for the plenipotentiaries to grant what was required, and Charles would hearken to no other conditions. Fortune, however, at last seemed determined to change sides, and for once to smile upon Augustus^f.

During the negotiations in Saxony, the affairs in Poland assumed a different aspect. Notwithstanding Poloski, palatine of Kiovia, nominated great-general of the crown by Stanislaus, had defeated a body of Tartars; notwith-

Charles is courted by all the powers in Europe.

^e Volt. lib. iii. Puffend. ibid.

^f Parth. lib. vi. Volt. ibid.

standing the same palatine had defeated two large bodies that had advanced as far as the Vistula; yet Augustus found means to assemble a considerable army, with which, having crossed that river, he obliged the Swedes and Poles to unite into one army. Prince Menzikoff, the great favourite of the czar Peter, brought him a reinforcement of thirty thousand Russians. This was a supply, though seasonable and fortunate in the issue, by no means agreeable to Augustus; who was under the most dreadful apprehensions, says Voltaire, lest Menzikoff should discover the negotiation carrying on with the king of Sweden. According to the French writer, he saw himself dethroned by his enemy, and in danger of being detained prisoner by his ally, in which situation the Swedish general Meyerfeldt presented himself to view, at the head of an army of ten thousand men, near half of whom were Swedes. The continuator of Puffendorf alleges, that Meyerfeldt was forced to give battle. Voltaire affirms, that Menzikoff pressed, and indeed constrained Augustus to accept the challenge offered by the Swede. In this particular, the abbé Parthenay agrees with M. de Voltaire. Augustus, under various pretexts, declined attacking the enemy; but finding it impossible longer to avoid coming to action, he determined to send a person, in whom he had confidence, to Meyerfeldt, to acquaint him with his situation, and advise him to retreat. The Swede imagined a deceit was intended; he therefore ordered six thousand cavalry to cross the Profna, to reconnoitre the enemy; and scarce had they returned, when Augustus and Menzikoff were in motion to give battle. With no more than ten thousand men he stood firm to sustain the shock of forty thousand Poles, Saxons, Russians, Cossacks, and Calmucs. With his center, in which he charged with the Swedes, he defeated the enemy's first line, and was on the point of breaking the second, when Stanislaus, with the Poles and Lithuanians, gave way, suffering the enemy to put them in disorder. Meyerfeldt was now sensible that he had lost the victory; but he fought desperately, in hopes of avoiding the disgrace of a defeat. At length, however, he was wholly surrounded, and after an obstinate defence, forced to capitulate, and suffer the Swedes, for the first time, to be conquered by Augustus. The French and Swiss regiments, which had deserted from the Saxons, perceiving they were to meet with no quarter, took again to their arms, determined to sell their lives as dear as possible; a circumstance which obliged Augustus to indulge them with the same conditions as were granted to the Swedes. Po-

Meyerfeldt, the Swedish general, defeated by Augustus and Menzikoff.

toski was taken prisoner, after having fought with astonishing intrepidity at the head of his regiment; and major-general Kraffau, having repeatedly rallied a body of horse formed into a brigade, at last, by a furious effort, broke through the enemy, and escaped to Pofmania.

In this manner king Augustus gained a complete victory almost against his inclination, and in the midst of his misfortunes entered triumphant into Warsaw. This moment of prosperity served only to sharpen his sufferings, and render Augustus more unfortunate. Charles became more inflexible when he heard that his troops had been defeated; and the king of Poland had but just sung *Te Deum* at Warsaw, when his plenipotentiary returned from Saxony, with the treaty of peace that deprived him of his crown. He hesitated, scrupled, and at last signed it; then he set out for Saxony, glad of escaping out of the hands of allies, who would not have failed to give him fresh cause of uneasiness, had they been made acquainted with the circumstances of the treaty; a treaty which he could not possibly have ratified, had he retained the smallest spark of true honour, or paid the least regard to conscience and humanity. All Europe was struck with this important negotiation. Some blamed the rigid spirit of Charles, who persisted in dethroning a prince, the ancient ally of his family, and connected with him by the ties of blood; while others admired his disinterestedness, in thus disposing of a conquered kingdom, without adding a foot of land to his own dominions. All the fruit of his victories consisted in the glory of obtaining them; of having dethroned a king, and placed a crown on the head of a private nobleman^b.

Augustus was still in hope that a personal interview with Charles might soften the heart of that prince, and dispose him to relax in some of the more severe articles. ^{*Treaty of*} The two kings met at Guntersdorf, in count Piper's quarters. ^{*Ali Ran-*} The conversation at this first meeting turned wholly upon trifles; not a syllable passed on the subject which occasioned the interview. ^{*fladt.*} They afterwards dined together, and then Augustus endeavoured to prevail on the king of Sweden not to insist upon his delivering up Patkul, who was actually the minister of the czar of Muscovy. This step, he said, would be such a breach of the laws of nations, as would give all Europe cause to exclaim against his perfidy and pusillanimity. He likewise disputed laying aside the arms and title of king of Poland; "It is enough (says he) that I have actually resigned the power, the crown, the revenue,

^b Parthenay. lib. v. tom. ii. Volt. lib. iii.

and the dominions of Poland." With respect to surrendering the crown-jewels to Stanislaus, he said, this ought to be done with the consent of the republic; for should that prince not be able to maintain himself on the throne, the Poles might think they had a right to demand the jewels given away without their consent, from the elector of Saxony. But the king of Sweden was immoveable in these and every other article of the treaty; he even exacted terms which were still more intolerable to the spirit and pride of Augustus. He obliged the king-elect to send his rival the jewels and archives of Poland, with a letter congratulating him on his accession, which Stanislaus answered with dignity and politeness, coming in person to Leipsic, to visit the prince, whose diadem he wore. This was the summit of the king of Sweden's glory; to see two kings at his court, one of whom he had deposed, and the other established on his throne; it was indeed a barbarous honour which no other prince in Christendom could boast. He indeed tarnished the lustre of this glory, by the inhuman inflexibility of his revenge against the unfortunate Patkul, who was now shut up in the castle of Konigstein in Saxony. The whole conduct of Augustus on this occasion was abject and mean. At the court of Vienna, he would have made a respectable figure as an unfortunate prince: at table with Charles and Stanislaus, he appeared an object almost below contempt. It must be owned indeed, he laboured all in his power to save Patkul, but in vain. He devised an expedient to satisfy the conqueror, and save his own honour, but it did not succeed; Patkul's ill-fortune prevailed. Augustus sent his guards to deliver up the prisoner to the Swedish troops, but not until he had sent an order to the governor of the castle to let him escape. The avarice of the governor, and Patkul's confidence in the regard which would be paid to the law of nations, frustrated the effects of the expedient which had been contrived for his safety. It was known that the minister was rich; his keeper expected a high reward for his liberty, which Patkul refused, not doubting but he should obtain it without fee. While they disputed this point the guards arrived, immediately seized him, and delivered him to four Swedish officers, who attended to receive the prisoner. He was hurried away to the head-quarters at Alt-Ranstadt, where he continued three months, tied to a stake with a heavy chain of iron; and then was conducted to Casimir. Here he was tried by a council of war, condemned as the subject of Sweden to be broke alive on the wheel, and quartered. The sentence was executed with the utmost rigour. He received

sixteen blows, and expired, after having sustained the longest and most excruciating tortures ^b. His crime was, that he had served the enemies of his king; but this step he had not taken till he was exiled by the most cruel oppression from his native country. In a word, the unfortunate Patkul would not have been treated in this cruel, ignominious manner, except by a brutal prince, devoid of humanity, and real greatness of mind.

The czar of Muscovy was no sooner informed of the late extraordinary treaty of peace, and the execution of Patkul his plenipotentiary, than he filled all Europe with his complaints. He sent letters to every court in Christendom, complaining of this gross violation of the law of nations. He entreated the emperor, the queen of England, and the states general, to revenge the insult on humanity. He stigmatized the compliance of Augustus with the opprobrious name of pusillanimity; exhorted them not to guarantee so unjust a treaty, and to despise the menaces of the Swedish bully. However, his remonstrances and reproaches served only to demonstrate the power of Charles, and the dread in which he was held by all the confederates. Patkul's fate was now determined, the mediation of the allies would have been ineffectual, and they did not chuse to exasperate the ferocious Swede, by refusing the ceremony of becoming guarantees to a treaty. At first Peter thought of revenging his minister, by treating the prisoners at Moscow in the same manner; but he was withheld from the barbarous retaliation, on considering that the king of Sweden had more Russian prisoners than he had Swedes. Perhaps a spark of humanity rose at this time in the breast of the savage legislator. Certain it is, that he determined upon a nobler and more advantageous revenge. Poland was defended only by a slender body of Swedes and the national troops, who together were not numerous enough to guard all the passes. The bulk of the army, the king, and Stanislaus, were all in Saxony, dictating to Augustus, and indeed giving law to the western hemisphere. Peter entering Poland with sixty thousand men, divided his army into several bodies; advanced to Leopold, and gained possession of that and several other towns, the defence of which had been entrusted to the inhabitants. At Leopold he assembled a diet, and solemnly dethroned Stanislaus, with the same ceremonies which had been used at Warsaw to depose king Augustus. Nothing could equal the misery of Poland; fellow-citizens were butchering each other, and cities,

Count Patkul's execution.

A.D. 1707.

The czar enters Poland.

^b Poffend. lib. vii. Volt. lib. iii.

towns, and villages, laid in ashes. The whole country was divided, the Swedes retaining one party through fear, and the czar gaining another by money and intrigue. These disorders called for a speedy remedy: accordingly Stanislaus quitted Saxony at the head of sixteen regiments, and well supplied with the money of the electorate. He was acknowledged as legitimate sovereign wherever he passed; the strict discipline and order of his troops was admired, and indeed afforded the strongest contrast to the disorder and riot that prevailed among the Muscovites. His own affability won many hearts, and the Saxon money engaged great part of the crown-army to desert count Siniaufki, grand-general of Poland, by the nomination of Augustus. Peter perceived this change, he had experienced the valour of the Swedes, and knew the ability of Lewenhaupt. He therefore thought it advisable to retire to Lithuania, under pretence that the country could not supply him with the provision and forage which were necessary for the subsistence of so great an army^c.

*Charles
forces the
emperor to
make sub-
missions.*

All this while Charles was giving law, in Saxony, to the emperor, and receiving ambassadors from the courts of Vienna, London, Versailles, and Madrid. The famous John duke of Marlborough made him a visit at Leipzig, and was perhaps the chief instrument of turning Charles from the project he entertained of interposing in the quarrel between France and the allies. Some writers allege, that the duke judiciously applied by presents to count Piper; but Voltaire denies this circumstance, and clearly vindicates the purity and disinterestedness of that minister. In short, the king of Sweden's grand project was to dethrone the czar, and his attention to this object was probably the true reason why he did not intermeddle with the affairs of Western Europe. He enjoyed, however, the satisfaction of humbling the court of Vienna, and obliging the emperor to make some exceedingly mean concessions. Count Zobor, the emperor's chamberlain, had affronted Stralenheim, the Swedish envoy, who resented it so highly, that he suddenly quitted Vienna without taking leave. Charles demanded satisfaction for the indignity offered to him in the person of his minister. The emperor, dreading lest the king in his wrath should form some resolution injurious to the interests of the confederates, banished the count; but this reparation did not satisfy the Swede; he insisted, that count Zobor should be delivered into his hands; his demands were complied with, and the emperor was forced to stoop so far as to see

^c Auct. citat. *ibid.*

his chamberlain kept for some time a prisoner at Stetin, after which confinement the king of Sweden sent him back to Vienna. Nor was this the only particular in which he mortified the imperial court. Fifteen hundred Russians had escaped the Swedish sword, and taken refuge in the emperor's dominions. These Charles demanded, and the court would have been forced to comply, had not the Russian minister artfully contrived the escape of the unfortunate refugees^d.

Charles having succeeded in all his demands on the court of Vienna, seemed to fix his residence in Saxony with no other view than to multiply his requisitions. He now declared himself protector of the protestant interest in Germany, and particularly of the emperor's protestant subjects in Silesia. He required that the emperor should renew and confirm to them all the liberties granted by the treaties of Westphalia; but since revoked, or at least eluded, at the treaty of Ryswick. There was something extremely insolent in the manner of this interposition; the emperor perceived the indignity offered to his authority, but he was forced to conceal his sentiments, and grant all that the Swedish monarch demanded. Upwards of a hundred churches were restored to the protestants, only to be taken from them when fortune frowned upon Charles, their patron and protector. Voltaire relates an anecdote which, if true, fully evinces the terror with which this prince inspired the court of Vienna. When the emperor was reproached by the pope's nuncio, for thus surrendering the interests of religion to oblige a heretic prince: "It is well for you (answered his imperial majesty) that the king of Sweden did not propose to make me a Lutheran; for if he had, I do not know whether I should have refused." One would indeed have imagined that Charles entertained some thoughts of making a proselyte of the pontiff himself; for being incensed at the constant opposition of the court of Rome, a court whose weakness and intrigues he despised, he told the emperor's minister, "That the Swedes had before now conquered Rome, and he might one day demand an inventory of the effects left there by queen Christina."

Being at length satiated with the glory of having dethroned one king, crowned another, humbled the emperor, given law to the empire, protected the protestant religion, and filled all Europe with terror and admiration, Charles thought of quitting Saxony, in pursuit of his great plan of deposing the czar, and conquering the immense empire of

^d Volt. lib. iii.

Russia. His design he kept a profound secret; but it was suspected when he began his march at the head of an army of forty-three thousand men, the best disciplined troops in the world, flushed with victory, and enriched with the spoils of the vanquished. While the army was in full march in the neighbourhood of Dresden, the king suddenly disappeared, accompanied only by five officers. The alarm immediately spread through the army; but their terrors were soon removed, by its being known that his majesty was gone upon a visit to Augustus^c (B).

The king of Sweden's forces in Saxony, Poland, and Finland, including the Poles under Stanislaus, and the

^c Puffend. lib. vii.

(B) As the extraordinary manner of this visit strongly marks the character of Charles, we shall beg leave to recite the particulars in the words of the lively Voltaire. "The king alighted at the palace, and was got to the door of the elector's apartment, before it was known that he had entered the city. General Fleming, having seen him at a distance, had only time to run and inform his master. All that could be done upon such an occasion was present to the idea of the minister; but Charles entered the chamber in his boots before Augustus had time to recover from his surprize. The king breakfasted with him, as a traveller who came to take leave of his friend, and then he expressed his desire of viewing the fortifications. While he was walking round them a Livonian, condemned in Sweden, who served in the troops of Saxony, thought he could never have a more favourable opportunity of procuring pardon, and begged of king Augustus to intercede for him, being fully assured, that his

majesty could not refuse to slight a request to a prince in whose power he then was. Augustus made the request, and Charles refused it in such a manner that he did not think fit to ask it a second time (1)." Having passed some hours in this very extraordinary kind of visit, the king of Sweden returned to his army, after having embraced, and taken his leave of the king he had dethroned. The continuator of Puffendorf alleges, that Augustus accompanied him to Neusdorf (2). When Charles had joined his army, he found all his generals assembled in council, and asked the reason: General Renschild told him, they had determined to besiege Dresden, in case his majesty had been detained a prisoner. "Aye (said the king), you were right; but they durst not, they durst not." Next morning, upon the news that king Augustus held an extraordinary council at Dresden: "You see (says Renschild) they are deliberating upon what should have been done yesterday."

(1) Volt. lib. iii. p. 140.

(2) Puffend. tom. vi. lib. vii. p. 168.

Swedish army commanded by Lewenhaupt, exceeded seventy thousand men; a force more than sufficient to have executed all his projects, had fortune proved favourable. Peter the Great was then in Lithuania, busied in supporting the spirits of a party, which king Augustus seemed wholly to have renounced. His troops which were dispersed in small parties, he instantly assembled upon notice of the king of Sweden's march, and was making all possible preparations vigorously to resist this conqueror, who had now obtained the surname of Invincible. He was on the point of attacking Stanislaus, when the king's approach disconcerted his measures, and struck his whole army with a panic. Charles, on his route, had given audience to the Turkish ambassador, who had been sent by his court to fix Sweden in the interest of the grand signor, as an ally extremely useful in his designs on Germany and Russia. Leaving Stanislaus with ten thousand Swedes in Poland, the king continued his march to Grodno, in pursuit of the Russian army. In the month of January, he passed the Niemen, and entered the south gate of Grodno, just as the czar was quitting the town by the north gate. He had gone before the army, attended only by six hundred horse. Notice of his situation was given to the czar, upon which he sent back a detachment of two thousand men, who attacked the Swedes unprepared, but were soon defeated. This disappointment was followed by the total evacuation of Lithuania; the very terror of the king's name obliging the Russians to seek shelter in the frontiers of Muscovy. Thither they were pursued in the midst of ice and snow, through almost impervious forests, over rocks, morasses, mountains, and rivers. Nothing seemed impracticable to Charles, at the head of a Swedish army; he continued in the field in a wild northern country during the winter; and made forced marches, as if he had been in the finest plains in Flanders in the summer season. Charles had foreseen every difficulty, and determined to surmount them. Sensible that the country could not furnish provision sufficient for the maintenance of his army, and that great part of what it afforded, had been destroyed by the enemy, he provided a large quantity of biscuit, upon which the army chiefly subsisted, until he arrived on the banks of the Berezine, in view of Borislow. Here the czar was posted, and it was the intention of the king to bring him to a battle, that he might then penetrate without obstruction or annoyance into Russia. The czar, however, did not think proper to come to an action, but retreated towards the Boristhenes, and was pursued by the Swede as soon as he had refreshed

He quits Saxony, and marches against the Russians.

A.D. 1708.

his army, in quarters where they were well supplied with necessaries ^f.

*He defeats
a body of
the enemy.*

Although the Russians had destroyed the roads, desolated the country, and thrown every possible impediment in the way of the Swedish army, they advanced with great celerity, and in their march defeated twenty thousand of the enemy, though they were entrenched to the teeth. This was one of the most obstinate battles which the Russians had ever ventured to stand against the Swedes, and, considering the circumstances, one of the most glorious that Charles ever obtained. The memory of it is preserved by a medal struck in Sweden, with this inscription, “*Sylvæ, paludes, aggeres, hastes victi,*” from which we may collect the opinion entertained of it in those times, when the news of some fresh victory was every day reaching the capital ^g.

*The diffi-
culties
which the
king en-
countered.*

When the Russians had repassed the Boristhenes, that great river which divides Poland from Muscovy, and the Swedes were following them close, the czar began at last to consult the safety of his dominions, and seriously to reflect on the consequences of pursuing a war with a prince who was not to be conquered by dangers and difficulties. He determined to offer peace, and accordingly sent proposals to king Charles, by a Polish gentleman in his army. The king's answer was, that he would treat at Moscow, which being reported to the czar, he coolly replied, “My brother Charles affects to play Alexander, but he will not find in me a Darius.” However, he continued retreating, and the king pursued so close, that he was skirmishing daily with the rear of the enemy, in which encounters he had generally the advantage, though even conquering in these undecisive actions proved detrimental; by weakening his army in a country where it was impossible to recruit. Near Smolensko, he defeated, with six regiments only, a body of ten thousand horse and six thousand Calmucks. In this engagement the king's person was in the utmost danger, the enemy having separated him from his troops. Seconded only by one regiment, he fought with such fury, as dispersed the enemy, and drove them before him, just as they thought themselves in possession of the royal prisoner. Two aids-de-camp, that fought near the king's person, were killed. His horse was shot under him, and the equerry struck dead while he was presenting another. The enemy had broke through the regiment, and advanced quite up to the king's person, who is said to have killed twelve men with his own hand, without receiving a single wound.

^f Id. *ibid.*

^g Puffend. *ubi supra.* Volt, in *loc. modo citat.*

Charles was now within a hundred leagues of Moscow; but the czar had made the roads impassable, either by laying them under water, digging deep ditches, or blocking them up with the wood of whole forests, which he had ordered to be cut down. He had likewise destroyed all the villages on every side, and taken away every possibility of procuring the least sustenance for an army. The winter was considerably advanced, the intensely severe weather was approaching, and every thing threatened the Swedes with all the miseries of pinching cold and famine, while they were at the same time exposed to a powerful enemy, who, by a perfect knowledge of the country, and great superiority of numbers, had constant opportunities of harrassing and attacking them by surprize. These considerations induced the king to pass through the Ukrain, where Mazeppa, a Polish gentleman, filled the post of general and chief of the nation. Mazeppa had once received an affront from the czar, which he took this opportunity of revenging, by entering upon a treaty with Charles. He promised to revolt, to assist the king with thirty thousand men, with quantities of ammunition and provision, and with all his treasures, which were immense. To favour this junction, the Swedish army advanced towards the Disna, where they had to encounter new and unheard of hardships and difficulties. A forest above forty leagues in extent, filled with rocks, mountains, and marshes, was to be traversed, and to augment the difficulty, the army was led thirty leagues out of the right way. All the artillery was lost and sunk in bogs and marshes, the provision of the soldiers, which consisted chiefly of biscuit, exhausted, and the whole army emaciated, spent, and exhausted, when they arrived on the banks of the Disna, where they expected to have met Mazeppa, with his promised reinforcement. What must have been their surprize, disappointed and languishing as they were under the united pressure of cold, hunger, and extreme fatigue, to find instead of an ally, the opposite banks of the river covered with a hostile army. In fact, the Russians had discovered Mazeppa's designs; they fell upon the Cossacks, defeated and dispersed them, massacring or putting to the torture all the prince's adherents whom they made prisoners. A body of eight thousand Muscovites had penetrated to the Disna, to dispute the king of Sweden's passage; but the king crossed the river in the face of the enemy, by swimming, or on rafts, hastily put together, defeated the Russians, and pursued his way, as yet uncertain, whether the treachery or misfortune of his new ally had

occasioned the disappointment. The unhappy Mazeppa soon appeared to clear up all doubts. Instead of an army of thirty thousand men, he scarce brought with him six thousand. All his towns had been laid in ashes, and the provisions he had collected for the king of Sweden taken by the enemy; however, he afforded hope of being serviceable by his intelligence in this inhospitable country, and the Swedes derived some advantage from the affection of the Cossacks, who, in resentment to the Russians, crowded daily to the camp with provisions^b.

*He enters
the Ukrain.*

When Charles entered the Ukrain, he sent back orders to general Lewenhaupt, to meet him with fifteen thousand men, and a convoy of provisions, at a certain place of rendezvous. He now expected to reap the fruits of this precaution, when he was joined by Lewenhaupt, who stood more in need of his assistance. Charles had no sooner turned off from the great road that led to Moscow, than the czar applied his whole attention to obstruct Lewenhaupt's progress, and cut off the large convoys he had provided. Near Lesno, at the confluence of the rivers Pronin and Sossa, he appeared with a numerous army in sight of Lewenhaupt's detachment. The Swede was not alarmed; report had diminished the czar's army of sixty thousand men to twenty-four thousand; a force to which he thought six thousand Swedes superior. He disdained to intrench himself, and was attacked in the open field by the Russians, just as he was advancing to give them battle. After an obstinate conflict, the enemy were repulsed with the loss of fifteen hundred men; upon which Lewenhaupt continued his march, without intending to pursue an army six times as numerous as his own. By the treachery of his guide, he found himself embarrassed in a marshy country, where the roads were rendered impassable by deep ditches and trees laid across. In this situation he was again attacked by the czar, supported by his whole army. The Swedish general detached two battalions to dispute the enemy's passage over a morass; but finding they were likely to be overpowered, he marched at the head of the whole infantry to their relief. The combat was furious and obstinate; but the courage and address of the Swedes at last prevailed, put the Russians into confusion, and was on the point of gaining a complete victory, when the czar gave orders to the Cossacks and Calmucks, to fire upon all the Russians, who deserted their posts: "Even kill me, said he, if I should be so cowardly as to turn my

Lewenhaupt engages the Russians three days successively.

^b Volt. lib. iv.

back." These orders, and his own example, wrought a great effect. Assisted by prince Menzikoff, he rallied the broken battalions, and renewed the attack at the entrance of a morass, which Lewenhaupt was to cross. Here the czar drew out his whole army to surround his enemy, the Swedes faced about, and for two hours maintained a bloody action, in which the czar lost near six thousand men. The Russians were a third time put in disorder, when general Baver arrived with a strong reinforcement of fresh troops, which enabled the czar again to renew the engagement, that now continued without remission, till night separated the combatants. Never had Swedish valour shone more conspicuous than in this engagement; reduced to five thousand men, fatigued with fighting, and a long march, and encumbered with a large convoy, they sustained three several assaults on the same day, from an enemy determined to conquer, and amounting to sixty-five thousand men, headed by Peter the Great. Next morning the czar ordered a fresh assault, notwithstanding the Swedes had taken post in the night on an advantageous ground. Lewenhaupt had formed a kind of rampart of his waggons, to which he now set fire to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands, and at the same time cover his retreat by the smoke; the Russians came soon enough, however, to save near five thousand waggons of those provisions that were designed for the distressed army of the king of Sweden; and general Pflug was sent with a strong detachment to pursue and attack the enemy a fifth time. Lewenhaupt put on such a countenance, that the general thought proper to offer him an honourable capitulation, which the Swede refusing, the action was again renewed, and sustained with the same vigour, as if it had been the first engagement. Always unconquered though retreating, and diminished to four thousand men, the Swedes persevered in rejecting all terms, and fighting to the last extremity. The efforts of the enemy's cavalry were vain; they were sustained with such amazing constancy, that five thousand Russians were left dead on the field, and Lewenhaupt suffered to pursue his march, but without cannon or provision. Prince Menzikoff indeed was again detached to harass his rear, but the Swedes appeared so formidable, even in their distressed circumstances, that he retired without making any attempt. In a word, after having sustained for three days six separate assaults; after having encountered all the difficulties which a numerous army, a wild country, and severe weather, could throw in his way, Lewenhaupt at last arrived in his master's camp, with about four thousand men, and the honour

honour of having killed near thirty thousand of the enemy, in the several encounters in his march¹.

The constancy of the Swedes.

From the above circumstances it was apparent, that the fortune of Sweden began to take an unfavourable turn; yet was the courage of Charles and his troops unshaken. They were destitute of provisions, without any communication with Sweden or Poland, in a country where the only remaining resource was their own courage. This it was still thought would surmount all difficulties, and lead them triumphant to the capital of Russia, the sacking of which, and dethroning the czar, would fully recompence all their labour. Charles never lost sight of this object in his greatest distress, and his whole army seemed to be animated with the same spirit and ambition. They resolved to brave the seasons, and the extremity of fatigue and hunger, as they had done their enemies. They made long marches, in the midst of the severest winter that was ever known in Muscovy. Without shoes, almost without cloaths and bread, they followed their king without murmuring, and clad themselves like savages, with the skins of wild beasts. The greater part of the cannon was left behind in quagmires, because all the draught-horses had perished, and the whole army so numerous and flourishing when it left Saxony, was now reduced to twenty-four thousand men, emaciated, impoverished, naked, and exhausted. Charles had experienced mortification in the preceding year, but it was only now that he began to feel the accumulated weight of misfortune and disgrace. Numbers of his soldiers dropped down dead with cold and hunger before his eyes; still he persevered, and indeed a retreat was now become impracticable (A). Before the month of February, the

¹ Puffend. lib. vii. Volt. lib. iv. Hist. de Pierre le Grand, tom. i. p. 162.

(A) Voltaire relates, that amidst all the distresses of the Swedish army, only one officer and one common soldier complained. To the former the king said, "What, are you uneasy at being so far from your wife? If you are a soldier indeed, I will carry you to such a distance, that you shall scarce hear from Sweden once in three years;" alluding, possibly, to the wild plan he had cast in his own mind, while he resided at Leipzig, of penetrating into Asia, and carrying his conquests beyond those of Alexander. The same author relates another anecdote, which equally displays the king's firmness and address. "A soldier, grumbling, ventured to present him, in presence of the whole army, with a piece of black mouldy bread,

the Swedes did not exceed eighteen thousand men, with which army Charles at last penetrated to Pultowa, on the eastern frontier of the Ukrain. Here the czar had formed magazines, of which Charles resolved to gain possession; for hitherto he had been wholly supplied with provisions by his faithful Cossac ally, the unfortunate Mazeppa. The fate of Pultowa was to determine the fate of Sweden. Charles knew that if he succeeded in the enterprize, a road would lie open quite to Moscow; he would at least enjoy great abundance, and be able to wait the arrival of some reinforcements which he still expected from Sweden, Livonia, Poland, and Pomerania. On the contrary, should he be forced to abandon the siege, the army must be exposed more than ever to famine, as the czar was now laying waste those countries from whence the Cossacs drew supplies for the Swedish camp. Mazeppa, who had secret correspondence with some of the inhabitants, strenuously advised that the town should be invested. The fortifications were good, the garrison amounted to nine thousand men, and Charles wanted heavy cannon; notwithstanding which difficulties the Cossac chief confidently promised success, and hope began to revive in the Swedish army.

Accordingly Charles invested Pultowa, with an army not sufficient to cut off the communication between the garrison and the czar, and block up the passes in such a manner as to prevent their receiving succours. General Stuckelburg was detached, with eight thousand Swedes and Cossacs, beyond the river Worklaw, to dislodge a party of the enemy, that intended to penetrate into Pultowa; but he was defeated, and almost his whole detachment drowned or cut in pieces, the bridge having been broke down to prevent his retreat. But even this loss could not discourage the king of Sweden; he pushed the siege with the utmost vigour, and soon perceived by the enemy's skilful and resolute defence, that he had already taught them the art of war. Divers assaults were given,

bread, made of barley and oats, the only food with which the army was then supplied, and even this in a scanty portion. The king received the piece of bread without the least emotion, eat it entirely up, and then said coldly to the soldier, "It is not

good, but it may be eaten." The historian justly observes, that these little turns upon emergencies contributed inconceivably to support the Swedish army in extremities, which would have been intolerable under any other general (1)."

(1) Volt. lib. iv.

in which the Swedes were constantly repulsed, with this additional mortification, that prince Mènzikoff found means to throw twelve hundred men into the town, with great store of ammunition. To complete his misfortunes, Charles received a shot from a carbine, as he was viewing the works, which pierced his boot, and shattered the bone in his heel; but such was his steadiness, that the accident passed unobserved, because he shewed not the least alteration of countenance. For six hours after, he continued calmly on horseback giving his orders, until the loss of blood made him faint, and the wound was discovered by one of his attendants, who brought the assistance of surgeons, and carried his majesty into his tent. Upon examination, the wound had already begun to mortify, and it was the opinion of the faculty, that his life could only be saved by amputation. The utmost consternation seized the army; but one Newman undertook to effect a cure, and save the limb. It was necessary that deep incisions should be made: "Fall to work then, said the king, cut boldly, and fear nothing:" he held out his leg while the operation was performing, never changing countenance; and while the dressing was laid on, ordered an assault to be given next morning.

*Battle of
Pultowa.*

For some days the czar, with an army of seventy thousand men, had lain at a small distance, harrassing the Swedish camp with his parties, and cutting off all their convoys of provisions: now the news arrived that he appeared in sight, as if with intention to attack the king's lines. In this situation, wounded and incapable of action, in a desert country, without a retreat, destitute of provision and ammunition, and almost surrounded by enemies, Charles condescended to assemble a grand council of war, the result of which was, that it was expedient to march out of the trenches, and attack the Russians^k. Voltaire, indeed, asserts the contrary: "Even in this extremity, says that writer, the king called no council, as might be expected; but on the 7th of July, sent for the mareschal Renschild into his tent, and ordered him, with deliberation and without emotion, to prepare for attacking the czar next morning. Without disputing his master's will, the mareschal quitted the king's tent to execute his orders (B)." Eight thousand

* Puffend. lib. vii. tom. vii. p. 180.

(B) The same writer adds, per, with whom he had long been at variance, at the door of the

thousand men were left for the defence of the works, and to oppose the sallies of the besieged; with the rest of the army, amounting to twenty-six thousand men, including eighteen thousand Cossacs, Charles began marching by break of day to fight the czar. On passing through a defile, the enemy were seen drawn up in two lines behind the intrenchments, the horse in front, and the foot in the rear, with chasms to suffer the horse to fall back, in case of necessity. General Sleppenback was immediately detached to attack the cavalry, a service which he performed with such impetuosity, that they were entirely broke and defeated; but being rallied behind the infantry, they returned to the charge, and in their turn put the Swedes in disorder, and took Sleppenback prisoner. Charles was carried in his litter to the scene of confusion; his presence soon animated the troops, they rallied in an instant, and advanced against the fire of seventy pieces of cannon, and a great number of redoubts, which plied them in front and flank. The battle now became exceedingly warm, both princes gave their orders with surprising presence of mind: the czar had his hat shot through, and Charles in his litter escaped a thousand dangers. He had dispatched general Creutz, with a body of horse and dragoons, to take the enemy in flank; but Creutz mistook his way, and this mistake laid the foundation of all the future misfortunes. The Russian infantry opened from their lines, advanced, and were ready to overpower the Swedes, when an admirable stroke of the czar's entirely determined the victory. Prince Menzikoff was detached to post himself between the Swedes and Pultowa, to cut off their communication with the camp, and fall upon their rear. He executed his orders with great address, cut off a corps de reserve of three thousand men, and thus decided the fortune of the day. The king, however, had ranged his re-

July 8:

*The Swedes
defeated.*

the king's tent. The minister asked if any thing new had happened. No, says Renschild coldly, and passed on to give his orders. As soon as Piper entered the tent, the king asked what the general had said to him; nothing, answered Piper. "Well then, replied the king, I tell you, that to-morrow we shall have a battle." The count

was astonished at so desperate a resolution, but concealed his sentiments, knowing the inflexibility of the king's disposition. It would be impossible to reconcile this with what the continuator of Puffendorf alleges; we shall therefore leave it to the reader to follow which opinion he thinks the most probable (1).

(1) Volt. lib. iv.

maining troops in two lines, the foot in the center, and the horse posted on both wings. They had already been twice rallied, and were now attacked with fury on all sides. Charles in his litter, with his sword drawn in one hand, and a pistol in the other, was every where present. A cannon-ball killed both horses in the litter, and scarce were others put in their stead, when a second cannon-ball broke the litter in pieces, and overturned the king. The soldiers believed him killed, they fell back in consternation; the first line was broke, and the second fled. Rallying was impossible, as powder failed. The king did all in his power to restore order; but the Russians pressed so hard as to baffle all his endeavours. Renschild, and several general officers, were made prisoners; and the king must have fallen into the hands of the enemy, but for Poniatosky, who, with admirable presence of mind, drew up five hundred horse, surrounded his person, broke through ten regiments of the enemy, and arrived on the banks of the Boristhenes. The conquerors stormed the camp, seized six millions in specie, the spoils of king Augustus; but could not prevent Lewenhaupt from retreating with four thousand foot, and all the remaining cavalry, to the banks of the Boristhenes, opposite to Kiovia, whither he was pursued by Menzikoff, and for want of bridges or boats, forced to surrender at discretion. In a word, the victory was complete; the whole Swedish army, except a few who followed the king's fortune, having been killed or taken.

Consequences of the defeat at Pultowa.

In this manner did Charles XII. lose in one day, the fruits of nine years fatigue and labour, and the glory of almost a hundred victories. He fled in a mean calash, attended by a little troop of persons invariably attached to his person, some on foot, some on horseback, across a desert, where neither house, hut, animal, herb, or tree was to be seen; all was one great ocean of sand, in which they had almost been suffocated with intense heat, more intolerable than the severe colds they had experienced on entering the Russian frontiers. The want of water had almost destroyed the whole of these unfortunate remains of the Swedish army; at last a spring was discovered, in which the king and his whole troop quenched their thirst, and proceeded to Oczakou, a town in the Turkish dominions, the bashaw governor of which supplied them with every necessary, and treated the king with all the respect due to so great a monarch. It was the 9th of June before boats sufficient to transport the whole could be provided, by which

which accident five hundred Swedes and Cossacs fell into the hands of the enemy, who continued the pursuit quite to the banks of the river Bogh. This loss affected the king more than all his former sufferings consequent on the defeat of Pultowa. Misfortune had softened his heart, and he now for the first time discovered any signs of sensibility and passion. He shed tears at seeing across the river, the greater part of his few remaining friends carried away into captivity, without having it in his power to offer them relief or assistance. The bashaw waited upon him in person, apologized for the delay which had occasioned this loss, and was severely reprimanded by the king, as if he had been his own subject.

Charles was but a few days at Oczakou, when the serasquier of Bender sent an aga to compliment his majesty on his arrival in the Turkish dominions, to invite him to Bender, and to accept of the present of a fine Turkish tent, sent for his accommodation on the road. Both were accepted, and the king set out with his whole retinue, escorted by the bashaw of Oczakou, who furnished every necessary as far as Palanca; at which place the serasquier took upon himself the charge of accommodating the fugitive monarch. When he arrived at Bender, he was saluted with a general discharge of the artillery, and the acclamations of the janissaries, who were drawn up to do his majesty honour, with the same ceremony as if he had been the grand signor. Charles pitched his tent on the banks of the Neister, and declined the invitation given him to lodge in the town. He was visited by the serasquier, treated with the utmost hospitality, provided with every necessary that the country could afford; and that generous maxim of the Turkish government, of regarding as sacred the persons of unfortunate princes who have taken sanctuary among them, was practised in its greatest extent ^h.

Charles takes refuge in the Turkish dominions.

^h Puffend. lib. vii. Volt. lib. v.

S E C T. XII.

Containing the Particulars of the King's Residence at Bender, the Difficulties it occasioned at the Porte, the Affairs of Sweden during the King's Exile, the Advantage which the Northern Powers made of this Accident, with other Particulars.

*Conduct of
the Porte.*

CHARLES XII. of Sweden, lately so terrible to his enemies, was now, by a sudden reverse of fortune, protected and supported by the compassion and generosity of a barbarous people, perhaps by the policy of a court, which still imagined that so warlike, active, and magnanimous a prince, might, notwithstanding this severe blow, prove an useful ally, and become again the scourge of Russia, and the terror of Germany. The king had indeed intimated, that the troops defeated at Pultowa was only a detachment from the armies in Germany and Poland: the Turks, therefore, thought fit to fix him by good usage in the interest of the Porte; assured, that he would fully repay all their services, whenever he should return to his own dominions. Nor was the French king less solicitous to shew the Swedish monarch every kind office in his power. By his ambassador at Constantinople he negotiated with the divan, and procured several advantages to Charles. The king wrote a letter with his own hand to the grand signor, which was intrusted to the sieur Neugebar; but that gentleman not being vested with a public character, could not obtain an audience, and the letter remained unopened, until all the ceremonies required by the Turkish court could be properly adjusted.

Mean while the French king offered his majesty a passage from the Levant to Marseilles, from whence he might easily proceed to his own dominions. England, and the other maritime powers, were in peace with Sweden, and it was more than probable they would not traverse this measure; but Charles had not yet learnt to accept of advice, or stoop to the counsels of his friends. Elated by childish ideas of heroism, he had not even now, in his fugitive state, abandoned his grand project of dethroning his conqueror, the czar of Muscovy. He could not support the thoughts of returning by the intercession of other powers like a vanquished prince to Sweden; he believed it still possible to return through Russia and Poland at the head of a powerful army. What confirmed him in this hope, was, the successful

successful negociation carrying on at the Porte, by his ambassadors the sieur Neugebar, and count Poniatolki; the latter of whom insinuated himself with so much address into the good graces of the Turkish ministry, that he received a present of ten thousand ducats, and a promise from the grand vizir, that the king should be escorted by a numerous army to the frontiers of Poland. Already orders had been issued to divers bashaws, to hold themselves in readiness for this expedition, and troops were daily advancing towards Bender; insomuch, that, in the space of a few days, a body of eight thousand horse was encamped in that neighbourhood^a.

All these sanguine hopes, however, were disappointed, by the change which the decisive action at Pultowa had effected in the affairs of Poland, and indeed in the whole system of northern politics. The conjuncture was too favourable to Augustus to be neglected. Princes break through the most solemn engagements, when they appear contrary to their interest: Augustus thought he had but little reason to observe a treaty which had been extorted from him by violence. He likewise pretended, that the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt was fraudulently concluded by two ministers, who, being corrupted by the Swedish gold, signed his abdication, in virtue of the unlimited powers he had given them. Upon these motives he founded his return to Poland, and count Fleming paved the way by a manifesto, which was sent to all the courts in Europe, in justification of his master's conduct. He then entered the territories of the republic, had a personal interview with the czar, and concerted every thing for dethroning Stanislaus, and recovering his own crown. The king of Sweden detached five hundred Poles and Cossacs, who had joined him at Bender, to watch the turn of affairs in Poland, and bring him notice of every event. This corps crossed the Neister, and never afterwards returned. They were surrounded, cut off, or taken prisoners by the Russians. The loss, however, had like to have proved advantageous to Charles. In the chace the enemy had trespassed on the Turkish frontiers; a circumstance which Charles endeavoured to improve, while his interest was high at the Porte, and his character admired by the Turks, who flocked from all quarters to behold a prince so celebrated by his victories, so untamed by adversity, and so singular in his manners and disposition. Charles distributed his money, with great liberality, among the favourites of sultan Achmet; his design was to have

Augustus enters Poland.

^a Baron Fabric. lib. ii. passim. Motr. Trav. passim.

*The czar's
interest
prevails at
Constanti-
nople.*

drawn him into a war with Russia. The steady, artful, insinuating conduct of Poniatoski had gained the sultana, mother to the emperor then on the throne. She openly espoused the king's cause in the seraglio, called him her lion, admired his heroism, and frequently asked her son, when he intended to assist her lion in devouring the Russian wolf. The grand vizir entered into the same sentiments, and told Poniatoski, "I will conduct your master at the head of two hundred thousand men to Muscovy:" but the czar's money at last prevailed, just as affairs were put in such a train as promised the Swedish monarch the accomplishment of all his wishes. Charles had been extremely generous to the Turkish ministers; but his resources were limited, and chiefly drawn from the grand signor's coffers: whereas the czar was, by the battle of Pultowa, put in possession of all the treasures of Saxony. His envoy at the Porte distributed very judiciously, among the grand vizir and his creatures, great part of the six millions which had been taken at the late engagement. The charm operated too powerfully to be withstood. Of a sudden, the czar was turned from a Russian wolf to a generous hero; and Tolstoy, his envoy, was gratified with such privileges as had never before been granted to any Russian minister. The czar found his interest so powerful, that he even ventured to demand that Mazeppa, the faithful friend and companion of the fugitive monarch, should be surrendered into his hands, in atonement of the sufferings of the brave and unfortunate Patkul. Every thing was granted him; and the same grand vizir, who had lately promised to conduct the king of Sweden to the capital of Russia, was entering into the strictest bonds of amity with his most implacable enemy. Happily for the Cossack chief, he died, just as resolutions were forming in the divan, which would possibly have subjected him to the most cruel tortures which an incensed barbarian could devise^b.

A.D. 1710.

*The king
effects a
revolution
in the
Turkish
ministry.*

Fortune would now seem to have wholly deserted the Swedish hero. All possibility of returning on the footing of a conqueror, at the head of a Turkish army, had vanished with the vizir's affections. The French envoy, perceiving his desperate circumstances, once more pressed his majesty to embark in some French vessels, which then lay at Constantinople; but he rejected the proposal with disdain. Notwithstanding he suffered daily mortifications in his own person at Bender, and in those of his envoys at the Porte, he remained firm in his resolution, intrepid as

^b Letters of B. Fab. passim.

at the head of his victorious army after the battle of Narva. To this constancy, and the bold fidelity of Poniatoski, was it owing, that he once more triumphed over his enemies, and effected a revolution in the Turkish ministry. While the Russian envoy was in such high favour, that he was served by Swedish officers taken at Pultowa, in the character of slaves, Charles found means suddenly to annihilate all his interest, depose the grand vizir, and destroy the fruits of those vast sums which had been expended by the czar in gaining the friendship of this minister. Poniatoski had the boldness to draw up a bitter charge against the vizir; he had the address to get it presented into the emperor's own hands; and he insinuated himself into the friendship of certain leading persons, who were enemies to the minister, because they were ambitious of filling his employment. His intrigues succeeded; the vizir Chourlouli Ali Bashaw, viceroy of the Turkish empire, and favourite of the grand signor, was banished to Crim Tartary, by means of a Pole: "An agent (says Voltaire) without character, from a king of Sweden, then a refugee in the Turkish dominions." Haman Cupruli Pachtaw, grandson to the great Cupruli, who reduced Candia, and son of Mustapha Cupruli, who lost his life at the battle of Salanckemen, was raised to the place of vizir. In him Charles did not find a zealous friend, but he was far from proving an enemy. Of inflexible integrity, and a scrupulous observer of the law, the new vizir was equally averse to a war with Russia, which he thought unjust, and to removing the protection of the Porte from the king of Sweden, which he deemed ungenerous. "The law (said he to the grand signor), forbids you to quarrel with the czar, who has done you no injury; but it commands you to protect the king of Sweden, who is an unfortunate prince in your dominions." As a testimony of his esteem, he sent Charles a present of eight hundred purses; but he at the same time respectfully admonished him to return quietly to his own country, through Germany; a proposition which the king rejected, notwithstanding Sweden never stood more in need of his presence.

Augustus had carried all before him in Poland, which he entered at the head of a Saxon army. These troops had been the pretence of deposing him; they were now the instruments of his restoration, having, by dint of terror, brought back to their duty most of the Polish Palatines, who had sworn fidelity to Stanislaus. Even the ambitious Sciniauski himself joined Augustus, and contented himself with remaining grand-general; though he had lately aspired

King Augustus recovers the crown of Poland.

at the crown. The pontiff's influence over the minds of a bigotted, ignorant people, contributed greatly to this revolution. He had always espoused Augustus; but while the king of Sweden was in the zenith of glory, fear of the conqueror operated more strongly on the minds of the Poles, than obedience to the pontiff; but that being now removed, and the representative of St. Peter absolving the people from those oaths of allegiance they had taken to Stanislaus, they entered without scruple into the interests of king Augustus, and even winked at the introduction of Saxon and Russian troops, forgetting that they had made that circumstance the chief argument for dethroning the same monarch.^c The czar was now become the arbiter of Poland, and he obliged Augustus to cede all pretensions to the province of Livonia, before he would consent to lend a hand to his restoration.

*The Danes
declare
war a-
gainst
Sweden,
and in-
vade
Schonen.*

Nor were these the only powers that strove to blight the laurels acquired by Charles, and reduce the power and influence of Sweden. Frederic IV. king of Denmark, took advantage of the circumstances of Charles, and joined in the league forming against Sweden. He was desirous of recovering Schonen, and the other territories lost by the peace of Travendal, and therefore forgot that treaty as easily as Augustus did the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt. In the month of May, of the preceding year, he had signed a treaty offensive and defensive with the czar of Muscovy, and Augustus, king of Poland; the summer was consumed in preparations, and the winter ushered into light a manifesto, declaring his reasons for coming to a rupture with Sweden. These were perfectly known to all mankind before; but it was the business of Frederic to gloss them over with all the sophistical varnish of the cabinet, in which art he was excelled by no prince in Europe. He had an interview with the confederate princes, and settled with them the division of their conquests. By his manifesto he declared, that the ambition, restlessness, and obstinacy of the king of Sweden, as well as his particular animosity to himself, had thrown the affairs of the North into confusion, and done irreparable damage to Denmark. The Swedes, he alleged, had carried on a cruel war at the expense of their neighbours. For almost a century back they had been the common disturbers of Europe. But his majesty had now particular reasons for opposing the evil designs of Sweden, having uncontestable proofs, under the king's own hand, of his hatred, contempt, and dislike of

the Danes, and of projects formed for dethroning Frederic, as he had done Augustus, and attempted with regard to the czar of Muscovy. In proof of this allegation, a paper was quoted, which had been printed three years before, at Stockholm, in which Charles XII. was styled king of Great Scandinavia, in which division are included Denmark and Norway. Upon so weak a foundation did this wise prince rest the merits of a war, upon which he was determined to enter, because he foresaw it must turn out to his advantage ^d.

Besides the above, a variety of other complaints against Charles were specified; such as his having granted illegal passports; raised the duties upon ore, and the produce of the alum-mines; claimed to himself territories, which had for time immemorial belonged to Denmark, and been confirmed to her by divers treaties. This last reason, indeed, was the truest motive alleged by Frederic. Accordingly, on the very day the manifesto was published, he embarked with two thousand five hundred horse and dragoons, and thirteen thousand infantry, attended by twelve men of war, landed in Schonen, and seized upon Helsingburg, the garrison of which town retired to Landskron. Having succeeded in this enterprize, the king returned to Copenhagen, leaving the command to the count Reventlau. Here he laboured to strengthen his army; but the rigour of the season stopped the progress of his troops until the Swedes had time to put themselves in a posture of defence. There were about thirteen thousand of the troops of this nation to defend all the countries which Charles possessed in Germany. Only a small proportion of these was allotted for the defence of Schonen; but the administration in Sweden laboured with the utmost diligence to raise an army sufficient to defeat the designs of the Danish monarch.

Sweden was, during the king's absence, governed by a regency, composed, as we have related, of senators chosen by Charles before his departure. The senate grew jealous of the regency: it had been accustomed to regard itself as the highest authority in the king's absence; it therefore disputed the orders of the regents, and the public service suffered by these divisions. Misfortunes, however, banished all private animosity. Jealousy gave way to public spirit, and the news of the defeat at Pultowa, and the invasion of Schonen, united every Swede in the same sentiments, and the noble resolution of dying in defence of their king and country. The late wars had drained Sweden of men; they

State of Sweden.

^d Fabr. lib. vii. p. 8. Volt. lib. v.

had cost her the lives of three hundred thousand brave soldiers, and now of all the old forces there did not remain above eight thousand in the kingdom. But the militia established by Charles supplied the place of regular forces. This was an institution the most politic of his reign. It now proved the instrument of the preservation of the kingdom. The militia had been constantly exercised, at stated periods, since the accession of Charles XII. They formed a nursery for the army; now they became the bulwark of the kingdom. At the head of eight thousand regulars, and twelve thousand of the militia, general Steenboeck set out for Schonen, in pursuit of the Danes, who were plundering and laying waste the country with impunity. To hasten the march, and prevent the soldiers from being fatigued, waggons were provided, in which they were transported great part of the way to the place of embarkation.

No sooner was the Swedish army in motion, than the ministers of England and Holland pressed the regency to give assurances, that the northern forces, who possessed territories in Germany, would not break the neutrality, or oblige the princes of the empire to withdraw their forces from the grand alliance, to cover their own dominions. But the senate replied, that the new war which was likely to be kindled on the frontiers of the empire could never have happened, had England and Holland performed their guarantee of the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt. As things were now situated, it was impossible to grant the assurances demanded, without running the hazard of losing all that Sweden possessed on the coasts of the Baltic, and tamely suffering herself to become a prey to an ungenerous enemy, who seized the conjuncture of profiting by the absence of the king, the number of his enemies, and the calamities consequent on the unfortunate turn of affairs at Pultowa. However, to give all possible satisfaction to the allies, the regency wrote to the king, and until his answer arrived, they promised to commit no hostilities in any of the provinces dependent on the empire, provided the open and secret enemies of Sweden should give no cause, by fresh infractions of the treaties subsisting.

Steenboeck arrived, however, in Schonen, and it was resolved to check the insolence of the Danes by the most vigorous measures; but the prodigious desertion of the Saxon troops that were incorporated in the Swedish regiments, greatly weakened the army and disheartened the militia; who, from this circumstance, believed themselves betrayed, and the enemy exceedingly formidable. All the general's endeavours could not restrain the desertion; in
confe-

consequence of which the Danes obtained several little advantages, and at last took Christianstadt. They were by this time augmented to twenty thousand men, under general count Rantzaw, who succeeded Reventlau in the command. The insolence they assumed, upon their superiority, incensed the Swedish militia, and animated them to a pitch of fury and despair. They now called out for revenge, and besought the general to lead them against the enemy. Steenboek took advantage of their disposition, marched towards Malmoe, and obliged the Danes to raise the siege, and intrench themselves near Elsinburg, for the protection of a town where they had formed vast magazines. Nothing could exceed in strength the situation they chose. A morass and large village defended their right, the town secured their rear, and supplied the camp with every necessary, while a large pond and a wood covered the left wing. Regardless of these difficulties, the Swedes marched up boldly to the attack, which they began with such fury, that at the first onset a whole regiment of the king of Denmark's guards was cut in pieces by the boors, ten men only escaping the sword. Upon this, the militia scaled the entrenchments, and attacked the main army. Both horse and foot were engaged, and the action became general and obstinate; but the Danish first line being broke, it fell in disorder upon the second. The Swedes pushed too close to afford them time to rally. The whole fled into Elsinburg, prodigious numbers were slain in the retreat, and the loss of the enemy amounted to eight thousand killed and taken, besides the wounded. The passage from Schonon to Zealand is so short, that the news of the defeat arrived the same day in Copenhagen, and the king sent his fleet to carry off the broken remains of his army. All the horses were killed, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy; four thousand wounded were left in Elsinburg, most of whom perished by hunger, want of attendance, and the infection caught from the putrid carcases of the horses, which crowded the streets. At the same time the Swedes vigorously pushed the siege of the town; but finding the troops and magazines were withdrawn, they desisted, in order to pursue a plan more advantageous to their affairs.

*The Danes
defeated in
Schonon.*

While the regency were thus employed in subduing their enemies, the king, in his camp at Bender, entertained hopes of reinstating his affairs, and once more appearing in the character of a great monarch and a conqueror. He

was delighted with the news of the victory in Schonen, and could not help exclaiming, "My brave Swedes, should it please God that I once more join you, we will conquer them all." He complained of the allies, who had guaranteed the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt, for suffering Augustus to return to Poland, and refused to stand by the neutrality to which the regency agreed, with respect to the German provinces. This neutrality, he said, was calculated for no other purpose than to keep his troops from action; yet the event shewed, that it was the only measure which could secure the Swedish conquests situated along the coasts of the Baltic, amidst the number of enemies who were ready to fall upon them, and assert their several claims. But the king's highest expectations arose from the prospect he had of embroiling the Turks and Russians. It was given out, that in his retreat at Bender he governed the counsels of the divan, and made and deposed vizirs at pleasure. Since the vizariat of Cupruli, the Swedish interest had sunk at the Porte. That minister was averse to war, and had made several honest regulations in the finances, equally displeasing to the grand signor, and to the Turkish army. His predecessors were accustomed to pay the Janissaries by money extracted from the bashaws and governors of provinces, without troubling the treasury. Cupruli's integrity would not suffer him to follow a method so iniquitous and pernicious to the empire. He paid the troops regularly out of the treasury, and fell a sacrifice to his honesty. The grand signor reproached him with preferring the interest of the subject to that of the emperor. "Chourlouli, said he, could find other means to pay my armies." To which insinuation, the grand vizir answered: "These, Sir, were means to which I am proud of being a stranger." This noble reply wrought his fall; he did not lose his head, but he was immediately banished to Negropont, and Baltagi Mahomet raised to the post of grand vizir.

Revolutions at the Porte, in consequence of which the Turks declare war against the czar.

When this minister came to the helm of government, he found the Swedish interest prevailed in the seraglio, and that the inflexible aversion of Cupruli to a war with Russia, and the czar's money, alone had hitherto retarded an open rupture with the court of Moscow. The grand signor, influenced by his mother, the sultana Valide, the kishlar aga, chief of the black eunuchs, and a number of other favourites, had determined upon avenging the quarrel of the king of Sweden. His first order to Baltagi Mahomet was, that he should fall, with two hundred thousand men, upon the Muscovites. The vizir declared he would obey; but professed, at the same time, his ignorance of the art of

war,

war, and his dislike to the measure. The Russian ambassador was confined in the castle of the Seven Towers; the cham of Crim Tartary had orders to take the field with forty thousand of his men. He had been gained over by the reputation and presents of the king of Sweden; and now he obtained leave from the Porte to assemble his army at Bender, that Charles might be an eye-witness the war was undertaken upon his account. This favourable disposition of the Porte was the more necessary, as the czar was carrying on a brisk war in Livonia, where he had for several months laid close siege to Riga, the Swedes being in no condition to attempt the relief of the place. He now was forced, upon the news of the Turkish preparations, to withdraw the greater part of his army, and turn the siege into a blockade. At the head of twenty-four thousand men, the czar entered Moldavia, where he was joined by Cantemir, prince of that country, and a vassal of the Porte. The vizir marched against him with a prodigious army. Only a river divided the Turks and Russians, and the czar neglected to dispute the enemy's passage. In a word, he was betrayed into the same errors which had been committed by the king of Sweden at Pultowa, and the consequence was almost as fatal. His usual prudence forsook him. He was cooped up by the Turks and Tartars, distressed for provision, continually harrassed, and without the possibility of extricating himself, except by a miracle: "I am at last, says he, in as bad a plight as my brother Charles was at Pultowa." Imagining that all was lost without a desperate effort, Peter had given orders for breaking through the enemy, with fixed bayonets on the muzzles of their muskets; but the emaciated, spiritless, and desponding troops, were little disposed to execute the czar's vigorous resolutions. All the baggage was ordered to be burnt, and every thing prepared for the intended attack, when Catherine, wife to the czar, set on foot a treaty with the vizir, without the czar's knowledge, soon obtained his consent, signed the peace in the space of six hours, and thereby probably saved the Russian army, and prolonged the exile of his Swedish majesty^f. This was an exceeding masterly stroke, on which we shall have occasion to enlarge when we come to the history of the Russian empire.

It was obvious that the treaty in agitation would prove fatal to the affairs of Sweden; it was therefore violently opposed by Poniatofski; and his remonstrances were seconded

A.D. 1717.

The czar saves his army by a peace.

^f Id. idem. Fabric. lett. 8, 9.

by the cham of Tartary, who was sensible that by a peace he should be deprived of the expected plunder. Poniatolki had made the king of Sweden acquainted with the situation of both armies, and he was hurrying from Bender with the pleasing hopes of fighting the Russians, and taking ample revenge. But he arrived too late; the treaty was signed, the vizir thinking it sufficient that he had concluded a peace very advantageous to the grand signor. All that was stipulated in behalf of Charles was, that the czar should not obstruct the king's return to Sweden. By the time Charles arrived, the czar was drawing off his half-famished troops. He had rode post above fifty leagues, and alighted at Poniatolki's tent, who received him with a countenance which boded no agreeable intelligence. Being informed of the treaty, his majesty went in a rage to the vizir's tent, and bitterly reproached him with treachery; but recollecting himself, proposed a method of repairing the fault, which being rejected, he returned, full of indignation, to Bender, after having, by the grossest affronts, shewn his contempt for the vizir.

The king comes to the Turkish camp, and affronts the vizir.

This insult gratified the violence of the king's spirit, but it contributed nothing to the interest of Sweden. The vizir laboured to execute the articles of the late treaty; and the czar, apprehending that the sultan would object to ratify what his minister had engaged, kept Asoph in his own hands until the ratifications were exchanged, and the king of Sweden had quitted the Turkish dominions. Without informing himself whether Charles was disposed to return through Germany, Mahomet Baltagi sent an embassy to the court of Vienna, demanding a free, safe, and honourable passage for the king of Sweden; and having obtained it, he proposed to that prince, either to pass through Poland, escorted by eight thousand Turks; or take the route of Germany, where he should be received with all the honours due to so great a monarch. To this double proposition the king answered, that he would not accept of a smaller escort than the grand signor had first promised him: this, he said, was all he intended to reply; which so incensed the vizir, that he determined to exert all his interest in prevailing on the sultan to remove the king out of his dominions. The serasquier of Bender was directed to wait upon the king in person, to repeat the proposal, and to intimate that violence would be offered should he continue obstinate. But menaces could never operate with Charles; the moment they were hinted he took fire,

and gave orders to his attendants to oppose force by force. At the same time he gave notice to the serasquier, that if he ventured to propose any conditions injurious to his honour, he would have him immediately hanged up at the door of his tent. Sensible that the king's stay at Bender was only to ruin him, the vizir ordered all his dispatches to Constantinople to be intercepted, retrenched his allowance, in order to oblige him through necessity to remove his quarters, and took every other method to make Charles weary of his situation, and willing to accept the terms upon which he was to be restored to his own dominions; but this expedient, instead of producing the effect, only made the king more expensive. He built a kind of castle for his residence, furnished it magnificently; and hearing that the Porte had shortened his allowance, told the steward of the household, "You have had but two tables hitherto; I now command you to keep four (A):" an injunction that favours much of obstinacy, but very little of discretion.

In the mean time Poniatoski, who still resided in the Turkish camp, wrote a journal of the transactions at Pruth, wherein he accused the vizir of treachery and cowardice. This he found means to present, by the hands of an old janissary, and the Swedish resident, to the grand signor. He then repaired to the Porte, to forward the intrigues, which succeeded, but in a manner different from what was ex-

*Another
revolution
at the
Porte.*

(A) This circumstance both Motraye and Voltaire mention, but it is omitted by the baron Fabricius, who then attended the king's court. He however says, that the Swedes were reduced to such difficulties, as obliged them to borrow at forty per cent. from the officers, domestics and janissaries, who had grown rich by Charles's liberality. Even these supplies were exhausted, when Motraye the traveller arrived at the king's court, and offered, out of respect for the monarch, to go through all the Turkish guards, to borrow money, in the king's name, at Constantinople. The true design was, to convey letters, which he put into a pocket-book, carried in his hand, and passed among the

Turks for a Christian prayer-book. In this manner he made his way to Constantinople, delivered his dispatches to the Swedish minister, but was less successful in borrowing money than he expected. However, he prevailed on some persons to advance money, and received from Cooke, an English merchant, to the amount of five thousand pounds, which that gentleman generously offered to entrust in the hands of an unfortunate prince, who would surely reward him as soon as it was in his power; with which supplies he returned to Charles, just as the little court was reduced to the utmost necessity. Vide Motraye Trav. Volt. Fabric. Lett.

pected.

pected. The late vizir Chourlouli had formed a project to depose sultan Achmet. He wanted to engage Mahomet Baltagi in this scheme, knowing that his present situation was ticklish^b. The conspiracy was discovered, Chourlouli and his accomplices were beheaded, and the vizir Mahomet Baltagi was deposed, notwithstanding he had never embraced the offers of the conspirators.

A new scene was now opened at Constantinople. The grand vizir Jusuff, who succeeded, was by birth a Muscovite, and consequently prejudiced in favour of his countrymen. The czar's ambassadors were better treated than ever, the peace of Pruth was confirmed, but the usual remittances were renewed to the court at Bender (B). The French ambassador supported the interest of the court of Sweden, while the imperial minister favoured the views of the court of Moscow. The English and Dutch preserved the appearance of an exact neutrality; but in fact the new channel of trade which the czar had opened at Petersburg, biased them in his favour. It was the vizir's own inclinations, and the policy of the divan, that dictated every measure at the Ottoman court. Every new vizir readily perceived the difficulty of retaining his employment, or of maintaining the advantageous peace with Russia, while the Swedish monarch continued in the Turkish dominions; the great object, therefore, of all their projects was to remove him, and prevail upon him to return to Sweden, in a manner extremely honourable to himself, but less dangerous to the Porte than at the head of a numerous army, as he always proposed and demanded. To effect this purpose, the sultan was prevailed on by the vizir to send the king the following letter; which, on account of its peculiarity, we shall beg leave to transcribe from M. de Voltaire.

*Grand
signor's
letter to
Charles
XII.*

“ Most powerful among the monarchs who worship Jesus, avenger of wrongs and injuries, protector of rights in the kingdoms and republics of south and north; brilliant in majesty, lover of honour and glory, and of our sublime Porte, Charles king of Sweden, whose undertakings may the Almighty crown with success.

“ As soon as the most illustrious Achmet shall have the honour to deliver you this letter, adorned with our impe-

^b Fabr. lett 10. Motr. Trav. passim.

(B) An inundation of the river Neister had obliged Charles to remove from Bender to Waraka; however, as his court and

residence are best known by the former appellation, we have continued it, without paying regard to so trivial a circumstance.

rial

rial signet, be persuaded of the truth and sincerity of our intentions therein contained; viz. that notwithstanding our design was to send our ever-victorious army a second time against the czar; yet that prince, to avoid our just resentment at his delaying the execution of the treaty concluded on the banks of the Pruth, and ratified at our sublime Porte, having surrendered into our hands the city and castle of Asoph, and having endeavoured, by the mediation of the English and Dutch ambassadors, our ancient allies, to cultivate a lasting peace with us, we have granted his request, and delivered to his plenipotentiaries, who remain with us as hostages, our imperial ratification, having first received his from their hands. We have given our inviolable and salutary commands to the honourable and valiant Delvet Gherai, kan of Bondgiak, in Crim Tartary, Noghai, and Circassia, and to Ithmael, our sage counsellor, and noble serasquier of Bender (whom God preserve, and augment their magnificence and wisdom) for your return through Poland, according to your first design, which has again been represented to us in your name. You must, therefore, prepare to set forward by next winter, under the direction of Providence, and with our honourable guard, in order to return to your own dominions, taking care to pass through Poland in a peaceable and friendly manner. You shall be provided with every necessary for your journey, by my sublime Porte, as well money as men, horses and waggons. But we advise and expect you, above all things, to give the fullest and most express orders to all the Swedes, and other soldiers in your retinue, not to make spoil, or havock, or commit any other action that may tend, either directly or indirectly, to break this peace and alliance. Hereby you will preserve our good will, of which we shall endeavour to give you as strong and frequent testimonies as we shall have opportunity. The troops destined to attend you, shall receive orders agreeable to our imperial intentions in this particular. Given at our sublime Porte of Constantinople, the 14th of the month Rebgul Eured, 1124."

Though this letter evinced the grand signor's intentions, it did not destroy the king's hopes. He answered, that he was ready to set out on his return to Sweden: he acknowledged the favours he had received from the sultan; but hoped his sublime highness would consider the consequences of his passing, with a slight guard, through a kingdom over-run with Russians¹.

¹ Volt. lib. v.

In the mean time, the allies, alarmed at the regency of Sweden's refusal to accept the proposed neutrality, determined to adopt such measures as should force them to compliance. The Russians had already made themselves masters of Riga, the garrison of which had capitulated in the spring of the preceding year. Since the reduction of Riga, the czar's forces had reduced the fort of Dunnamonde, the town of Wiburg, Pernau, Revel, and other places, and at last subdued all Livonia and Finland. Sweden, though her king was a prisoner, did not lose courage. The late victory in Schonen raised the drooping spirits of the people, and the proposal of the Dalecarlians, who hearing that their king was detained prisoner in Tartary, offered to march in a body of twenty thousand men to his relief, infused a spirited emulation, which alone saved the kingdom at this critical juncture. Poland, Denmark, and Russia, were uniting in stricter bonds of amity. They apprehended, should Charles return to his dominions, he would soon effect a change in the face of affairs, and by his vigour and courage regain, with repeated victories, what he lost, by one defeat, at Pultowa. It was, perhaps, the most imprudent resolution which Charles ever pursued, to persist obstinately in residing in Tartary, because he could not return at the head of an army through Poland, to embroil that kingdom again, and a second time dethrone Augustus. Before the new treaties were ratified between the three northern powers, the affairs of Sweden were not so desperate as to baffle all remedies. Now, indeed, the czar had undertaken to defend the frontiers, and to cover Caminick; while Augustus, in concert with the king of Denmark, should invade Swedish Pomerania. The army destined to wrest this province from Sweden amounted to forty-six thousand men, Poles, Danes, and Russians. Previous, however, to their irruption into the province, the two kings published each a manifesto, declaring their reasons for this measure, and disguising, in the best manner they could, a violence dictated purely by the spirit of ambition and resentment. Frederic alleged self-defence, and that he was urged to the invasion of Pomerania, to avert a storm which he saw gathering in Sweden, and pointed against his dominions. He promised the inhabitants full security in their lives, liberties, and possessions, provided they would remain in their houses, prosecute their several occupations, and yield obedience to his government. On the contrary, if they offered to oppose his army, or any way aid or assist the Swedes, he threatened they should feel all the horrors of war, and the weight of his just resentment; their

Treaty between the kings of Denmark and Poland.

country

country should be turned into a desert, and their rivers should flow with blood*.

However speciously the Danish monarch might have glossed over the true motives of his conduct, all the world saw the absurdity of pretending that he was threatened by a storm from Sweden, in its present unfortunate circumstances. The Pomeranians were not deceived; among them the king's manifesto made not the least impression; they loved, admired, and pitied their monarch, and were too steady in their allegiance to withdraw it upon account of the terrible menaces denounced. As to the manifesto published by Augustus king of Poland, from his camp at Strelitz, it was founded upon the same principles, but had much more the appearance of equity. He had been dethroned by Charles, and his crown given away to another person. All the wealth of his electorate of Saxony had been carried away by the Swedish army into Russia, and lost by Charles at the battle of Pultowa. His resentment was just, and the strictest probity must allow, that the worst effects of his vengeance could scarcely retaliate the injuries he had sustained. Had he openly avowed these motives, the world would have believed, and acquitted him; but he chose to declare, that he was actuated by others, which indeed, had no foundation in truth. He too pretended it was self-defence, and the desire of preserving the peace, and preventing the flames of war from spreading over Germany, that occasioned his invasion of Swedish Pomerania. He asserted, in ambiguous terms, that Sweden was on the point of declaring war against the princes, who had guarantied the neutrality of the German provinces, though he did not think fit to specify the particular infractions of that neutrality. In a word, the cunning, the labour, and art so striking in this piece, made it extremely obvious, that Augustus wanted only to colour over an enterprize, which could not but be regarded as a violation of the peace of Westphalia, and the subsequent treaties, formed to secure the repose of the empire.

They invade Pomerania.

These manifestos being dispersed, the two allied kings immediately commenced hostilities; Augustus, by seizing upon Troptow, a little town in Swedish Pomerania; and Frederic, by an unsuccessful attempt on Damgarten. It was necessary to attack the place in form; the Swedish garrison kept up an incessant fire; but finding that the Danes had drained the surrounding morasses, in which consisted their chief security, they retired to Stralsund with all their

* Parth. tom, ii. p. 7.

effects, leaving nothing besides the walls, half demolished, to the conquerors.

*And lay
fruitless
siege to
Stralsund.*

Stralsund was well provided for a vigorous defence; besides a considerable garrison, there was a body of Swedish troops encamped under the walls, and another in the isle of Rugen, to maintain the communication: yet did the confederate kings venture to lay siege to this city, detaching, at the same time, six thousand Danes to block up Wismar. At this very time Copenhagen was afflicted with a pestilence, which some of the clergy ventured to pronounce from the pulpit to be a punishment on the kingdom for the unjust war carrying on against Sweden. Frederic, however, persevered, but made little progress in the siege of Stralsund, on account of the vigorous sallies of the garrison, and the scarcity of battering artillery. The besiegers relied upon having every necessary by sea from Copenhagen; however, their cannon were delayed so long, that they became the ridicule of the Swedish garrison. At last mortars, battering cannon, and every necessary arrived; but the season was so far advanced, that the besiegers were forced to satisfy themselves with levying contributions on the surrounding country, and surprising Penamunda, a fort in the neighbourhood of Gripswald. The czar had reinforced the allies with ten thousand Russians, under general Bauer; but this succour did not in the least accelerate their conquests, as the Swedes received a reinforcement nearly equal, and obliged them to abandon all hopes of reducing Stralsund.

Ashamed of going into winter-quarters with so numerous an army, without having gained any considerable advantage, the kings turned their arms against Wismar, the garrison of which place had almost been ruined by the imprudence of the governor. He had sallied out upon the enemy on their first arrival with great success: encouraged by which, he hazarded a second sally, at the head of almost the whole garrison, and had the mortification to be repulsed, with the loss of near half his soldiers. This error he repaired by his future conduct, which proved so circumspect, steady, and vigorous, that the two monarchs, seeing no prospect of success, retired with their forces, the one to Copenhagen, the other to Dresden; while the Russians kept Stetin blocked up¹.

A.D. 1712.

*King of
Denmark
invades
the duchy
of Bremen.*

The disappointment which the Danish monarch had met with in this irruption into Pomerania, and the terrible havock which disease and famine had made in his army,

¹ Parth. tom. ii. p. 7. Puffend. lib. vii. tom. vii.

obliged

obliged him to lay aside all thoughts of returning. He had lost above four thousand horses for want of forage, and the infantry had suffered nearly in the same proportion. He therefore determined to have his revenge on Bremen, a duchy which had been possessed by Sweden since the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, and had hitherto, in the whole course of the war, enjoyed a strict neutrality. He alleged, in apology for this infraction, that a Swedish squadron had, in the month of August of the preceding year, seized, in the river Elbe, upon four Norwegian vessels, which they ransomed at twenty-four thousand four hundred livres. This was a violation of the neutrality, which he declared he had a right to retaliate. Accordingly he seized about thirty small Swedish vessels which lay in the Elbe, and sent a small squadron to cruise at the mouth of the river. The Swedes submitted the capture of the Norwegians to examination. Upon trial it was found, they had been taken beyond the limits of the river, in the open sea; accordingly the affair was accommodated between the generals Krauffau and Scholten.

Frederic had now lost this handle for proceeding against the duchy of Bremen; but he resolved to find another, and not drop his design, which was no longer doubted, after a manifesto, which he published, in the month of July. In this he set forth, that the king of Sweden's refusal to submit to the neutrality projected at the Hague, plainly indicated his intentions of carrying the war into his Danish majesty's dominions situated in Germany. That the inhabitants of Bremen had disturbed the Danish commerce on the Elbe; and that, to redress his grievances, the king of Denmark had resolved to march his army into that duchy. He exhorted the inhabitants to submit, and secure themselves and effects, by taking an oath of allegiance to his crown. He forbid them to quit their habitations, or to remove out of the way forage, provision, and the sustenance for his army, under the same penalties denounced against the Pomeranians. In vain did the neighbouring princes remind him of the treaties of Westphalia, and the subsequent treaties of neutrality; Frederic passed the Elbe, and laid siege to Stade, the strongest town possessed by the Swedes in Bremen. By the middle of August the trenches were opened, and the batteries played vigorously; while the besieged maintained a furious fire from the mouths of two hundred pieces of cannon. The Danes perceiving that their battering cannon produced no effect, erected two batteries of six large mortars each, with which they bombarded, and soon laid the town in ashes. But what obliged the garrison to surrender, was the loss of their
MOD. VOL. XXX. S powder

*Stade
taken by
the Danes.*

powder magazine, which blew up with such a terrible explosion, as shook the houses off their foundations. Frederic being in possession of this important place, found no difficulty in reducing all the rest of the duchy of Bremen and Verden. The Swedish forces were inconsiderable, and few of the towns capable of making any resistance, so that the Danish conquests gave them very little more trouble than traversing the country.

It was otherwise with Wismar, the blockade of which town was formed by general Rantzau, who was perpetually harrassed by a flying party of Swedes, under colonel Bassowitz. At the same time Steenboek drew together all the forces he could collect in the neighbourhood of Stralsund and Rugen, and marched, with the utmost secrecy, towards Damgarten. King Stanislaus served as a volunteer in this expedition. The army, amounting to seventeen thousand horse, foot, and dragoons, surprised Rostock; in which leaving a garrison of two regiments, he pursued his march, with intention to attack the Saxon army before Gulstraw; but finding they were superior in number, he remained ten days inactive, in expectation of reinforcements from Sweden. For the same reasons, the enemy did not think proper to attack him, until they could be joined by the Danish army which was assembling in Holstein. The circumstances determined both parties to agree upon an armistice for five days; but this compact was broke by the Danes on the third day, who, entering Mecklenburg, attacked a body of Swedes that escorted a convoy of provisions from Lubec. They were, however, repulsed with loss, and suffered the just punishment of their perfidy. Nor were the Saxons and Russians more tenacious of their word. They seized upon several posts, and made dispositions to surround the Swedish army; but nothing could induce Steenboek to renounce the treaty of armistice. He waited patiently to the last day, then broke down the bridges over the Warnau, and advanced towards the Danish army, by a forced march, over broken roads, morasses, and through defiles blocked up with wood. In passing the great defile called Ullenkrog, which he imagined would be disputed by the enemy, he drew up his army in four columns, and made so masterly a disposition, that the Danes retreated with precipitation, though they might easily have maintained their ground against greatly superior forces. Steenboek having overcome this difficulty, without exchanging a shot, halted for the night to refresh the army, and kept strict watch, to prevent being surpris'd. In the morning he found that the enemy were posted on an eminence,

*Steenboek
gains a
memorable
victory
over the
Danes
and Sax-
ons.*

eminence, with a deep morafs in front, the river Gaudebush on the left, and a thick wood on the right. This situation appeared inaccessible; but Steenboek determined to overcome every difficulty, and the troops were so earnest to come to blows, that he thought it advisable to give way to their ardour. His intention was to attack the enemy in front, for which purpose he ordered forty-two pieces of cannon to advance, while he drew up his army in a manner that has been admired by the greatest generals in Europe. The word of battle was given, "With God's assistance;" and every part of the general's orders were punctually executed. Never did troops march up in the face of an enemy with more gallantry and success. The infantry advanced with their musquets shouldered, within fifteen paces of the enemy, and there gave so well levelled and general a fire, that the Danes fell back in disorder. At the same time, the cavalry on the right having subdued all the difficulties of the morafs, fell upon the enemies left, and defeated their cavalry; nor was the left wing more backward; it cut a way through a thick wood, sustained all the rage of the enemy's fire at a distance, and came to a close engagement with bayonets fixed. Several battalions, overborne by the enemy's superiority, retreated, rallied, and returned with redoubled vigour to the charge. All the efforts of the Danish cavalry to break the columns of the horse and foot in each flank, proved fruitless; they were beaten off as often as they attacked. At last the Swedes reached the height of the eminence; where the fight became obstinate for the space of an hour, when the enemy yielded to the obstinacy of the Swedes. The village of Wakenstein was forced, and three battalions of the enemy were cut in pieces. Then the rout became general, the Danes every where fled, and the Swedes put them without mercy to the sword. They rallied, indeed, and behaved with great intrepidity, but were at length forced to throw down their arms and beg quarter. Near seven thousand were killed and taken; almost all the artillery fell into the hands of the Swedes, and Steenboek, besides the advantages consequent on the victory, gained immortal glory^m.

While the Swedes were gathering laurels in the northern frontiers of Germany, their king was reduced to great difficulties at Bender, having tired the patience and liberality of the Ottoman court, by his stubborn and very peculiar humour. Charles would return in his own way, or determined to remain an exile with a people who were heartily

*The king's
situation at
Bender.*

^m Puffend. tom. vii. lib. viii.

wearied of their royal guest. The revolutions in the Turkish ministry brought him no kind of advantage; the new vizir, Coumourgi, having planned other more advantageous schemes than that of quarrelling with the czar, and conquering desert countries. Voltaire affirms upon good authority, that he had projected an attack upon the Morea, and other dominions of the Venetian republic. The musti, who was the vizir's creature, entered into his views. While the young favourite had resolved upon a war with Russia, the musti consecrated his determination, and declared it agreeable to the will of the prophet; as soon as Coumourgi changed his mind, the musti more accurately examined the book of all knowledge, and declared he had been mistaken in his former declaration. Thus the army was scarce raised against the czar, when the peace was renewed. In every confirmation of the treaties between the Porte and the court of Moscow, the removal of the king of Sweden became an article, Poland and Russia both consenting not to molest him in his passage through the republic. The remonstrances which Charles sent in answer to the sultan's letter availed nothing; the serasquier of Bender had orders again to acquaint him with the unmoveable resolution of the Porte; to which the king made no other answer than that Achmet had promised him an army, and not a guardⁿ.

Such was the ticklish situation of this monarch, when he made discovery of a correspondence carried on between king Augustus and the cham of Tartary, the object of which, there was reason to believe, was to betray him to the Saxons. Count Sapiaha's desertion at this juncture, to the king of Poland, strengthened the suspicion. This confirmed Charles in his resolution to gain time, and procrastinate his journey. When the serasquier again waited upon him, pressing him in the most obsequious manner to fix the day of his departure, Charles replied, that he could not think of stirring before his debts were paid. The serasquier asked what sum would be necessary for that purpose, and the king replied, a thousand purses: upon which the bashaw wrote to court, and twelve hundred purses were sent for the use of the Swedish monarch, with a letter from the sultan, directed to the serasquier, to the same effect as that he had written to the king, only that he was strictly charged not to deliver the purses before Charles had actually began his journey. Previous to the arrival of this letter and remittance, the king of Sweden had sent complaints to the Porte, of the treachery of the cham of Tar-

tary; however, his letter never reached the sultan's hands; it was intercepted by the vizir; and the French minister, who acted as agent for the king of Sweden, was forbid coming to Adrianople.

As soon as the king had notice that the treasure was arrived, he sent his favourite and treasurer, Grothusen, to demand it of the serasquier, who refused it, alleging, that the sultan's orders were, it should not be delivered before the king's departure, and, according to the continuator of Puffendorf, upon the following conditions; that the king and all his retinue should be actually upon their journey; that he should pass through Poland quietly, without exciting the people to revolts and tumults, and that he should solemnly promise not to assist Stanislaus in regaining the crown, and leave the republic of Poland the liberty of a free election, in case the people should happen to dislike the reigning monarch. All this Grothusen promised in the king's name, and prevailed on the serasquier to part with the twelve hundred purses against the express orders of his sovereign. Charles was not long in possession of the treasure, before he squandered it away in presents, rewards, and gratifications, which reduced him to the necessity of demanding a thousand purses more. The demand astonished and confounded the serasquier; he shed tears, and then turning to the king, told him his head would be the forfeit of having obliged him with the money, contrary to the orders of the sultan. He then acquainted the cham of Tartary, with the king's resolution not to depart, before he was gratified with another thousand purses, and both wrote to the Porte to clear their own conduct, protesting they parted with the money upon the king's most solemn promise to be gone immediately. The king too offered to make an excuse for them; but the bashaw's answer was, that his master knew how to punish, but not to pardon disobedience.

A.D. 173.

There is something so mean, so perfidious, in the whole conduct of the king of Sweden upon this occasion, that barely to recite facts is to expose him, and shew that he was not really the hero he appeared. The serasquier had conducted himself with the utmost politeness and most respectful regard, which Charles returned by putting him in danger of an ignominious death. The Porte had afforded him the most generous protection and support for above the space of three years; he now forgot all these favours, grew exorbitant in his demands, and obliged the sultan to

The king positively refuses to quit the Turkish dominions.

• Puffend. et Volt. in locis citat.

use violence in removing so troublesome a guest from his dominions. When the bashaw's apology, and Charles's demand for a thousand more purses, were communicated to the grand signor, he flew in a rage, called an extraordinary divan, and spoke himself upon the occasion, in such terms as would reflect honour upon the greatest Christian monarch. "I scarce, said he, ever knew the king of Sweden, but by his defeat at Pultowa, and the request he made that I should grant him a sanctuary in my empire. I have not, I believe, any need of his assistance, or any cause to love or to fear him; yet, without consulting any considerations but the hospitality of a musfulman and my own generosity, which sheds the dew of beneficence upon the great as well as the humble, upon strangers as well as my own subjects, I have protected, maintained, and supported agreeable to the dignity of a king, himself, his ministers, officers, and soldiers, and for three years have never withheld my hand from loading him with favours. I have granted him a very considerable guard to conduct him to his own country. He has asked for a thousand purses to pay debts, though I defray all his expences; I have granted him twelve hundred, and having obtained these, he demands a thousand more, refusing to quit my dominions until these are paid, and a stronger guard allowed. I ask you then, whether it be a breach of the laws of hospitality, to send this prince away, and whether foreign princes can justly tax me with cruelty or injustice, in case I should be forced to use violence?"

*His strange
resolution
to resist
force by
force.*

This speech breathes a generosity, which Charles's conduct did not merit; it met with the approbation of the divan, the musti and all the members declaring, that the sultan might, without injury to his honour, or the laws of hospitality, use violence, should other methods fail. The fetfa, revered in Turkey as an oracle, was granted by the musti, and this with the sultan's order was carried to Bender, by the grand-master of the horse and the first usher. The serasquier went immediately to the king, to acquaint him with the order, and to request that he would render the execution unnecessary; but Charles, who was not accustomed to hear menaces, replied, "Obey your master, if you dare, and instantly quit my presence." This insolence enraged the serasquier; he returned to his camp, and immediately stopped the king's provisions, and removed the guard of janissaries, which was the first step towards the execution of his orders. He then gave notice to the Poles and Cossacks, in the king's quarters, that if they wanted to escape the pressure of famine, they must leave

the

the Swedish monarch, and put themselves under protection of the bashaw and cham of Tartary. All obeyed, leaving the king with his domestics to oppose an army of twenty thousand men, without provisions for a single day. However, the janissaries who revered Charles, supplied him privately in the night. At last the royal quarters were invested on all sides, and the king having taken the necessary measures of defence, sat down quietly to sleep, with his favourite Grothusen. In consequence of a conference which M. Fabricius had with the bashaw and cham, it was determined to send a courier to Adrianople, for farther orders, and to defer storming the king's quarters, until the return of the messenger. In the mean time, provisions were admitted as usual; but the order arriving for putting to the sword all the Swedes who should resist, and even the king himself, the bashaw had the civility to shew the order to the Holstein envoy, with intention that he should use his utmost influence with the obstinate monarch. Fabricius went immediately to acquaint the king; assured him he had seen it; and received for answer, that it was an impudent forgery. He fell at the king's feet, besought him to regard a life so valuable to his subjects, soothed, intreated, and reproached, but all to no purpose. "Go, says the king, to your Turks: if they attack me, I know how to defend myself;" upon which he shewed him the fortifications he had erected. His chaplains exhorted him not to expose to certain death his sacred person, and the wretched remains of Pultowa; and Charles told them, it was their business to pray for him, and not to advise. The generals Hord and Dardorff shewed him the scars of wounds received by his side: "I know, says the king, that we have fought bravely together; let us do so again." He then prepared for the assault, and seemed to feel a secret pleasure in the thoughts of sustaining the efforts of twenty thousand Turks, with no more than three hundred Swedes. Then different posts were assigned to each of the officers, and the king rode from his fortifications to his house, promising rewards to those who should distinguish themselves.

In the mean time the bashaw and cham, having used their utmost influence with the king, were preparing to obey the orders of the sultan. The Turks and Tartars were seen marching up with ten pieces of cannon and two mortars, with which they proposed battering the house. As they approached, baron Grothusen advanced alone, and unarmed, up to the line of the janissaries, all of whom had

experienced the king's liberality. "What! my friends, (says he, in Turkish) are you come to massacre three hundred defenceless Swedes, you brave janissaries, who granted their lives to one hundred thousand Muscovites, on their crying for quarter? Have you forgot the king's generosity, and his great qualities; that king whom you loved, and who has in a particular manner distinguished you? He asks but three days, and the sultan's orders are not so severe as you are made to believe." This short remonstrance produced the effect, and operated like a charm on the minds of the janissaries, who swore by their beards they would not attack the king, and that he should have the time he demanded. They refused to obey the signal, and threatened to fall upon their leader, if three days were not granted to the king of Sweden. They surrounded the bashaw's tent, crying out that the sultan's orders were forged. They offered their mediation, and promised every thing in the name of a monarch they admired, and whose safety they highly prized.

The affection of the janissaries for his person.

The bashaw, unable to enforce obedience, had recourse to artifice: he held a conference with the cham, and prevailing upon him to defer the attack till next day, both assembled the officers of the janissaries and the oldest soldiers, read and shewed them the sultan's positive orders, and the musti's fetfa. The janissaries were now convinced of the sultan's pleasure; but they could not give up the king of Sweden. Sixty of the oldest, who had a thousand times tasted the king's bounty, offered to wait on him in person, intreat him to put himself into their hands, and suffer them to serve him as his body-guard. They had the consent of the bashaw, who preferred any expedient to violent measures, and accordingly marched to the king's quarters unarmed, with white staves in their hands. There they addressed themselves to Grothusen and the chancellor Mullern, offering to serve as faithful guards to his majesty, and to conduct him safe to Adrianople, where he might confer with the sultan in person; but Charles, instead of thanking or rewarding the affection of the janissaries, refused to see them, and sent word, that if they returned any more to trouble him, he would shave their beards; a message which some of his attendants were imprudent enough to deliver. Fired with resentment at the indignity offered, these old soldiers returned, exclaiming as they went against the stubborn ingratitude of the king, and crying out, "Down with this demi-basch, iron-head! Since he is resolved to die, let him die." They swore to obey the bashaw's orders,

He affronts the janissaries.

orders, and communicated their rage to the whole Turkish camp.

But it was no wonder that Charles refused yielding to the remonstrances of the janissaries; he even paid no regard to the intelligence sent by Poniatofski and Funk, his ministers, who were both imprisoned at Constantinople. They had found means to convey letters to baron Fabricius, which he transmitted by a janissary to the king. Charles read the intelligence, the assurances that the sultan had actually given orders to put all the Swedes to the sword who resisted, and the exhortations of those loyal ministers to submit to necessity, and not hazard his sacred person, by persisting in measures which would infallibly terminate in his own ruin and the destruction of all his faithful followers. He disregarded menaces, intreaties, and solicitations, persevering in his resolution not to be compelled. Accordingly the word was given to the janissaries and Tartars, and they marched up to the king in the same order as on the preceding day. The camp was forced in an instant, after a few discharges of the artillery, and one fire of musquetry, three hundred Swedes surrendering prisoners, perhaps as the only expedient to save the king's life. The effect, however, was contrary to expectation; Charles was not discouraged by the surrender of his troops; he determined to defend himself to the last extremity, with the assistance only of forty menials, whom he had left as a guard in the house, and of the generals Hord and Dardoff. Seeing his soldiers lay down their arms, he told the generals, "We must now defend the house: come, adds he with a smile, let us fight pro aris et focis." In vain did he fly from post to post, encouraging his people; they were surrounded and forced to yield to superior numbers. He then galloped to the house, which he found had been forced by the Tartars, all except a hall, which fortunately stood near the door, and where his domestics had now assembled themselves. Charles drew his sword, and forced his way through the janissaries, attended by the generals Hord and Dardoff, joined his people, and then barricaded the door. This exploit was not performed without imminent danger. A janissary, whom the king had wounded, clapped his blunderbuss to his face, grazed the bullet against the king's nose, took off a bit of his ear, and broke general Hord's arm. Charles had his revenge, by piercing the janissary's breast with his sword. Candour, however, must acknowlege, that he owed his life rather to the tenderness of those generous Turks, than to his own

*Is stormed
in his in-
trench-
ments and
house.*

vigour or valour. The janissaries even sacrificed their own safety to their reverence for the royal person; nor was it any proof of the king's noble sentiments, that he so wantonly shed the blood of men who, he could not but perceive, were scrupulous about lifting their hands against his life. It is sufficient evidence of their reverence, that the moment Charles entered the house, the Turks, who had taken possession, threw down their arms and booty, and escaped at the windows; while the king, taking advantage of their confusion, pursued them from one room to another, and after much bloodshed cleared the house in a few minutes. He then fired furiously from the windows, killed two hundred of the enemy in the space of a quarter of an hour, and obliged the bashaw at length to set fire to the building by arrows, with lighted matches, shot into the roof. Immediately the whole upper part of the house was on fire, and Charles, instead of quitting it, gave orders for extinguishing the fire, in which office he assisted with great diligence. All endeavours were fruitless, the roof fell in, and the king with his faithful little band were in danger of being buried in the ruins; but nothing could shake his obstinacy. One of his people exclaiming, that there was a necessity for surrendering, "What a strange fellow is that, says the king, who had rather become a prisoner with Turks, than mix his ashes with those of his sovereign." Another had the presence of mind to cry out, that the chancery was but at the distance of fifty paces, had a stone roof, and was proof against fire. Pleased with the thought of coming again to blows, the king exclaimed in raptures, "A true Swede! Let us take all the powder and ball we can carry." He put himself at the head of his troops, sallied out upon the Turks, fired two rounds, obliged them to retreat fifty paces; but falling down in the hurry, he was surrounded, taken prisoner, and carried by the arms and legs to the bashaw's tent. Such was the issue of the king's exploits, and of this extraordinary adventure, which favours strongly of insanity, or something worse,

*And taken
prisoner.*

12th Feb.

¶ Volt. Fabric. Puffend. ubi supra.

S E C T. XIII.

Containing an Account of the King's Conduct while a Prisoner in Turkey; of his Escape; of the War in the Swedish Provinces in Germany, &c.

CHARLES was not the only Christian monarch now a prisoner in the hands of the infidels. Stanislaus, driven out of Poland by king Augustus, without money, and without friends, retired to Pomerania, where he served in the Swedish army, and performed his utmost to return the obligations he owed the king of Sweden, by fighting strenuously in defence of his benefactor's dominions. He had done all he could to prevail on Charles to consent to his abdicating a crown which he could not maintain. He had even formed a kind of agreement with count Fleming, the minister and favourite of Augustus, to this purpose. He exhorted Charles to consent to this agreement, and not longer to sacrifice his own interest for the sake of an unhappy friend, who would willingly fall a victim to the public peace, the tranquillity of Europe, and the return of the king of Sweden to his own dominions. He wrote a letter to Charles at Bender, which put that monarch in a furious passion, and made him declare to the bystanders, "That if Stanislaus would not accept of the crown of Poland, he must look out for a king elsewhere." Finding the Swede inflexible, Stanislaus determined to repair in person to Bender, in hopes that he might gain by an interview what Charles refused granting to epistolary intreaties. He set out, accompanied by an officer and a valet, disguised in the habit of a Swedish colonel, and passing the frontiers of Hungary and Transylvania, arrived at Yassi, in Moldavia, where he was arrested as a Swedish officer, and sent to Bender. By this time Charles and his retinue were all prisoners, and this was the reason of Stanislaus's being taken into custody. At Bender he was known, and notice was sent to the bashaw, who was conducting the king of Sweden to Adrianople. The bashaw communicated the news to baron Fabricius, and the baron went immediately to the king, who, without any emotion, said, "Dear Fabricius, run and tell him never to make peace with Augustus, for we shall soon have a change in our affairs." This was the first consideration that occurred to the mind of a prince whom no accident or change of fortune could affect.

Stanislaus is arrested in the Turkish dominions.

We shall for a while leave the two deserted monarchs prisoners in Turkey, to recite what passed in Germany subsequent to the famous battle of Gadebusch. General Steenboek was not unmindful of the bombardment of Stade by the Danes, a cruelty which he determined to revenge upon Altena, a town subject to Denmark, situated upon the Elbe, higher up the river than Hamburg. The trade of Altena had flourished of late years to such a degree as excited the jealousy of the Hamburgers; and this circumstance, as some writers insinuate, made them prevail upon Steenboek, by a sum of money, to destroy so dangerous a rival. There seems to be little truth in this allegation; the general himself has given the true motive of his conduct, in the answer which he published to the remonstrances of Poland and Denmark. When he arrived with his army before Altena, he sent a trumpet to the inhabitants, desiring them to retire, with their effects, for his intention was to lay the town in ashes. The magistrates threw themselves at his feet, and offered him a large ransom; but the general insisted that they should double the sum, which not being complied with, the soldiers applied their lighted torches to the houses. In the middle of the night the whole town was instantly in a blaze; the season was exceedingly severe; men, women, and children, flew into the open fields, where they lay exposed to the keenest frost, and all the inclemency of the weather. Hundreds lost their lives with cold and hunger under the walls of that city, which by the next morning was consumed to ashes. All Europe was scandalised at Steenboek's wanton barbarity. The Poles and Danes filled every court in Christendom with their complaints; and Steenboek replied, that he was urged by the inhumanity of his enemies to carry matters to extremities. He reminded them of the cruelties committed in Pomerania, of their selling so many thousand Swedish soldiers to be enslaved by the Turks, and of the red-hot bullets with which they laid Stade in ashes: in a word, he excused himself by pleading the necessity of retaliation. However, all he could allege in his own vindication has not been able to wash out the deep stain from his memory. The cruelties at Altena wholly effaced the glory resulting from the victories at Elsinburg and Gadebusch; and he soon suffered the just, but inadequate punishment of his inhumanity^r.

After the destruction of Altena, Steenboek entered Holstein to raise contributions, and pave the way for the invasion of Jutland, a project which he had long meditated.

^r Puffend. lib. vii. Volt. lib. vii.

But this enterprize was attended with consequences very different from what he expected. The allies pursued him, and the czar attacked and defeated one of his wings. Steenboek endeavoured to regain Pomerania, but he was anticipated by the Danes and Polanders, who had already entered that province; upon which he entrenched himself in the neighbourhood of Frederickstadt. Nor was he able long to maintain himself in his new quarters. He endeavoured to cross the Eider, and lost two thousand men in the river. Fortune seemed to persecute him; for even the best-concerted projects and the most rational designs proved unsuccessful. At length, being driven to extreme necessity, he demanded admittance of the bishop of Lubec into the neutral town of Tonningen, and his request was granted; the prelate being forced either to venture the loss of all the Swedish forces, or the consequences of the king of Denmark's resentment. He chose the latter. Some of the Swedish forces were received into the citadel, while the remainder quartered in the town, or encamped under the ramparts. The allies pursued, blocked up the town, and soon reduced Steenboek to great distress, the army being deprived of provision by that fatality which now attended all his affairs. To rid himself of this embarrassment he set a negotiation on foot, but could obtain no other terms than those of surrendering at discretion. Accordingly he signed articles to this purpose; the town was evacuated, and the prisoners were cantoned, under a strong guard, in the baillages of Flensburg, Ecklenwarde, and Keil. Steenboek immediately dispatched a messenger to Turkey, with a justification of his conduct; and another to Stockholm, soliciting the ransom of the prisoners, and requesting that ships might be provided to transport them to Sweden. In this manner was that army reduced to a state of bondage, which had a little before gained two celebrated victories, and been the terror of Denmark, Russia, and Poland* (C).

Steenboek
surrenders.

17th May.

* Puffend. lib. vii. Volt. lib. vii.

(C) His Danish majesty, by way of punishing the bishop of Lubec, administrator of Holstein, for a breach of neutrality, seized upon the young duke of Holstein's dominions, the greater part of which he has to this day retained. The manner, however, in which he treated Steenboek, evinced his regard to military merit. He suffered the man whom he deemed his

bitterest enemy to go freely on his parole through every part of Copenhagen, and he loaded him with civilities, until Steenboek, attempting to make his escape, incurred the king's displeasure, and occasioned his own confinement, which terminated with his asking Frederic pardon, and acknowledging his error. Volt. lib. vii.

*The czar
reduces
Finland.*

The misfortunes of Sweden did not terminate with the ruin of Steenboek's army, the czar landed with a numerous army in Finland, and though twice repulsed at Bergo, at last established a footing, ravaged the country, reduced Wikled, and forced the inhabitants of Abo, the capital of the province, to take an oath of fidelity. He afterwards obtained a complete victory over the Swedes, which put him in entire possession of Finland. Another body of Russians and Saxons took post in the isle of Rugen, and had well nigh reduced Stetin to the necessity of surrendering; but the king of Prussia, under pretence of preserving this city, declared that he would charge himself with the sequestration of Pomerania. This prince was too politic and too selfish to lose so favourable an opportunity of extending his influence, at the expence of a power now become a prey to all the northern nations. He negotiated the affair privately with prince Menzikoff, and thus obtained the czar's consent to hold the province sequestered, until a general pacification should be established in the North, at which time Stetin and its dependencies were to be restored to Sweden, on that kingdom's repaying his Prussian majesty the sum of four hundred thousand crowns for his expences.

In these calamitous circumstances, the Swedish regency saw no other method of stemming the torrent of disgrace and accumulated misfortune, than by setting on foot a negotiation; and yet they had but a very remote prospect of this, while the king openly declared, that he would consent to no peace which did not stipulate the full restitution of all his losses, the reimbursement of his expences, and the establishment of Stanislaus on the throne of Poland; for in this manner Charles dictated from his prison in Turkey. Sweden had lost all her foreign provinces: some held them as pledges, others as conquests. She had neither trade, money, nor credit; her veteran soldiers were either dead, prisoners, or incapacitated by wounds or old age. Above one hundred and fifty thousand Swedes were slaves in Muscovy, Turkey, and Tartary, or locked up in prisons in Poland and Denmark. The king was confined in a remote country, his return and even his life were uncertain; but, above all, the regency and senate were assured of his obstinacy in persisting in such resolutions as would be incompatible with the state of the kingdom. All these reasons determined the senate to intreat the princess Ulrica Eleonora, the king's sister, to charge herself with the chief administration of affairs, during his majesty's absence, in quality of heiress to the throne, should the king die without issue. The resolution was no sooner formed than the

senate,

*Princess
Eleonora
called to
the admin-
istration.*

senate, perhaps out of hatred to the regency, waited on the princess, who consented to their request. She was accordingly conducted, for the first time, to that august assembly, where it was determined to convoke the states, in order to concert measures for putting an end to the national calamities^t.

The points to be deliberated by the assembly chiefly regarded the necessity of re-establishing the finances, and putting the fleet and army in a situation to disappoint all the schemes formed by the enemy. The diet, therefore, began with publishing an ordonnance, whereby all the inhabitants were charged to send their plate to the mint to be coined, the states promising to reimburse them in the course of the subsequent year. It was also proposed to raise ten thousand foot and two thousand horse and dragoons, to be joined to the other national forces, so that the whole should amount to thirty thousand men, to be encamped at different stations on the coast. It was then deliberated whether the states had power to conclude a peace in the king's absence, and contrary to his inclination; the result of the debates was, that as the king had been long absent, and there was no certainty about his return, the states had a legal power to practise whatever should be found necessary for the well-being and safety of the kingdom. In consequence of this resolution, ambassadors were named to confer with the enemies plenipotentiaries, while at the same time the most vigorous steps were taken for prosecuting the war. To this resolution the princess-royal opposed a declaration, that she would enter upon no treaty with the enemy, until she should be authorized by the king her brother. She likewise desired to resign the regency, from an apprehension of displeasing Charles; a circumstance which obliged the states to continue sitting for the dispatch of business^u.

A.D. 1714.

Debates in the diet.

While the diet was providing for the security of the kingdom, the Danes made themselves masters of Tonningen, and other parts of the duke of Holstein's dominions. At the same time the Russian fleet came to an engagement with the Swedish squadron under admiral Ehrenschild. The fleets met off Riloxiel; the enemy were commanded by the czar in person, and the engagement continued extremely hot for the space of two hours, when fortune declared against the Swedes, who were defeated, with the loss of six men of war, one frigate, and three sail of transports. The vice-admiral, three captains, five lieutenants, and forty

^t Puffend. lib. vii.^u Idem. ibid. etiam Volt. lib. vii.

inferior officers, were taken prisoners. Six thousand Russians landed in Oeland, and entirely subdued the island; however, they were soon forced to abandon their conquest, and retire with the czar's fleet to places of security.

*The king's
situation at
Demotica.*

In the mean time the king of Sweden began to entertain serious thoughts of returning to his own dominions. Since his departure from Bender, the Porte had fixed his residence at Demotica, a small town six leagues from Adrianople. Here he was allowed provisions sufficient for his own table and his retinue; but only twenty-five crowns a-day in money, instead of the five hundred which he had at Bender. It was during the king's stay in this place, that general Ranck was sent from Hesse Cassel, to solicit his consent to the marriage of the landgrave and the princess Eleonora; a request to which he readily assented. General Lieven was likewise dispatched by the states of Sweden, to implore his majesty to prepare for returning to his dominions, which languished, and were now ready to sink under the weight of a ruinous war, during his absence. On the other hand, the peace concluded at Utrecht left the court of Versailles more at liberty openly to espouse Charles, and support his credit at the Ottoman court; where fresh revolutions appeared daily, and rendered his situation exceedingly ticklish. The grand vizir Solyman was deposed, to make room for Ibrahim Molla, who had been a common seaman, rough, blunt, and boisterous in his manners. This minister, for private reasons, entered into the project of coming to a rupture with Russia; and believing this design might prove acceptable to the king of Sweden, he intimated it to him, inviting him to a conference, in the style, and with the familiarity of an equal. Misfortune had not reduced the king of Sweden's pride; he felt the indignity, declined the invitation, sent his chancellor Mullern to meet the vizir, and to avoid giving offence to a minister, who had it greatly in his power to serve him, kept his bed during his stay at Demotica, under pretence of illness.

For ten months the king continued in this irksome situation, in perfect health, but treated and confined like a sick person; a circumstance which at last proved the strongest reason for determining him to accept of the small escorte proposed by the grand signor. His resolution was communicated to the grand vizir, who ordered a conference to be set on foot with the republic of Poland, to grant the king a safe passage through that kingdom. Circumstances

were now entirely altered at the Ottoman court, which occasioned the negotiation's being spun out to great length of time: Charles, therefore, dropped the demand of an escorte, and contented himself with asking a passport through the Turkish dominions, relying upon the imperial court for leave to pass through Germany unmolested. The new vizir Molla had been strangled between two doors, an incident which gave the finishing blow to the king's misfortunes, and obliged him to abandon all thoughts of forcing his way through Poland at the head of a Turkish army. The affair of his departure was to be negotiated by Grothusen, whom he vested with the character of ambassador extraordinary, sending him to Adrianople, with a train of fourteen persons richly dressed. To equip this retinue, the king was reduced to the most mortifying shifts, and the necessity of borrowing money from usurers at fifty per cent. The great objects were to get money from the grand vizir, and a passport; but the former did not succeed. Grothusen was received with all the honour due to his character; he returned the king's thanks for the protection afforded him by the grand signor, intimated his inclination to return to his own dominions, requested a passport through the Ottoman territories, and hinted the king's want of money to pay his debts, and defray the expences of his journey; but the vizir started difficulties. With respect to the passport, it could be of no use, he said, until the consent of the court of Vienna was first obtained: and as to the money, his answer was, that his master knew how to give, when he thought proper; but that it was beneath his dignity to lend: that the king should have every necessary provided for his journey, and in a manner worthy of his sublime highness and his majesty, and possibly the Porte might make some pecuniary present; but he would not have it expected. With respect to the passport, the imperial minister removed every difficulty, by granting it in the amplest manner, in the name of the emperor, and the princes and states of Germany. The present sent by the vizir to the king, consisted of a tent of scarlet, embroidered with gold, a sabre, the handle of which was studded with jewels, and eight fine horses, richly caparisoned. Money, the article most wanted, was entirely forgot; and indeed the Porte was with good reason tired of supplying the wants of a prince, who had, for above three years, been supported with the state and magnificence of royalty. The day was fixed for Charles's departure, and the vizir appointed three-score carriages, loaded with all kinds of provision, and several

veral companies of janissaries and zebedgis, to attend his majesty to the frontiers of Transylvania.

*He sets out
for Swe-
den.*

At last, on the 14th of October, Charles quitted his bed and his residence at Demotica, and set out on his journey for Sweden. On his arrival at Targowitz, he sent a message to the governor of Transylvania, desiring a passage through the country, and that the inhabitants would supply him with provisions for payment; to which demand the governor returned answer, that he had directions not only to give his majesty a free passage, but to supply himself and retinue with the best of every thing that the country afforded, and receive him with all the honours due to so great a monarch. All the other princes, through whose territories he passed, had given similar instructions; but the king, perceiving that these compliments only retarded his return to Sweden, and rendered more conspicuous the prisoner of Bender, suddenly dismissed his Turkish attendants, and assembling his own people, bid them take no concern about him, but make the best of their way to Stralsund; then he himself set out post, in the habit of a German officer, attended only by colonel Doring. Keeping the bye-roads through Hungary, Moravia, Austria, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, the Palatinate, Westphalia, and Mecklenburgh, he made almost the tour of Germany, and arrived at midnight, on the 21st of November, before the gates of Stralsund (B). The centinel refusing to admit him, because the keys were carried up to the governor, who was a-bed, the king said he was upon an affair of consequence, and declared, if he did not immediately wake the governor, he

*Arrives at
Stralsund.*

(B) Voltaire relates, that the king having rode the whole first day without halting, Doring, who was not accustomed to such fatigue, fainted away upon a-fighting. Charles would not stay a moment, but asked the colonel what money he had got. "About a thousand crowns," said Doring: "Give me half," replied the king, "I see you cannot go on; I will go without you." The colonel begged hard that his majesty would stay but three hours, and he was sure he could then attend; but Charles was not to be persuaded; he made him give him the

money, and called for horses. Doring bethought him of a stratagem; he bribed the post-boy to give the king a lame horse, suffered him to set out, took his sleep, then followed in a post-chaise, and overtook his majesty at the next stage. There he was forced to get in with Doring, and sleep upon the straw. Afterwards they never stopped, but pursued their journey, on horseback in the day, and in a chaise at night, for the space of sixteen days, in the utmost peril of falling into the hands of his enemies.

should

should be hanged in the morning. At last the governor was called, and he thinking it might be some general officer, ordered the gates to be opened, and the courier admitted to his apartment. On seeing the king, he asked, rubbing his eyes, What news of his majesty? "Hey, Ducker, says the king, have my best subjects forgot me?" The general could scarce believe his eyes; but soon recognizing the king's voice and features, leaped out of bed, and embraced his sovereign's knees with tears of joy^x. The news spread in an instant, the whole town was in motion, the soldiers crowded round the governor's house, to behold that warrior who had so often led them to glory and victory: the streets were filled with people, the windows were illuminated, every street blazed with bonfires, churches rung with bells, the conduits flowed with wine, and the artillery fired from the ramparts. Never was joy more sincere; yet amidst the tumult Charles was put to bed. He had been booted for sixteen days, and now his legs were swelled to such a degree, that there was a necessity to cut off his boots. The king slept some hours, then arose, reviewed his troops, and dispatched orders to all the different parts of the kingdom, for renewing the war with redoubled vigour. It was astonishing to observe the alteration made in Sweden by the return of the sovereign to his dominions. Multitudes of young people flocked to enter themselves, and revenge their king's long exile. Though the human species was visibly diminished, there appeared no symptoms of decline in vigour; the levies were complete in a few weeks, but the hands left to cultivate the earth consisted of the infirm, aged, and decrepid; so that a famine threatened the land, in consequence of the military rage which had seized all the youth of the kingdom.

While the king staid at Stralfund, the fortifications were repaired and augmented, and the army was very considerably reinforced. He could not be prevailed on to return to Stockholm, until he had, in some measure, recovered his losses, wiped off his disgraces, and replaced matters upon such a footing, as might answer the vast expectations entertained by his people. It was during his residence at Stralfund that great preparations were making at Stockholm for celebrating the nuptials of the princess-royal and the hereditary prince of Hesse. Though the ceremony was not honoured with the king's presence, it was, however, very brilliant; and next day arrived the king's commission, vesting him with the dignity of generalissimo of the Swedish

A.D. 1715.

April 4.
*Marriage
of the pr. n.
cess-royal
with the
prince of
Hesse.*

^x Volt. lib. vii.

forces. He had distinguished himself in the confederate army against Charles, and the proofs exhibited of his courage were the motives which operated most powerfully with Charles to prefer him to this union with his family, and high character in his army.

*The Swedes
defeated by
sea.*

The rejoicings consequent on this alliance were disturbed by the ravages committed by the Russians on the coasts of Ahland and Finland, where they destroyed a great number of towns and villages. These misfortunes were followed by an entire defeat sustained by the Swedish fleet, between the islands of Femeren and Laland, in which a thousand men were killed, and seven ships taken or destroyed. Such a train of disgraces could not fail of dissipating those fears which had seized the minds of the Northern allies on the king's return. They imagined the royal presence would inspire the same spirit and alacrity in the Swedish troops which had formerly rendered them invincible; but it soon appeared that the sinews of the kingdom were enervated, that the finances were destroyed, and all the old forces dwindled into nothing. However, the king's conduct and courage were not in the least altered; he determined, at all events, to preserve the German provinces; but the measures he took to effect this purpose, deprived him of them entirely. He demanded restitution of Steuin, offering to pay the four hundred thousand crowns to indemnify the king of Prussia. France would have advanced the money; but all remonstrances were vain. His Prussian majesty insisted that the town was to remain sequestered in his hands, until peace should be concluded, as a security, that the war should not be kindled in Germany. Charles, without reflecting on his own circumstances, resented this tergiversation in such high terms, as increased the number of his enemies, and made Prussia declare in favour of the Northern league. The emperor joined in exhorting his Swedish majesty to revoke his protestation against the neutrality, and to consent to the sequestration of Pomerania; instead of which he attacked the isle of Usedom, occupied by the Prussians, in virtue of the sequestration, and drove them out of the island. Finding that Prussia was resolved to have recourse to force, Charles solicited the French king to assist him with sixty thousand men, to reduce his enemies to reason; but Lewis XIV. then in the decline of life, and broke with age, infirmity, and disappointment, sought to die in peace, and contented himself with offering his mediation to accommodate all dif-

*Prussia de-
clares
against
Sweden.*

ferences. With this view he sent the count de Croissy to Stralsund, where he was graciously received by Charles. Several attempts were made to establish a negociation; all of which proved fruitless from the obstinacy of the parties. The confederates regarding only the circumstances of Sweden, imagined that the king ought to accept of any conditions; and Charles, through his own undaunted spirit, and the equity of his cause, would consent to yield nothing, insisting upon entire restitution. The king of Prussia demanded, as a preliminary, that the isle of Usedom might be restored; and Charles refusing to part with it, the Prussians entered, and soon reduced the island: at the same time, the Danish squadron took near fifty sail of Swedish small craft, which lay on the coasts. It was indeed astonishing that the Swedes made any resistance; their whole force being composed of two hundred and fifty men, under the command of the brave colonel Duserp, who had possession of the forts Swen and Parnamendre. The former fort was abandoned as untenable, but the colonel resolved to defend the other to the last extremity. The Prussians, amounting to seven thousand men, with a fine train of artillery, laid siege in form. On the 18th of August they opened the trenches in two different places, and played vigorously with two batteries of cannon and mortars. Duserp had found means to send a messenger to the king; he now returned to the fort, through the midst of the enemy's camp, with the following letter from Charles: "Do not fire until the enemy approach the brink of the fosse; hold out to the last drop of your blood. I commend you to your good fortune." The governor obeyed punctually; he sustained the assault, made his fire as directed, and with prodigious effect; great numbers of the enemy fell: but now the ditch was full, the breach practicable, and the disparity of strength so great, that the Prussians entered the fort in two different places, and thought they had reduced Duserp to the necessity of surrendering. But they had not yet sufficient proofs of the governor's spirit, and the implicit obedience which that officer paid to his sovereign's commands. Abandoning the breaches, he entrenched his little company in the middle of the fort, and determined to sell his life dear. The soldiers obeyed to a man. The enemy advanced, imagining he would ask for quarter, but they were received with a brisk fire. An action followed, which was sustained valiantly for the space of an hour by the Swedes, when their commander was killed, together with his major and lieutenant. The single remaining officer, and his few soldiers, begged their lives, and were

*Bravery of
a Swedish
colonel.*

taken prisoners. Such was the issue of that desperate defence, made in obedience to an order equally unnecessary and inhuman ^z.

*The elector
of Hanover
joins the
confeder-
ates.*

*Wismar
and Stral-
fund be-
sieged.*

To complete the embarrassment of Sweden, the king of England, in quality of elector of Hanover, acceded to the league, and, with other princes, resolved to share in the spoils of the unfortunate Swedish monarch. The duchy of Bremen had been pledged to him by the Danes, for the sum of seven hundred thousand crowns; and he now, for the same reason that influenced the king of Prussia, came to a rupture with Sweden, and joined his forces to those of Denmark, Prussia, and Saxony, to invest Wismar. At the same time a body of thirty-six thousand men formed the siege of Stralsund, while the czar, with a fleet of twenty large men of war, and one hundred and fifty transports, with thirty thousand men on board, scoured the Baltic, and threw all the coasts of Sweden into consternation, threatening a descent sometimes at Helsingburg, and sometimes at Stockholm. Stralsund, however, was the principal object of the enemy's designs; that city was strongly situated, well fortified, and defended by a garrison of nine thousand men, commanded by the king in person. The kings of Denmark and Prussia directed the siege, the trenches were opened on the 20th of October, and two days after the Swedish intrenchments, on the opposite side the marsh, which was thought impassable, were forced, after dreadful slaughter on both sides. After this action the enemy made a descent, with twelve thousand men, on Rugen, in order to deprive the besieged of the succours they drew from that island. There were only two thousand Swedes for its defence; but Charles resolved to put himself at their head, and this circumstance made them equal to an army. Such was the terror his presence inspired, that the prince of Anhalt, with numbers so superior, entrenched himself behind a fosse, defended by chevaux de frise. The precaution was necessary, for Charles marched silently in the midst of the night, clambered up the ditch, and attacked the allies with incredible fury; but his strength being too unequal, he was forced to retreat, after he had seen his favourite Grothusen, general Dardeff, and During, the companions of his exile, killed before his face, and he himself had received a wound in his left-breast ^a.

The attempt to save Rugen proving fruitless, Charles returned to Stralsund, having only weakened his strength in extraordinary exertions of rash valour. The town was now

^z Volt. lib. viii.

^a Idem ibid. Puffend. ubi supra.

miserably shattered by the enemy's cannon, and the houses laid in ruins with the bombs; but the garrison and townsmen were animated by the example of their royal master, whose patience, activity, courage, and presence of mind, threw a veil over his other failings, and persuaded his subjects that all the misfortunes of the monarch arose from an excess of virtue. By the 17th of December the breaches were so large, that the enemy were preparing to give the assault, upon which the count de Croissy renewed the conferences for an accommodation; but the allies demanded too much, and Charles was averse to making any concessions. The continuator of Puffendorf indeed alleges, that the count, tired out with the obstinacy of the Swedish monarch, acted but coldly in the negotiation; though Voltaire expressly affirms the contrary, and alleges, that the court of France was not only well-disposed with respect to Sweden, but that Croissy was greatly enamoured of the king's singular character, and strongly attached to his person. Certain it is, that the conference with the Prussian minister, baron Ilgen, terminated in nothing. The enemy stormed the horn-work, carried it twice, and were as often repulsed; but at last they effected a lodgment by dint of superior numbers. The day succeeding the loss of the horn-work, Charles headed a sally, and dealt terrible destruction among the besiegers, but was in the end overpowered, and forced to retreat to the town, whither he was pursued. For two days more he continued to dispute every inch of ground; but his officers apprehending that he must either be buried in the ruins, or fall into the hands of the enemy, exhorted him to quit a place where his presence could be of no service; but to retreat was now almost as dangerous as to remain in Stralsund. The sea was covered with the confederate fleets; and it was, perhaps, this very circumstance, and the appearance it had of an extraordinary adventure, which induced Charles to commit his person to a small boat with sails and oars, in which he passed all the enemy's ships and batteries, and arrived safe at Ystedt in Schonen.

Immediately after the king's departure, general Ducker, sensible that the town was not longer tenable, and that to persist would only tend to the entire destruction of the garrison under his command, demanded a capitulation. A conference was set on foot to regulate the articles, and the result was, that the garrison should surrender prisoners of war; that the native-born Swedes should, notwithstanding, have the honour of marching out with their arms, drums beating, and colours flying; that all the officers should be

transported to Sweden at the king's expence, and in Swedish vessels; that the king's retinue should meet with the same indulgence, the allies leaving it to general Ducker's honour to give a faithful list of the domestics, without including persons who were not actually of the household; and that all the artillery, magazines, records, papers, and documents belonging to the chancery and council, should be delivered into the hands of commissaries, appointed for that purpose by the kings of Denmark and Prussia. On the 27th of December the Swedes marched out, agreeable to the terms of the capitulation, and next day the two kings made their triumphant entry^b.

A.D. 1716.

Charles was now at Carlscroon, which place he had quitted some years before in a ship of one hundred and twenty guns, attended by a powerful fleet and army that was, for a time, to give law to the empire, and all the kingdoms of the North. It was expected, that being so near he would visit his capital. Deputies were sent from Stockholm to invite him thither; but Charles disappointed the expectations of his people. What his motives were for passing the winter at Carlscroon, we cannot pretend to explain. Some allege, that his pride would not suffer him to enter his capital in his present condition; others attribute his conduct to the resentment he harboured against the senate, for diminishing the weight of the regency he had appointed, disputing their authority, calling a diet, placing the princess-royal in the administration, setting on foot negotiations of peace with the Northern powers, and assuming to themselves certain privileges which he thought inconsistent with the royal prerogative. These were transactions which happened during his residence in Turkey; he had then expressed his contempt for the senate and states, by sending them word by his chancellor Mullern that he would dispatch one of his old boots to govern and keep them in awe. Charles now carried his displeasure farther, by depriving the senate of the few privileges which had been left them by Charles XI. The whole direction of public affairs he committed to the hands of baron Goertz, formerly a minister of Holstein, now the chief favourite of the Swedish monarch; a man bold, active, insinuating, inventive, enterprising, and full of expedients, which perfectly qualified him for the minister of a prince who delighted in the most romantic acts of chivalry^c.

Having thus satiated his revenge, he concerted measures with his brother-in-law, the prince of Hesse, for augment-

^b Puffend. lib. vii.

^c Volt. lib. viii. Puffend. *ibid.*

ing his forces, making numerous levies, and putting the fleet in a condition to execute the first enterprize that should be proposed (B). By the month of March he had an army of twenty-five thousand men in motion, the destination of which was kept a profound secret between the king and baron Goertz. At last a sudden irruption into Norway, declared that Charles was determined to revenge his losses by the conquest of that kingdom. He suddenly crossed that almost impervious ridge of mountains which separates Sweden from Norway, and attacked the enemy with such vigour, as threatened the immediate completion of his great design. No project could be better concerted or more punctually executed; the Danes were defeated in every quarter. The hereditary prince of Hesse attacked and defeated a body of three thousand men in the neighbourhood of Basmo, and took the Danish commander prisoner. Another more considerable corps was routed by the king in person; and these advantages were succeeded by gaining possession of several important posts. To check the king's progress, the Danes assembling all their forces, which amounted to eleven thousand men, ventured upon a general action, and were entirely defeated; but the hereditary prince was forced to quit the field, by a wound he received in the right thigh. All this, however, was but a flash of success that served to dazzle the imagination, without producing any solid advantage. Strong reinforcements arriving from Denmark, turned the scale of fortune; the Danes drove the Swedes from divers posts, and among others from the intrenchments at Mosch, which the latter abandoned after having twice repulsed the enemy. But what destroyed the whole project, was the scarcity of provisions, of which Charles had been disappointed by various

(B) To equip a fleet, Charles was reduced to the necessity of granting commissions to privateers, who enjoyed great privileges at the expence of their country. In consideration of these the owners furnished the government with a considerable number of ships; to support the expence of which, Charles was forced upon another ruinous measure, and to break in upon the people's property,

committing the most cruel extortion, under the name of taxes. Private houses were searched, and half the provision found was carried to the king's magazines. All the iron of the country was bought up for his use, and paid for in paper. Every man who wore a peruke, a gilt sword, or a bit of silk, was taxed; and hearth-money was raised in every quarter of the kingdom (1).

(1) Volt. lib. viii

accidents. This, together with the continual skirmishing, the excessive severity of the cold, the perpetual watching, long marches, rough roads, and a thousand other hardships, greatly diminished the Swedish army, and obliged the king to consider in what manner he should evacuate an inhospitable country, into which true policy dictated he should never have entered. These were the real causes of the retreat of the Swedes; though it was given out that they returned for the defence of Schonon^d.

While the king remained at Carlscroon, and during the Norwegian expedition, the strong town of Wismar had been blocked up by the Russians, and the electoral troops of Saxony and Hanover. It was now at last surrendered on the same terms which had been granted to the garrison of Stralsund, and had the occasion been judiciously improved, might have turned out more to the advantage of Sweden, than the most glorious victory. We shall endeavour to sketch out the stronger lines of this extraordinary affair, which laid the foundation of all the celebrated Goertz's intrigues, that had nearly changed the face of Europe, laid the basis of a new war, and which at last brought this extravagant projector to an ignominious death on the scaffold.

From
Goertz
projects.

Goertz was too penetrating not to discover that his master's keenest resentment was pointed at the king of England, who, as elector of Hanover, had seized upon Bremen and Verden, under pretence of preserving the peace of the empire, and acting as mediator. Charles had never given this prince cause of offence, and he was incensed at the injustice of his purchasing territories at a low price from Denmark, which Sweden had conquered with her blood, and appropriated by treaties. He observed too, that the czar of Muscovy was not satisfied with the capitulation of Wismar, upon which he had long formed designs, as a convenient retreat for his shipping. For this purpose he had advanced a body of troops with great rapidity; but they arrived too late, the capitulation was signed, and the proper measures were taken for excluding the Russians. Peter, indeed, was too sagacious to be ignorant of the jealousy of the other allies, and their assiduity to prevent his gaining any footing in the empire or neighbouring countries; he now had his revenge by refusing to assist in the proposed invasion of Schonon. This was a fine foundation for the busy genius of Goertz to build upon, and he had the courage to embrace the opportunity. He advised

^d Auct. cit. *ibid.*

Charles to make peace at any rate with the czar, who might then be easily induced to quarrel with his old friend Augustus of Poland, and with the king of England, against whom, as elector of Hanover, he had already cause of complaint. By yielding certain provinces to the czar, which, however, he was in no condition to defend, Goertz persuaded the king he could bring that prince, with the whole strength of Russia, to assist in restoring James to the crown of England, and Stanislaus to that of Poland, notwithstanding Peter had for the space of seven years opposed this last monarch. Nothing could be more agreeable to the romantic turn of the king of Sweden, than such gigantic projects; accordingly he permitted his minister to set out with full power to the court of Moscow. Here, by means of the czar's chief physician, a Scotchman, who was devoted to the pretender's interest, he sounded the inclinations of prince Menzikoff, laid before him the project, and obtained his approbation, which was sufficient to insure the czar's consent. In a word, the Swedish minister so far succeeded at the court of Moscow, that Peter, instead of the descent on Schonen, sent his troops to winter in Mecklenburgh, and soon followed in person, under pretence of adjusting some disputes between the duke and his nobles, but in fact, with a view to his favourite purpose of establishing a footing in the German empire.

Having brought his negotiation to a happy issue at Moscow, Goertz turned his thoughts towards the court of Madrid, imagining it would be matter of no great difficulty to prevail on the new minister Alberoni, to second his designs against England. For this purpose he came to Holland, where he engaged in his interest great numbers of disaffected British subjects, who even advanced considerable sums of money towards the prosecution of the scheme of deposing George the First; if we may rely on the authority of Voltaire, and indeed of other foreign writers. During his residence at the Hague, Peter, czar of Muscovy, visited Holland, and the Swede had two long conferences with him, by which he greatly advanced the negotiation. His designs were carried on with the utmost secrecy; they appeared almost impenetrable, and were in a fine train for success, when slight notice of the intrigue was intimated by the duke of Orleans, regent of France, to the court of London, which was confirmed by the Hollanders, who had taken umbrage at some part of Goertz's conduct. This discovery put an immediate stop to his proceedings; he was seized at the Hague, contrary to the law of nations, while Gyllenburg, the Swedish ambassador at London,

Goertz is seized.

London, and engaged in the same projects, was likewise taken into custody. Charles retaliated, by ordering Jackson, the English resident at Stockholm, and all his family, to be arrested; and this was all the revenge he took, whether from an apprehension of the consequences of pursuing his resentment, or of entering upon a justification of his minister, we cannot pretend to determine. Certain it is, that he observed a disdainful silence with respect to his Britannic Majesty and the states general; notwithstanding which Goertz and Gyllenburg obtained their liberty, at the intercession of the czar and regent of France.

A.D. 1717.

Goertz shewed himself a most implacable enemy, the moment he was set at liberty. He posited to Moscow, and undertook, in a few weeks, to adjust all the differences between the czar and his Swedish majesty, for which purpose he gave in a sketch of the congress of Ahland. He promised to obtain his sovereign's consent to part with all that lay eastward of a line drawn from Wiberg, by the lake Ladoga, quite to the Frozen Sea, besides the provinces of Ingria, Carelia, and Livonia. He proposed the marriage of the czar's daughter with the duke of Holstein, whence he demonstrated considerable advantages would result, by gaining Peter a sure footing in the empire. Such were the preliminaries of the conferences appointed at Ahland, to ratify which Goertz returned to Sweden, full of hope that all his projects would be happily accomplished.

The schemes he carried on during his stay in Sweden, were no less extraordinary than those in which he had been engaged in foreign courts. To enable the king to execute projects so extensive as those he proposed, a numerous army was necessary, which could not be maintained when the treasury was entirely exhausted, and the people drained of the last farthing. Money and credit were equally low in Sweden; but the genius of Goertz removed every difficulty, and rendered easy to him, what to any other minister would appear unsurmountable. He renewed a project which he had formed some time before in his own mind; and this was to raise copper to the same value with silver, when it bore the prince's signature. Nothing could be more injurious to public credit than such a measure; but Goertz regarded only the present moment. His business was at any rate to execute the great designs he had planned, the happy accomplishment of which would, he imagined, put every thing else upon an easy footing. Accordingly he issued out his new coin without dread or discretion. The grievance was quickly felt; it entirely destroyed foreign credit, put a stop to commerce, and ruined traders

A.D. 1718.

of all degrees and denominations. The government issued it currently, but refused it in payment of taxes from the peasant. This measure excited clamours; all with one voice exclaimed against baron Goertz, and he soon completed his own fall by an imposition laid on the clergy, the most dangerous enemies of any minister. With them the princess-royal and her husband joined secretly, apprehending that so aspiring a person, who had such an influence over the king, and was himself a native of Holstein, might turn his thoughts to raising the duke of Holstein to the crown of Sweden, at the death of the present sovereign. Without regarding the clamours of the people, or the powerful combination forming against him, Goertz having established the affairs of the treasury, hastened away to attend the congress at Ahland, and finish with Osterman, the Russian plenipotentiary, the peace which was sketched out between the king of Sweden and the czar, together with all its important consequences.

Peter was fully bent on retaining Ingria, Esthonia, Livonia, and part of Carlia; nor had he thoughts of restoring more to Charles than Finland, and a small portion of Carrelia. It was the design of Goertz to bring his master to consent readily to the cession of these provinces, in order to secure the friendship of the czar. Charles, indeed, knew the value of the provinces required; he could not bear the thoughts of lessening his dominions; but he even preferred this sacrifice to that of abandoning his favourite project of reinstating Stanilaus, and being revenged of the elector of Hanover. Goertz accordingly had full power to sign the treaty, whereby Peter agreed to march eighty thousand men into Poland, to depose that very prince whom he had been supporting for many years at the expense of his blood and treasure; to furnish ships for transporting thirty thousand Swedes to Germany, and ten thousand into Denmark, to assist his Swedish majesty in recovering the duchy of Bremen and Verden, in restoring the duke of Holstein, and forcing the king of Prussia to a reasonable accommodation, by parting with Pomerania and several of his new acquired territories. Such was the basis of the treaty of Ahland, to which it is highly probable Charles gave his consent, as he entirely withdrew his forces from the provinces which formed the barrier against Russia, in order to strengthen the army intended for the invasion of Norway^r.

He becomes odious to Sweden.

Sets on foot the conferences at Ahland.

^r Id. *ibid.* etiam Volt. lib. viii.

*Charles in-
vades Nor-
way.*

The conquest of Norway was another favourite project of Charles; and now being secure of the friendship of Russia, he determined to put it in execution, before he attempted the accomplishment of his other vast designs. In the month of October, while the country was covered with snow and frost, he marched ten thousand men into that kingdom, under the conduct of general Arenfeld, who penetrated into the heart of Norway, after having defeated two considerable bodies of the enemy. The king followed with another division of eighteen thousand men, and formed the siege of Fredericshal, while the hereditary prince watched the motions of the enemy with a separate command. The severity of the frost rendered it almost impossible to break ground; Charles, however, resolved to form trenches, and his soldiers cheerfully obeyed, and set to work with the same labour as if they had been digging into a rock. On the 11th of December, the king visited the trenches in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, imagining his presence might animate the workmen. He took his post in the most dangerous situation he could chuse, standing upon a gabion, and leaning upon his arm over the parapet, while the enemy were firing chain-shot at the very spot where he stood. There seemed to be a fatality in this unseasonable exertion of courage. Charles had never indeed avoided danger on any occasion; but he exposed his person unnecessarily, and incurred the imputation of rashness from the meanest soldier in the army. The engineer Megret, and his aid-de-camp M. Siker, intreated him to change his situation; but Charles was obstinate, and kept his station where he could be of no service, merely to shew that he was proof against cannon-balls. At length they saw the king fall upon the parapet; they run to him, and found him dead; a small cannon-ball had struck him on the right temple, beat in the left eye, and forced the right quite out of the socket. The misfortune was concealed from the soldiers; the body was covered with a cloak, and carried through the troops by the name of captain Carl-born, until advice could be sent to the prince of Hesse (A).

Thus

(A) The above is M. de Voltaire's account, who differs in a variety of circumstances from M. Motraye, and the continuator of Puffendorf. These allege, that Megret, Siker, and count Swerin, had left the king

upon the parapet, and soon returned to execute a stratagem they had concerted to remove him out of so dangerous a situation. It was then near ten o'clock at night, and Megret not seeing by star-light that

Charles

Thus died Charles XII. of Sweden, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, the most dreaded and admired prince of his age, who might have been the most glorious and fortunate monarch in the universe, had his valour been tempered with prudence, and his heart softened by humanity. Even the good qualities he possessed, were displayed in a vicious excess. His justice became cruelty, his courage might be termed insensibility, his constancy was carried to a degree of obstinacy, his liberality to profusion, and all his gallantry favoured strongly of insanity. Motraye attributes his rashness to his belief of predestination; we would rather impute it to constitution. Charles had a body and a soul of iron; neither cold, fatigue, nor hunger, could affect the one; neither prosperity nor adversity could move the other. He was the same in all situations; and notwithstanding all that has been said in his praise, by authors of different nations, who seem to have been dazzled by the lustre of his success, he was certainly little better than a gallant barbarian*.

The death of Charles was no sooner intimated to the prince of Hesse, than he assembled a council of the general officers, at which it was resolved to raise the siege of Frederichshal, to dispatch a party to arrest baron Goertz, who was on the road to Norway, and to acquaint the princess-royal with the fate of the king, her brother. Colonel Baumgardon was charged with the business of arresting the baron; he met him between Stromstadt and Swinsundt, demanded his sword and papers, and conducted him prisoner to Udewatta, where he was left under a strong guard. Siker, the king's aid-de-camp, was sent with the news to the princess at Stockholm, and it was confirmed a few days after by general Bennet. At the same time a report was published, that the army had proclaimed her royal highness queen; she was prayed for as such in the churches, before the senate or diet had taken any steps towards the

* Volt. lib. viii. Motraye, tom. ii. p. 396, 397. Puffend. tom. vi. lib. vii.

Charles was dead, spoke to him two or three times, and imagining he might be asleep, pulled his cloaths to wake him. The blood with which he was covered, gave the first intimation of the accident. Megret called out to the nearest officers, that he dreaded the worst; a light immediately was brought, by

which they found the king's head terribly shattered by a bullet of half a pound weight, his face turned quite behind with the violence of the stroke, a wound two inches wide in the right temple, both eyes miserably disfigured, and his right hand grasping the hilt of his sword.

election.

election. The senate, however, thought that now was the season for recovering the ancient privileges of the nation, and they resolved to profit by the opportunity. They accordingly advised the princefs to publish a declaration, promising entirely to abolish despotic power, and to renounce in her own name, and in that of her posterity, every prerogative inconsistent with the freedom of the people, and the ancient privileges of the senate, diet, and nation; and the princefs, that she might act in a manner the most agreeable to her new subjects, convoked a diet of the states to sit at Stockholm, on the 31st day of January. Baron Goertz was conducted to the castle, under a strong escort, and remitted to close prison. Count Vander Nat, the baron's chief secretary, and all those who had the management of the finances, together with the creatures and domestics of the minister, were seized. A declaration likewise was published on the subject of the paper-currency, and the copper-money, which Goertz had lately passed for payment of the crown-debts and other purposes; whereby the first was wholly abolished, and the latter reduced to its intrinsic value. All these steps were taken by the princefs-royal and her council. She had assumed all the prerogatives of royalty; yet when the diet met, they first declared that they had voluntarily assembled themselves to elect a successor to the vacant throne; they treated the princefs only as the king's sister, and not as their sovereign; however, they intimated that they could never think of any other sovereign than her royal highness, provided she would subscribe to the form of government they were about to propose. Soon after they prayed that her highness would give them a written assurance, that she was willing to hold her crown by free election, without claiming to herself any hereditary right as the sister of their monarch^t.

A. D. 1719.

The form of government proposed by the states, which was intended to serve as a rule to the queen and her successors, were couched in forty articles, containing in substance, that her majesty should never profess any other mode of faith than that prescribed in the doctrines of Luther; that if her majesty should have issue, they should, *cæteris paribus*, have the preference in the election of a successor; that no prince raised to the throne should be declared of age, and qualified to govern, before the age of one and twenty years; that all the considerable employments of the kingdom should be given to the native nobi-

^t Volt. lib. viii. Métraye, tom. ii. p. 396, 397. Puffend. tom. vi. lib. vii.

lity, who had shewn themselves deserving by their services; that no laws made without their consent, should be binding to the states; that the sovereign should not increase the burthen of taxes without the approbation of the assembly; that she should not conclude peace, or declare war, without the advice and approbation of the senate, and indeed of the states; that her majesty should be enabled to support the whole weight of government by an assisting council, composed of officers, senators, and the intendants of provinces; that all public acts of government should receive the sanction of the senate; that the senators should be nominated by the nobility, with the queen's approbation; that when her majesty should either be absent or indisposed, the affairs of state should be regulated in the senate, by a plurality of voices; that on the throne's becoming vacant, without hereditary issue, the government should fall into the hands of the senate, until the meeting of the states, for the election of a successor; that no gentleman should receive sentence in any other tribunal than the royal court, termed *Hofrätten*, in points regarding his life or honour; that the presidents of the respective colleges, as well as the governor of Stockholm, should be senators; that henceforward there should be no governors, general or particular; but the provinces should be governed by intendants; that the officers of the army and fleet should take an oath of allegiance to her majesty, the kingdom, and the states; that no colonel or other officer should presume to march without orders from her majesty, given in full senate, or soldier quit his post or quarters, under the penalty of his life and honour; that the states should be regularly assembled every three years, and oftner when the affairs of state required their meeting; that the Swedish nobility should have the power to elect a marshal; that the nobles of Esthonia, Livonia, and Oesel, should be reinstated in all their privileges, whenever a happy peace should restore those provinces to the crown of Sweden; that the same regard should be shewn to the nobility of the German provinces, upon a similar event; and that her majesty should confirm to all the cities, towns, and corporations, their several rights and privileges. This new form of government was signed by the grand-marshal, the archbishop of Upsal, the first burgo-master of Stockholm, and the secretary of the peasants; and it was afterwards ratified by the queen, and sealed with the great seal of Sweden. Nothing indeed could be more equitable than these conditions, upon which the crown was offered to the princess royal, and she, by her acceptance, gave a strong proof of her good sense and

moderation. The states had suffered numberless mortifications from the arbitrary disposition of their late monarch, and they had been in a manner cozened out of their privileges by his father Charles XI. ; the opportunity now offered of redeeming their rights, and they were very excusable to embrace it: while the queen was no less prudent in renouncing prerogatives which could be of no use to a good sovereign, and afforded a wicked prince the means of rendering a whole nation wretched.

*Baron
Goertz
condemned
and executed.*

The people being in this manner restored to their ancient privileges, demanded a victim to expiate the crimes and disorders committed under the late administration. Baron Goertz was regarded by the nobility and clergy as the author of all the oppressive measures of the late reign; for such was the universal veneration for Charles, that they even declined directly aspersing his memory. A charge was formally drawn up, and the minister was accused of peculation, of having ruined public credit by imaginary money; of having formed a design to destroy the king and army, by advising him to a ruinous campaign in the inhospitable kingdom of Norway, amidst the rigours of a severe winter; and of having drawn the enemy into the very heart of the kingdom, with intention to regulate the succession according to his own pleasure. Goertz defended himself with great ability, and clearly invalidated almost every article of the impeachment. His circumstances were a proof that he had applied none of the public money to his own use; the necessity of the times apologized for his substituting imaginary money to supply the wants of the treasury; and possibly such a measure might have proved of national advantage, had it been pursued with more discretion.

With respect to the campaign in Norway, it was wholly a measure of the king's own, and quite foreign to the plan drawn up by Goertz, though the minister acceded to it merely to draw Charles more easily into his own great project of being reconciled to the czar of Muscovy; and as to the baron's design of setting aside the princess-royal, and placing his natural prince, the duke of Holstein, on the throne, that charge was merely conjectural, and never supported by any proofs. Indeed, his intrigues were not yet sufficiently ripe to enter upon this measure, though it is highly probable he would have preferred the duke to the princess. Notwithstanding Goertz's defence was clear and irrefragable, the process went on without regard to regularity, and perhaps to equity. He was denied the advice of a lawyer, and the assistance of an advocate; and the court and people seemed equally determined to take his life,

life, the one from prejudice, and the other from reasons which they did not care to publish. In a word, the unhappy minister was abandoned in his distress by all mankind; even the duke of Holstein was mean enough to pay his court to the queen, by dismissing Goertz from his service, and removing his protection; and he was condemned to lose his head under a gibbet, at a place appointed for the execution of thieves and felons, after having been first degraded from all his titles, and divested of the order of Orange, with which he had been honoured by the king of Prussia. Goertz heard his sentence pronounced without emotion; and he desired no other mitigation of the judgment passed than that he should not be buried under the gallows; but this indulgence he could not obtain. He drew up his justification in prison, wrote his own epitaph, and declared with his last breath, that he died a martyr to his fidelity to the king and duke of Holstein. He was conducted to the place of execution, desired leave to address himself to the people; but this being refused, took off his wig and cravat, which he gave to his valet, unbuttoned his collar, and laid his neck with the utmost intrepidity on the block, saying, in German, "Glut yourself, Sweden, with that blood for which you have so craving an appetite." Scarce had he pronounced these words when his head was severed by one blow from his body; and thus perished the celebrated baron Goertz, for crimes which he never committed, at the same time that he merited death for divers others of which he was not accused.

Having performed this act of justice, as it was called, to the state, preparations were made for celebrating with great pomp the funeral obsequies of the late monarch; and no sooner was this last duty and mark of respect paid, than the court turned their thoughts to the coronation of the new sovereign. The ceremony was performed with the utmost magnificence at Upsal; and what rendered it the more agreeable to the nation was, that it was preceded by a general act of amnesty; her majesty having resolved to begin her reign with proofs of her clemency.

Nor was it in the form of the constitution alone that the death of Charles XII. wrought a happy change; the affairs of Europe in general assumed a new appearance, and all the courts breathed nothing but mild and pacific sentiments. Goertz's vast projects for exciting a fresh war were all at an end; the whole plan concerted at Ahland vanished; and Sweden was now in such a situation as admitted

*Treaty
with Great
Britain,
and peace
with the
elector of
Hanover.*

• Puffend. lib. vii. Volt. apud fin.

of no alternative : peace was to be embraced at all events ; and it might be regarded as fortunate, that the basis of an accommodation with Russia, the most powerful enemy, had been laid during the late administration, though at the expence of several valuable provinces. The queen made no scruple of accepting the proposed mediation of England, notwithstanding Charles XII. regarded the elector of Hanover as one of the most insidious of all his enemies. Great Britain became mediatrix of the differences between her king, as elector of Hanover, and the court of Sweden ; and a double treaty was signed much about the same time ; the first between the two crowns, and the next between her Swedish majesty and the king of England, in quality of elector of Hanover. One contained a renewal of the ancient amity between the two kingdoms, and the other an accommodation between the queen and the elector ; by which the latter agreed to pay her majesty a million of crowns, on condition that Bremen and Verden should be ceded to him in perpetuity.

Sweden having got rid of one enemy by this peace with the elector, and secured an ally, in consequence of the treaty with the crown of Great Britain, began to resume courage. The czar expected the same terms that were stipulated at the congress of Ahland, and these a few weeks before would have been cheerfully granted ; but the queen now ventured to refuse them, as oppressive and iniquitous. To enforce his demands the czar recommenced hostilities, and put to sea with thirty men of war, and near three hundred gallies. Making a descent on the coast of Sweden, he burnt Narkoping, Nycoping, Noor Telgie, Suder Telgie, a great number of villages, farms, and villas, destroying likewise abundance of iron-works, smelting-mills, and founderies. The czar's design was, by this severity, to force Sweden to accept whatever terms he thought proper to impose. After having ravaged the coasts of the kingdom, he sent Osterman to Stockholm, with the most rigid proposals, and, among others, demanded the absolute cession of Esthonia, Ingria, and Carelia, together with the sequestration of Livonia in his hands for the space of forty years. The queen, however, continued steady in her refusal, being supported by the countenance of Great Britain, and the arrival of admiral Norris with a British squadron of twenty-eight men of war ; a force more than equivalent to the whole naval power of Russia. This declaration from Great Britain proved decisive, and first paved the way to an accommodation with his Prussian majesty ; that prince having agreed, in consideration of having Stetin ceded to him, to oblige all the other enemies of Sweden to accept of reasonable

sonable conditions. For some time, indeed, the czar persisted in his hostilities, refusing to accept the mediation of Great Britain; but finding that Prussia was already brought over, that the king of Denmark yielded to the influence of the British fleet, and that the republic of Poland had consented to a preliminary treaty with Sweden, he began to entertain more moderate sentiments.

Amidst this labyrinth of negotiation and intrigue the queen assembled the states at Stockholm, and laid before them the situation of affairs, the alliances which she had contracted, the treaties she had formed, and the reconciliations she had effected with some of the neighbouring powers, desiring their advice and assistance in the pursuit of a solid, honourable, and general pacification. This was the subject of the first meeting; on the second day her majesty sent a proposition which greatly astonished all her subjects, as they had not the least intimation of her design. She declared that she believed it for the good of her kingdom, that her royal consort should be elected king, and associated with her in the government. She renewed her assurances of her own and her consort's detestation of despotic principles; she bestowed the highest encomiums on the form of government established by the states; she protested that the prince her husband had first suggested to her the idea of renouncing every prerogative that was inconsistent with the perfect freedom and happiness of her people; called God to witness that he was a true Lutheran, and would defend the evangelical faith with his blood; represented the dangers to which he had already exposed his person in the cause of Sweden; enumerated his good qualities, and the advantages which would necessarily result from having a prince on the throne who was capable of heading the national armies, and commanding respect as well as esteem; she gave, on her own part, the most ample assurances, that she would never attempt extending the prerogative of the crown; and declared, that should her royal consort ever be seduced to that measure by civil counsellors, she would be the foremost to stand up in defence of liberty, to join the states against all opposition, and to resign the crown which she should then no longer deserve to wear; she desired they might adjust the succession in whatever manner they should think reasonable; and concluded with acquainting them, that it should be the study of her life to merit this instance of the regard of her subjects. When the queen's proposition was read to the states, count Horn proposed, that it should be duly examined by twenty-four commissaries chosen by the states. The count

A.D. 1720.

The queen proposes to have her husband raised to the sovereign authority.

*Debates in
the assembly
of the
states.*

was marechal of the nobles, and he thought it advisable, that the proposal should likewise be communicated to the two lower estates, as well as to the senate, that whatever should be done might have the entire approbation of the nation. His advice was followed, and warm debates arose, which took up several days without their coming to any determination. The nobility themselves were divided into three factions; the first were for granting the queen's request without alteration; the second did not oppose raising the prince to the dignity of sovereign; but they required that the queen should renounce her authority, and delegate it entirely upon her husband; and the third was for keeping matters upon the present footing.

There was more harmony among the commons, or the order of peasants. Their deputies declared, in the name of the whole body, that, perfectly satisfied of the good intentions of her majesty and his royal highness, they gave their unlimited approbation to her royal request, and heartily requested the concurrence of the other orders of the kingdom, without which they could not expect that their consent would produce any effect. As soon as the prince was informed that the majority of the states approved of his election, he sent a second declaration of his intentions, wherein he promised not only to practise the Lutheran religion, but to defend it with his life, and prohibit the exercise of any other mode of faith within the kingdom; to maintain the people in all their rights and privileges, and the states in the full exertion of their prerogatives; to govern by advice of the senate, and agreeable to the new established form of government, or any other which the states should think fit to propose: he promised to surrender to the mercy of the states whoever should advise him to attempt extending the crown prerogative, and to absolve the subjects from their allegiance in case he should be seduced into measures contrary to their freedom; and lastly, he gave the most solemn assurances, that he would never cede by treaty, mortgage, or alienate from the crown, any of the Swedish German dominions, unless by advice of the senate and general assembly of the states. Notwithstanding the prince had promised all that could be required, the nobility, joined to a part of the clergy, represented to the queen the inconveniences of dividing the sovereign authority; upon which she told them, that it was never her design to reserve to herself any share of the supreme authority during the life-time of his highness, but to provide for the future,

and delegate, at the death of either, the whole power upon the survivor. In a word, she desired nothing more than to secure the crown to the longest liver. The debates were now again resumed by the nobility; for as to the other orders they were entirely satisfied with this new declaration, and thought it highly necessary that the crown should be given to the prince in the same manner as the parliament had bestowed the crown of Great Britain upon William III. prince of Orange. At length, after tedious altercation, it was unanimously resolved, that his highness should be raised to the sovereign authority; accordingly an act of election was drawn out in the same terms as that used at the queen's election; and, upon the prince's subscribing it, he was proclaimed king, with the usual formalities, by the heralds. 4th April.

For the whole month of April violent debates were maintained, concerning the form of government, the changes to be made, and the necessary additions to that constitution which had been established in the preceding year. The king and queen had promised their assent to all the alterations which should be thought necessary; and the states were of opinion they ought to profit by so fair an opportunity of securing liberty to the latest posterity. By the 21st of May all the orders came to an agreement; and the form of government, with all the intended alterations, was presented to the king, to which he subscribed without hesitation. Agreeable to this form the number of senators was limited to sixteen, after the death of those who now possessed that honour should reduce it to that standard. Public business was divided among the senators, and their particular duties assigned to each. The senators were no longer to direct the colleges; but these bodies were henceforward to be composed of the gentlemen of landed interest; acquainted with the business of the colleges, without respect to any particular order. Next day the king was crowned with the same magnificence which had been observed at the queen's coronation; the same day peace with England, Poland, Prussia, and Denmark was proclaimed, as an auspicious beginning to the new reign. The treaty with Denmark imported, that his Danish majesty should, under no pretence, aid, assist, or any way afford countenance to the czar of Muscovy, until he had concluded peace with Sweden; that, till such pacification, no Russian ships should be admitted into the Danish ports or harbours; that his Danish majesty should evacuate all the towns, cities, and territories he had seized violently from Sweden, at a time when she was oppressed by other enemies; by this article was understood the province of Pomerania quite to the

*Treaties
with Den-
mark and
Poland.*

river Pena, the city and fortrefs of Stralsund, the ifle of Rugen, the fortrefs of Marstrand, and the city of Wismar. The king of Sweden, on his part, agreed to pay a certain equivalent in money; to claim no exemption from the duties of the Sound; but to be upon the same footing, in that respect, with England and Holland; that he should, moreover, pay to the crown of Denmark the sum of six hundred thousand crowns; that the prisoners of both nations should be mutually released without ransom; and that Wismar should be dismantled, and not again fortified.

As to Poland, the treaty with that crown contained in substance, that his majesty should acknowledge Augustus as sole and legitimate sovereign, renounce Stanislaus, and assist his Polish majesty in preserving peace and tranquillity in Great Poland and the grand duchy of Lithuania. Augustus, on his part, consented that Stanislaus should for his life retain the name and honours of majesty, but not the arms or title of Poland; he granted a general amnesty to all who had declared for Stanislaus, and restored them to their estates, honours, and employments.

Peter the Great, czar of Muscovy, was now the only remaining enemy of Sweden; but his extraordinary talents, power, and resources, rendered him the most formidable potentate of the North. He knew his own importance, the strength of his forces, and demanded terms proportioned to the hazard Sweden would run by continuing the war. The combined fleets of England and Sweden did not intimidate him from sending a powerful squadron to cruize along the enemy's coasts; and he was rendered more bold by an advantage which the Russian squadron gained over the Swedish fleet, in which four ships of the latter were taken^z.

A. D. 1721.

In the midst of these hostilities the czar carried his politeness so high, as to send his adjutant-general, Romanfordoff, to Stockholm, to congratulate the king on his accession, and make fresh proposals of peace; but they were so extravagant, as scarce to merit a hearing. The court of Sweden, in her turn, desired to settle a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, and an armistice for the season. The Russian general declared, that both points exceeded his instructions; upon which the king sent general Dalhman to solicit the cartel at Peterburgh. Almost all the winter was consumed in fruitless negotiations, and preparations for recommencing hostilities; for which purpose the states were assembled, the king desiring their advice on the means of pursuing the war with vigour, or of immediately terminating it by a solid peace. Before the diet met, the

^z Puffend. ubi supra.

ſieur Hopkens, reſident from Sweden at the court of Vienna, brought to Stockholm a ſcheme of preliminaries, concerted between the czar and the duke of Holſtein. It contained certain articles to which Sweden could not well accede, without injury to the king's honour and the nation; but it was not doubted but the czar would relax in theſe, as it was obvious from the concessions made in this plan, that he was not averſe to peace. Theſe propoſitions imported, that the czar ſhould guarantee to the duke of Holſtein the reſtitution of Sleſwick, with the title of royal highneſs, and right of ſucceſſion to the crown of Sweden. That his czariſh majeſty ſhould give his eldeſt daughter in marriage to the ſaid duke, with the provinces of Finland, Eſthonia, and Livonia for a portion; which might, on the duke's acceſſion, revert to the crown of Sweden.

From the reſerved manner of the court of Sweden, where theſe propoſitions were preſented, it was manifeſt they were far from approving the duke of Holſtein's conduct. The public were more incenſed at Hopkens, who had returned without leave from Germany, with a plan of pacification, no way to the credit or advantage of his country. After having been cloſely examined before the king and ſenate, he was confined to his houſe, and ſeverely reprimanded for his irregular and unprecedented conduct. Notwithſtanding the ſeverity with which the reſident was treated, it was generally believed, that he had paved the way to a negotiation; and this opinion was confirmed by advice, that the czar had appointed plenipotentiaries to attend a congreſs which was fixed to ſit at Nicuſtadt, to adjust a ſuſpenſion of arms, and preliminaries of peace. Yet, although matters were in this forwardneſs, Peter reſolved to treat ſword in hand, and with that view ordered general Leſly to ſail with a ſquadron, to annoy the Swediſh commerce, and ſpread terror along the ſea-coaſt. Leſly landed his troops at a place called Eſcrum, advanced into the country, burnt ſome magazines without reſiſtance, and pillaged and laid waſte the towns of Sunderham, Gude-wink Iwald, Sunweld, and Erſland, five hundred hamlets, and twenty-eight pariſhes. On his return he took two gallies, burnt four, and made prize of two large merchantmen, and twenty-five ſmall veſſels. Theſe ſucceſſes enabled the czar to treat with a high hand; though not very conſiderable, they ſufficiently evinced his power, and the more readily diſpoſed his Swediſh majeſty to accept of his propoſals. Accordingly, the plenipotentiaries at Nicuſtadt found little difficulty in eſta bliſhing preliminaries for a peace, which ſhould reſtore the ancient amity

*Congreſs at
Nicuſtadt,
and a peace
with the
czar.*

between

between the two nations. By this treaty Livonia, Ingermania, part of Carelia, the territory of Wiburg, the islands Oesel, Dragac, and Maen, were ceded to the czar, who, on his side, restored the great duchy of Finland to Sweden, except that part of it reserved to Russia in marking out the frontiers of both nations. Besides, the czar consented to pay his Swedish majesty the sum of two millions of crowns, and permit his subjects to purchase and export duty-free, to the amount of fifty thousand rubles yearly in corn, at Revel, Riga, Wiburg, and other places, now annexed to the Russian empire. The czar agreed not to interpose in the domestic concerns of Sweden, and particularly in the form of government lately established. Livonia, Esthonia, and the isle of Oesel, were to be preserved in all their privileges; the inhabitants were to be suffered to exercise the same religion they had before professed; the prisoners, on either side, were to be set at liberty without ransom; and all deserters and malefactors, who had taken shelter in the dominions of either, were to be surrendered without hesitation or demur. Upon the whole, the treaty was disliked in Sweden; some blamed the vast cessions made to Russia, alleging, that the same conditions might have been obtained before great part of the kingdom had been laid waste during the sitting of the congress, and negotiations, which, in the end, turned out to the disgrace of the kingdom. It is nevertheless certain, that Sweden could not, at this juncture, avoid receiving the law from Russia, after having maintained, for a great number of years, a ruinous war against all the potentates of the North; during which whole armies were destroyed and enslaved, the king obliged to live in a state of exile among infidels, the people brought to the verge of misery by oppressive taxes, and the whole nation in a state of discord, confusion, and wretchedness; drained of men and money, trade at the last gasp, industry expiring, the fleet ruined, and neither ships nor forces left to protect the coast against the repeated alarms of the Russians, who swept the Baltic with an air of triumph, and flourished the greatest maritime power in the North^c.

^c Puffend. ubi supra.

C H A P. LXXVIII.

The History of Poland.

S E C T. I

Containing a Description of Poland; of the Manners of the People; the Religion, Laws, and Government; with every interesting Particular relative to its present State.

POLAND, called by the natives *Polſka*, is deduced from the word *Pole*, or *Poln*, which in the Sclavonic ſignifies a country adapted to hunting, becauſe the whole kingdom is compoſed of vaſt plains and forests, that yield excellent field diverſion ^a. In claſſic authors this country is known by the appellation of *Sarmatia*.

In its largeſt extent it is bounded by *Pomerania*, *Brandenburg*, *Sileſia*, and *Moravia*, to the weſt; and towards the eaſt, by part of *Ruſſia* and the *Leſſer Tartary*; on the north it has the *Baltic*, *Ruſſia*, the grand province of *Livonia*, and *Samogitia*; while its frontier towards the ſouth is ſkirted by *Beſſarabia*, *Moldavia*, *Transylvania*, and *Hungary*. Extending from forty-fix degrees and a half to fifty-fix degrees and a half northern latitude, two hundred geographical miles in length, and one hundred and forty in breadth, it neceſſarily follows that the climate differs widely in the degrees of temperature. Intenſely cold towards the north, the air gradually ſoftens as you approach the ſouthern quarter, where it may be deemed healthy, temperate, and ſerene, being leſs diſturbed by violent ſtorms than countries nearer the ocean, and abounding with larger mountains; and indeed it is remarkable, that in this vaſt extent of territory the only conſiderable mountains are the *Carpathian*, or *Crapach*, that craggy ridge which ſeparates Poland from *Hungary*, from whence ſeveral conſiderable rivers flow to diſcharge themſelves in the *Euxine* and *Baltic*. Of theſe the principal are, the *Duna* or *Durna*, which riſes in *Ruſſia*, and after a long courſe through *Lithuania*, falls into the *Baltic*: the *Memel*, running from its ſource in the *Palatinate* of *Novogrodeck*, through *Lithuania* and *Pruſſia* into the bay called *Curiſche-haf*: the *Weutiſel*,

Geographical description of Poland.

^a *Æneas Syl.Descrip. Polon. apud Piſtor. Collect. Martin Cromer. ibid.*

or Vistula, having its source in Hungary, among the Carpathian mountains, taking its course through Poland and Prussia, and discharging itself partly into the Baltic, near Dantzic, and partly by two other channels, called the Nogat and the old Vistula, into the bay of Frische-haf: the Warta, rising in the palatinate of Cracow, and losing itself in the Oder, a little above Custrin: the Niesler, or Dniester, in Latin, Dunastris, flowing from a lake among the Carpathian mountains, dividing Poland from Moldavia, and disemboguing itself into the Euxine, or Black Sea. Poland has sometimes been complimented so far as to be called the vestibule of Italy, because of the beauty, the fertility of the country, and the mild temperature of the climate.

*Commodi-
ties.*

It is with more reason that Poland hath been termed the granary of the North, no kingdom in Europe producing a greater quantity of grain. The corn of Poland formed the great staple commodity of the Hanse Towns; it is now the chief article of trade at Dantzick, and supports great part of the Dutch commerce in the Baltic. Besides grain, Poland affords other exceedingly valuable commodities, the exportation of which composes the bulk of her commerce. The kingdom abounds in oxen, sheep, hogs, raw and dressed hides, flax, hemp, wood fit for house or ship building, honey, wax, amber, salt, vitriol, iron, copper, lead, nitre, and coal; yet such is the pride of the nobility who are above any attention to trade, and the ignorance or indolence of the people, that the imports greatly exceed the exports, and the balance of trade has and ever will be in favour of foreigners, until a total change be wrought in the manners and genius of the inhabitants.

*Division of
Poland into
palatinates.*

The general division of Poland usually made by geographers is the following. Poland Proper, Lithuania, Samogitia, and Courland, Prussia, Masovia, Polachia, Polesia, Little Russia, called likewise Russia Rubra, Podolia, and Ukrain; but several of these divisions have been torn from the republic in the wars with Turkey, Russia, and Sweden, as well as with the elector of Brandenburg and other princes of the empire. Poland Proper has two grand divisions, the Greater and Lesser Poland. The former contains eight palatinates; viz. Posnania, Calish, Rawa, Bresty, Siradia, Lanschet, Plocskow, and Inowlocz. In Posnania is situated the city Gnesna, or Gniefen, an archiepiscopal see, which gives title to the primate of all Poland, and the most powerful subject of the republic. The treasure contained in this cathedral is deemed of great value: the building was plated over with silver by Sigismund III. and Boleslaus II. decorated

corated it with beautiful gates of finely wrought Corinthian brass, brought originally from the monastery of Corfuna in Taurica Cherfonefus.

As to the Lesser or Higher Poland, it contains only the three palatinates of Cracow, Lublin, and Sandomir: in the former of which stands the capital of Poland, bearing the name of the palatinate, and esteemed the largest, the most regular, and beautiful city in the Polish dominions. Here Casimir the Great founded an university, now composed of eleven colleges, and endowed with considerable privileges, though the sciences have made but little progress ^b.

The great duchy of Luthiania forms the third general division of the Polish dominions. It was united to the crown by Jagellon duke of Lithuania, who, on being elevated to the throne of Poland, assumed the name of Ladislaus V. This union was renewed in a general diet about half a century after, and confirmed in the reign of John Albert; yet may Lithuania be still deemed an independent state, rather allied than subject to Poland, governed by its own laws and officers, but subjected to the same sovereign and the same representative body of the whole dominion. This duchy is of great extent, bordered by Russia and Livonia on the north; by Volhinia and Russia Rubra on the east; and on the south and west, by Upper Poland, Podlachea, Ducal Prussia, and Samogitia. It is watered by the Nieper, Durna, Niemen, Przipri, and several other rivers. It abounds with forests; its soil is in general fertile, and its pastures are exceeding fine. Though it swarms with nobility, all the lands are possessed by a few grandees, who live in great pomp and profusion; and the inferior noblesse are so poor and despicable, that they are fain to serve the rich in quality of pages, valets, bailiffs, and stewards. The common people are abject slaves, as in Poland, and in all probability are derived from the same origin: the former part of their history is very obscure, and indeed almost entirely founded on conjecture. Wilna, the capital of the whole province, is an episcopal see, hath an university, and was formerly the residence of the dukes and sovereigns.

*Description
of Lithuania.*

But the most considerable city in all Poland is Dantzic, called by Latin writers Dantiscum, and Gedanum, situated near the mouth of the Vistula. In the twelfth century it was no more than a petty village, endowed with certain privileges by king Primeslaus, and walled round a century after by the knights of the Teutonic order, who at that

*Account of
the city of
Dantzic.*

^b Bushing's Geograph. tom. i. Introd. p. 576, & seq.

time made a great figure in the North. It increased rapidly in wealth and power, and now is the principal, we may say the only, emporium of all the trade of Poland. The city is large and strong, the public edifices are magnificent, and the private buildings commodious. The granaries are washed by the water, and the ships load and unload close by the walls. Dantick hath been successively subject to the Danes, the Poles, and the Teutonic knights, all of whom enlarged the privileges of the city, sensible of its advantageous commercial situation. The inhabitants acknowledge the dominion of Poland; but they are governed by their own magistrates in all civil affairs: they are thought to exceed two hundred thousand souls; the greater number are Germans, and their jurisdiction extends forty miles round the city. The government is composed of twenty-six Lutheran and four Calvinist senators, all other religions being excluded. The office of senator is for life, and the four eldest are styled burgomasters, one of whom is annually elected president of the senate. The magistrates next in dignity are the thirteen consuls, who fill up from their body the vacancies in the senate, and choose all the inferior officers of the city, and among the rest the twelve scabbins or judges, from whom the parties may appeal to the consuls, from them to the senate, and finally to the court of Poland. His Polish majesty annually elects a burgrave out of the consular body, who represents his person in the senate, signs capital sentences, and executes other acts of sovereignty.

*Character
of the
Poles.*

The Poles have been long celebrated for their courage, their strength, and their longevity; no country in the world affording more extraordinary proofs of bodily vigour and an uninterrupted flow of health, which are justly ascribed to the temperature of the climate, the temperance of the common people, and their being constantly inured to manly exercises. The continual use of the cold bath, even in the coldest parts of Poland, is supposed likewise to contribute greatly to that muscular strength for which they are so remarkable. The nobility are open, affable, liberal, and hospitable; polite to strangers, rigid to their dependents, punctilious in points of honour, vain, ostentatious, and magnificent in their apparel, equipages, and living. They are early initiated in letters, speak impure Latin with fluency; but seldom make any progress in matters of taste or science. Passionately fond of liberty, the Poles

live in a perpetual state of servitude to their avarice, their profusion, and their necessities, which render them either infamous pensioners of foreign states, creatures of their own monarchs, or hireling tools of some political faction. Their political constitution has been the source of continual misfortunes; yet are they attached to it to a degree of enthusiasm. Poor in the midst of a fertile country, they abhor the notion of improving their circumstances by trade, and are the only nation in the world who have provided by law against raising a maritime power. Prodigality and debauchery are not reputed vices among this martial nobility. Constant in their friendships, bitter in their enmity, open to imposition, unsuspecting, opinionated, and haughty, their only care is to distinguish themselves in arms, in finery, equipage, and splendour. As for the commonalty, they are said to be ignorant, unprincipled, miserable, and abject ^a (A).

The Poles style their nation the republic of Poland, although they are ruled by a monarch who is elective. The nobility have more power than the great of any other country; yet they detest the name of aristocracy, because they all reckon themselves upon a level, every Polish gentleman esteeming himself equal in quality and importance to the greatest of his fellow-subjects. The republic is composed of the king, the senate, and the nobility or Polish gentlemen, the peasants being admitted to no share of the government. Upon every new election the royal prerogative has been retrenched, and the liberties of the diet and senate proportionably extended. Upon the death of the sovereign, the whole body of the nobility assemble on horseback for the choice of a successor; and the unanimous voice constitutes a legitimate election, though there have been instances where a majority has been deemed sufficient. Here the nobility assume a power of altering the government, and imposing such conditions on the new monarch as

*Political
government of
Poland.*

^a Hauteville passim.

(A) Nothing can be more abject or wretched than the peasants of Poland. If one lord kills the peasant of another, he is not capitally punished, but only obliged to give another in exchange. The peasants have no property. They are employed in cultivating the earth;

they are incapable of entering upon any condition of life that might procure them freedom, without the permission of their lords, and they are exposed to the caprice and cruelty of their tyrannical masters, who oppress them with impunity.

they

they think proper, and these they call the *Pacta Conventa*. This contract is drawn up, methodized, and approved by the senate and nobility; then it is read aloud to the king by the great marshal, and sworn to, before the ceremony of his proclamation. We shall enumerate the principle articles, as this contract may be deemed the great charter of Poland, and the barrier of the privileges of the people against the encroachments of the crown. The first is, that the king shall not attempt to encroach on the liberty of the people, by rendering the crown hereditary in his family; but that he shall preserve all the customs, laws, and ordinances respecting the freedom of election: that he shall ratify all treaties subsisting with foreign powers which are approved by the diet: that it shall be his chief study to cultivate peace, preserve the public tranquillity, and promote the interest of the realm: that he shall not coin money, except in the name of the republic, nor appropriate to himself the advantages arising from coinage: that in declaring war, concluding peace, making levies, hiring auxiliaries, or admitting foreign troops upon any pretext within the Polish dominions, the consent of the diet and senate shall be necessary: that all offices and preferments shall be given to natives of Poland and Lithuania; and that no pretence shall excuse or palliate the crime of introducing foreigners into the king's council, or the departments of the republic: that the officers of his majesty's guards shall be Poles or Lithuanians, and that the colonel shall absolutely be a native of Poland, and of the order of nobility: that all the officers shall be subordinate to the authority of the marshal: that no individual shall be vested with more employments than the law allows: that the king shall not marry without the approbation of the senate; and that the household of the queen shall be determined and regulated by the republic: that the sovereign shall never apply his private signet to acts and papers of a public nature: that the king shall dispose of the offices both of the court and of the republic; and regulate with the senate the number of forces necessary for the defence of the kingdom; that he shall administer justice by the advice of the senate and his council: that the expences of his civil list shall be the same with those of his predecessors: that he shall fill up all vacancies in the space of six weeks: that this shall be his first business in the diet, obliging the chancellor to publish his appointments in due form: that the king shall not diminish the treasure kept at Cracow, but, on the contrary, endeavour to augment that and the number of the

crown

crown jewels : that he shall borrow no money without the consent of the diet : that he shall not equip a naval force, without the consent and full approbation of the republic : that he shall profess the Roman catholic faith, promote, maintain, and defend it, through all the Polish dominions : and finally, that all their several liberties, rights, and privileges, shall be preserved to the Polanders and Lithuanians in general, and to all the districts and provinces contained within each of these great divisions, without change, alteration, or the smallest violation, except by the consent of the republic. To these articles a variety of others are added, according to circumstances and the humour of the diet ; but what we have recited form the standing conditions, which are scarce ever altered or omitted^e.

To the observation of the *pacta conventa* the king swears, upon his knees at the altar, in the following manner. *The oath taken by the king.*
 “ We ———, elected king of Poland, and great duke of Lithuania, Russia, Prussia, Massovia, Samogitia, Kihovia, Volhinia, Podolia, Podlussia, Livonia, Smolensko, Siberia, and Czernicovia, promise before Almighty God, and swear upon the holy Evangelists of Jesus Christ, to observe, maintain, and fulfil all the conditions stipulated at our election by our ambassadors with the senators and deputies of Poland, and of the great duchy of Lithuania, and confirmed by our plenipotentiaries ; and to execute the same in all the clauses, points, articles, and conditions specified in that contract, in such a manner that the speciality shall not derogate from the generality ; nor, on the contrary, the universality from the particularity ; all which we promise solemnly to ratify on the day of our coronation.”

Notwithstanding the king is without exception acknowledged, yet he cannot exercise all the functions of sovereignty before the ceremony of his coronation. The space between the election and coronation is a kind of interregnum : during this period, the mareschal, at all processions, carries his staff bent downwards before the king ; whereas, after the coronation, it is always held erect. Previous to his coronation, the king can neither dispose of offices or benefices, grant favours of any kind as a sovereign, nor apply the great seal of the chancery to any act, deed, edict, or ordonnance. He appoints the day for performing the ceremony of his coronation, and it is usually fixed on the day succeeding the funeral obsequies of his predecessor. All imaginable magnificence is observed in this solemnization ; and a foreigner unacquainted with the Polish con-

^e Hauteville, p. 124.

stitution, would naturally conclude, that a monarch who ascended the throne with so much pomp and splendor was necessarily vested with very extensive prerogatives. To the archbishop of Gnesna belongs the right of placing the crown on the king's head, and administering the oath; yet the history of Poland affords instances where this office has been performed by the bishop of Cracow ^f.

*Situation of
the queen.*

As the king of Poland is tied down by the *pacta conventa* to consult his people, with respect to his own marriage; so their consent is necessary to the dissolution of the nuptial engagements. He can neither divorce the queen, nor separate from her bed, without the approbation of the diet, unless he was married before his election. Her majesty hath no distinct household, except a mareschal, a chancellor, and some inferior domestics. She is furnished with money by the king to defray the expences of the civil list; and, with respect to her domestic œconomy, is little more than his housekeeper, or steward. The king's whole revenue, for the support of the regal dignity, does not exceed four hundred thousand crowns. Exclusive of which, there is a maintenance for the queen-dowager, his consort, and children, in case of his death; though the latter are denied the privilege of all other subjects, of rising to places of trust and profit, lest this should give them an ascendant in the future elections ^g. The revenues appointed for the maintenance of dowagers arise from certain starosties applied to this purpose; but as they are often reversionary, and cannot be seized before the death of the possessors, the queens are frequently reduced to great distress.

*The gene-
ral diet.*

The diet of Poland is composed of the king, the senate, bishops, and the deputies of the nobility or gentry of every palatinate, called, in the collective capacity, *comitia togata*; that is, when the states assemble in the city without arms and horses; or *comitia paludata*, when they meet in the fields armed, as during an interregnum, at the diet of election ^h. It is a prerogative of the crown to assemble the diet at any particular place, except on occasion of a coronation, which the custom of the country requires should be celebrated at the capital. For a number of years, indeed, the diet regularly assembled at Warsaw; but, on complaint made by the Lithuanians, it was agreed, that every third diet should be held at Grodno. The general rule is to meet once at least in three years, though there have been many exceptions. When it is proposed to hold a general diet,

^f Crom. Ann. p. 97. ^g Guagnini, p. 22.
New System of Geogr. tom. i. p. 583.

^h Busching's

the king, or, in case of an interregnum, the primate, issues writs to the palatines of the several provinces, specifying the time and place of the meeting. A sketch likewise is sent of the business to be deliberated by the assembly; the senate is consulted in this particular, and six weeks are allowed the members to prepare themselves for the intended session. It is remarkable, that the diet never sits more than six weeks in the most critical conjunctures and pressing emergencies: they have been known to break up in the middle of an important debate, and to leave the business to a future meeting. This custom hath been justly esteemed one of the greatest defects of the Polish constitution, which probably owes its origin to convenience; but is now superstitiously observed from whim and caprice. On receipt of the king's writ, the palatine communicates the meeting of the diet to all the castellans, starostas, and other inferior officers and gentry within his jurisdiction, requiring them to assemble on a certain day to elect deputies, and take into consideration the business specified in the royal summons. These meetings are called petty diets, or lantage, in the language of the country^f; every gentleman possessing three acres of land having a vote, and matters being determined by a majority; whereas in the general diet decrees are only valid when the whole body is unanimous. The indigent gentry are always directed by some person of superior fortune, influence, or ability. They seldom examine the subject of debate; but renit it wholly to the judgment of their representative. Every palatinate has three representatives: the business devolves on one, who is elected for his ability and experience; and the other two are added only to give weight to this leading member, and do honour by their magnificent appearance to the palatinate they represent. As these deputies, since the reign of Casimir II. have seats in the diet, it naturally divides the general assembly into two bodies, the upper and lower; the one being composed of the senate, the superior clergy, and the great officers; the other of the representatives of the palatinates, who prepare all business for the superior body^z (A).

The

^f Busching's Geogr. p. 583.^z Mart. Cromar. lib. iii.

(A) It is usual to depute, from the general diet, sixteen senators, chosen out of the body of bishops, palatins, and castellans, to attend the king's person, serve him as a privy-

council, and direct that he shall not infringe the constitution. Whatever is ordained by these deputies, and has the royal sanction, becomes valid, as an act of the whole diet. It is

The first business of the assembly is to chuse a mareschal; upon which occasion the debates and tumults run so high, that the whole time for the session of the diet is often consumed in altercation and wrangling about the election of a speaker, who has now nothing farther to do than return quietly to his own home. After his election, he kisses the king's hand; and the chancellor, as the royal representative, reports the matters to be deliberated by the diet. Then the mareschal acquaints the king with the instructions of the deputies from their constituents, the grievances which they would have redressed, and the abuses they require to be remedied. He likewise requests of his majesty to fill up the vacant offices and benefices, according to law; and he is answered by a set speech from the chancellor, who reports the king's inclination to satisfy his people, as soon as he hath consulted his faithful senate. There is something very peculiarly absurd in some of the customs observed by the Polish diet: one, in particular, merits attention. Not only an unanimity of voices is necessary to pass any bill, and constitute a decree of the diet, but every bill must likewise be assented to unanimously, or none can take effect. Thus, if out of twenty bills, one should happen to be opposed by a single voice, all the rest are thrown out, and the diet meets, deliberates, and debates for six weeks to no purpose^h.

To add to the other inconveniences attending the constitution of the diet of Poland, a spirit of venality in the deputies, and a general corruption, hath seized all ranks and degrees in that assembly. Here, as in some other countries, the cry of liberty is kept up for the sake of private interest. Deputies come with a full resolution of profiting by their patriotism, and not lowering their voice without a gratification. Determined to oppose the most salutary measures of the court, they either withdraw from the assembly, protest against all that shall be transacted in their absence, or else excite such a clamour as renders it necessary for the court to silence them by some lucrative pension, donation, or em-

^h Alex. Guagn. Veron. Hist. p. 49.

therefore adopted, as a part of the constitution, that four, at least, of the number shall constantly reside at court, as guardians of the public liberty, and inspectors of the king's conduct.

Penalties are annexed to any remissness in their duty; and they are fined for absence, at the rate of two thousand livres for a layman, and six thousand for an ecclesiastic (1).

(1) Hauteville, p. 131.

ployment. Thus not only the business of the assembly is obstructed by its own members, but frequently by largeesses from neighbouring powers, and sometimes by the liberality of an open enemy, who has the art of distributing his money with discretion.

The affairs of which the diet take cognizance are the declaring war, or concluding peace, the forming alliances, the election or marriage of the monarch, the imposition of taxes, framing of laws, and levying of forces, together with the final determination of civil and criminal causes, there being an appeal from all the inferior courts to the general diet. It is here too that foreigners are naturalized, and admitted to all the rights of natives; and peasants, who have wealth and ambition, are advanced to the rank of nobility. The afflux of people, which the diet occasions, is altogether astonishing. Wherever it happens to sit, thirty or forty thousand people are added to the usual number of inhabitants. Here the Poles rival each other in pomp and profusion. The nobility, who are not deputed, attend with their families for pleasure: they drink deep of their favourite liquor, Hungarian wine; and feasting and mirth are more pursued than the business of the state. In consequence of their festivity, the deputies come frequently intoxicated into the diet, affront the king, excite tumults, harangue in the most scurrilous and abusive terms, and sometimes occasion the dissolution of the assembly¹. From this general view it appears how inadequate the diet is to the original intention. It was designed for the supreme senate of the nation: it is, in fact, little more than a factious corrupted mass, impregnated with the seeds of anarchy and confusion. So sensible are the Poles of the inconveniences of their constitution, that some reformations have been frequently attempted; and the most sensible of the nation acknowledge, that, in almost all the wars with the Turks and Tartars, their preservation was entirely owing to the immediate interposition of the Deity, and not to human prudence or foresight². There is no other way of managing this ferocious assembly, than by soothing, cajoling, and bribing a considerable majority, able and ready not only to over-awe, but even to drub the opposition into immediate submission and assent.

Besides the regular triennial great diets, the Polish constitution requires that a particular diet should meet, on the vacancy of the throne, in a large field in the neighbourhood of Warsaw. Upon the death, deposition, or abdication of

Diet of the electors.

¹ Hauteville, chap. xv. lett. 3.

² Conner's Hist. of Poland, tom. ii.

the sovereign, the chief power devolves on the primate, archbishop of Gnesna, who issues circular letters to all the provinces, summoning the diet to assemble at an appointed day. A kind of booth, of prodigious extent, is erected, at the expence of the crown, to protect the electors against the weather; and this they call in the Polish language, *szopa*. Deputies are elected, in the usual manner, in the petty provincial diets. A *mareschal* is chosen by order of the nobility, who must be confirmed by the approbation of the senate. This preliminary being adjusted, the senate and nobility form an association, which they confirm by the most solemn engagements, to nominate no person for king, until one of the candidates hath obtained the unanimous consent; and to preserve all the rights and immunities of the republic. They oblige the principal military officers to swear fidelity to the state; to exert no undue influence, and to use the army only against the enemies of their country, to defend the frontiers, and secure the honour and liberty of Poland and the great duchy of Lithuania; the officers likewise swear that they will assert the public interest, in case of any sedition or revolt; that they will restrain the soldiers from all violence; and that they will receive money upon no pretence or consideration from the clergy, laity, candidates, or their ambassadors. They also engage not to advance to the heart of the kingdom with their troops; not to approach the diet; nor augment nor diminish the army, but by consent of the diet. Lastly, the treasurers of the crown are forbid issuing out money without the approbation of the primate and his council, except for the pay of the army; and the deputies of certain cities refused a seat in the diet, until they have proved their title.

When the *mareschal* is elected, and a court of justice or *kaptur* established, the diet then enters upon business, with drawing out their bill of grievances, abuses, and exorbitances, either with respect to the republic, or to individuals, which they intend shall be redressed. Then a certain number of senators are deputed to the army to keep them steady, and to assist the generals with their advice. Senators and deputies are appointed to take an inventory of the crown-treasure and jewels, deposited in the citadel of Cracow, a report of which must be made to the diet. Eight senators are then charged with the treasure, and a particular seal and key given to each, that none of the keepers may have access singly. The same form is observed with respect to the crown-revenue, an exact estimate of which is given in to the diet¹.

¹ Hartnoch, lib. ii. cap. i. p. 291.

During the session of the electoral diet, which is limited to fourteen days without prorogation, all courts of justice, except the marshal's, are suspended, and private affairs of property deferred until the ceremony of the coronation is over. Foreign ministers, and a legate from the pontiff, usually attend; and the diet assumes the title of Most Serene during this session, it being vested with all the sovereign powers of the republic^m.

The next proceeding is to give audience to the plenipotentiaries of foreign powers, and the advocates of the candidates to the crown. The pope's legate is honoured with the first notice, as being the representative of Christ's vicar, the sovereign of princes. Next comes the ambassador of his imperial majesty, who is succeeded by those of France, and other Catholic powers; Spain having declined, since the reign of John III. to send a minister to the diet. They make their harangues in Latin, and are answered by the primate, who presides at the senate, and the marshal of the deputies. Indeed, it is not eloquence and the most persuasive oratory that can gain the esteem of a Polish diet: the deputies desire more substantial arguments, and expect that their passion for money and wine shall likewise be gratified. Address in this particular, and in securing the interest of the clergy, are the chief qualities requisite in a candidate for the crown; and they judge of the disposition of the master by the liberality of his representative. Immediately before they proceed to election, public prayers are read, and the whole join with one voice in beseeching that heaven will direct their choice, and judge them according to the integrity with which they conduct themselves in an affair of such consequence to the republic; than which adjuration nothing can be more absurd and impious before foreign ministers, who know that their voices are purchased, and the public good the least object of the diet's regard. The deputies of each palatinate give their votes in particular rotas, the archbishop alone preserving his seat. The first senator of every palatinate numbers the votes, which afterwards are transmitted in a roll to the nuncio-marshal. Should all the votes prove unanimous in favour of one candidate, the primate or president demands thrice, with a loud voice, whether the grievances have been redressed, and then proclaims the king, the marshals of the crown and duchy observing the same ceremonies. In case of a contested election and divided voices, the senate assembled in a particular part of the szopa, labour by per-

^m Hauteville, p. 142. Piaſcicus ad an. 1632.

suasion, promises, and menaces, to bring all the electors to one opinion; and should this unanimity be found impracticable, the majority is declared, and their opinion passed for a legitimate election, notwithstanding this expedient is diametrically opposite to the fundamental constitution. The Polish history affords a variety of instances of such violation of the rights of the republic; but the first and most notorious was in the election of Stephen Batori, prince of Transylvania. The election of a successor during the life of the monarch is no less contrary to the laws of Poland; yet an instance of this too occurs in the reign of Sigismund I. who had the address to have his son nominated to the succession in his own life-time. Foreign princes indeed generally oppose this breach of the constitution, which tends to exclude their right of offering themselves candidates; and in the year 1661; the emperor sent an ambassador to the general diet, to oppose a measure which, by use, might terminate in rendering the crown hereditary. With respect to the candidates, it is resolved that they shall not be present at the election; that the elected be not an absolute neighbouring prince; that he be unmarried; and that he profess the Catholic faith, at least before his coronation. It is imagined, that the spirit of equality, which reigns among all the Polish nobility, gave birth to the law, that a native should not be raised to the sovereignty. Avarice, and the poverty of the gentry, probably rendered it convenient that the candidate should be rich and munificent; however, almost all these regulations have occasionally been infringed, the religion of the monarch alone excepted. Upon the whole, it must be confessed that Poland might derive considerable advantages by retaining in the hands of the republic the right of election, were merit alone regarded; but as this circumstance weighs but little with the suffragans, the Poles feel all the inconveniences, with scarce any of the real advantages of the constitutionⁿ.

The senate,

Perhaps the most respectable department of the Polish government is the senate, composed of the bishops, palatines, castellans, and ten officers of state, who derive a right from their dignities of sitting in that assembly; in all amounting to one hundred and forty-four members, who are styled senators of the kingdom, or counsellors of the state, and have the title of excellency, a dignity supported by no pension or emoluments necessarily annexed^o. The senate presides over the laws, is the guardian of liberty, the

ⁿ Piascius, ad an. 1633.
Geography, tom. i. p. 579.

^o Busching's New System of

judge of right, and the protector of justice and equity. The members are nominated by the king, and they take an oath to the republic before they are permitted to enter upon their functions. Their honours continue for life: at the general diet they sit on the right and left of the sovereign, according to their dignity, without regard to seniority. They are the mediators between the monarch and the subject, and, in conjunction with the king, ratify all the laws passed by the nobility. As a senator is bound by oath to maintain the liberties of the republic, it is thought no disrespect to majesty that they remind the prince of his duty. They are his counsellors, and this freedom of speech is an inseparable prerogative of their office. All the bishops are senators, in consequence of their episcopal functions, and they precede the secular members. Formerly the bishops amounted to sixteen; now they are only thirteen in number, Caminiec being seized by the Turks, and Smolensko and Kiovia being in the hands of the Muscovites: still, however, the titular honours are retained, and eagerly sought after, because they give a right to sit in the senate. The primate, archbishop of Gnesna, sits at the head of the senate, and indeed is second only to the monarch in the republic. He is likewise apostolical legate, *ex officio*; and possesses such a variety of privileges as gives him very extraordinary weight, not only in the senate, but in the commonwealth. It is capital to draw a sword, and even to speak irreverently in his presence. During the interregnum the primate coins money, under certain restrictions; and has power to convoke the senate, and oppose the conduct of the monarch, whenever he acts contrary to the constitution. His marshal is a senator and castellan of the republic: the cross is carried before him, or held behind his chair, when he sits. When the primate visits the king, he is met at the bottom of the stairs of the palace by the chamberlain, or one of the chief officers of the crown. His marshal lowers his staff only before the king. Another great officer attends him at the top of the stairs, and conducts him to the royal presence, while the king advances to meet him at the door. He receives the visits of ambassadors, without being expected to return their civilities: he is the head and sovereign of the republic during a vacancy of the throne; he regulates the diet of election, issues out writs for holding the petty and general diets, and performs divers other acts of sovereignty, assisted only by the senate, the other members composing rather his council than his colleagues. It is probable that the Poles annexed these extraordinary privileges to the dignity of the primate,

The privileges annexed to the archiepiscopal function.

primate, rather than to that of any lay-senator, or officer of state, because they were secured by his sacred profession from his aspiring at the crown; and indeed it is obvious, from the court paid to him by the ambassadors of all the candidates for the sovereignty of Poland, that they imagine he has the principal direction of the diet, his negative alone being sufficient to render void an election, otherwise unanimous ^p.

The secular members of the senate are forty-six in number, including the ten state-officers who have seats in that august assembly. The first in rank are the thirty-two palatines, three castellans, and one starosta.

Palatines.

A palatine may be regarded as the governor of a province, who levies and leads the troops of his own jurisdiction to join the army of the republic. His civil power is likewise considerable, as he presides at the assemblies of his palatinate, rates the prices of all commodities and merchandize in the province, regulates the weights and measures, and judges and defends the Jews within his jurisdiction. This part of his function is particularly specified, that a set of men the most useful and industrious in Poland may not be oppressed; the king being likewise obliged, by his oath, to afford them the protection of the laws and his sovereignty. Under him is appointed a substitute, or vice-palatine, who takes an oath to his superior, and must be possessed of a land-estate to a certain value.

Castellans.

As to the castellans, they are likewise divided into the great and sub-castellans, the former amounting to thirty-two, and the latter to forty-nine in number. They act as senators, as lieutenants, or as deputies of the palatines, and heads of the nobility within their respective jurisdictions. In war they command a certain portion of the provincial forces: hence they derive their names, and not from the Latin word *castellanus*, as the affinity would seem to indicate.

Starostas.

Starostas are military officers of certain districts, either with or without civil jurisdiction. Those who have any jurisdiction are governors of fortresses and royal cities, who hold lesser courts every fortnight, and greater once in six weeks. Their jurisdiction extends equally over the gentry and peasants within certain precincts: they are charged with levying the king's revenue, and deduct a fourth for their salary. They have judges, clerks, and bailiffs, subject to their orders, to enforce justice, in case of resistance. The starostas without jurisdiction have some peculiar privi-

^p Hartnoch, lib. i. Connor, tom. li. Hauteville, cap. ix.

leges: they act as limited justices of the peace in trivial affairs; but are greatly inferior in dignity and power to the former, who, besides the rights mentioned, are the executive ministers of all sentences, see public executions performed, are the conservators of the peace, and unite the functions of judges, justices, and sheriffs, with certain restrictions⁹.

The nobility or gentry possess all the lands and offices in the kingdom of Poland and duchy of Lithuania. But the burghers of the cities of Thorn, Cracow, Vilna, Lemberg, and Lublin, have the privilege of purchasing lands. The peasants are slaves, and the burghers regarded as mere mechanics, who possibly may possess some estates in houses, and small parcels of land round the several towns and cities; but not sufficient to place them upon an equality with the gentry, who are the guardians of all the different departments of the state, the protectors of the laws, the constitution, and the sovereign; who bestow the crown and sceptre upon whom they think proper; who appoint counsellors to the king, frame their own laws, and determine the degree of obedience which they owe to the prince, and the reciprocal duties they are to expect. They are, in fact, like the freeholders of Great Britain, who, being too numerous to assemble in one body, devolve their rights upon a certain number of representatives, whose conduct they may limit by instructions. This is a degree of importance to which no foreigner can ever attain, let his services be ever so considerable. He is excluded from all chance of ever becoming a landholder; nor can he ever rise in the army above the rank of major-general, and colonel of a regiment, except by the decree of naturalization, which likewise is clogged with a variety of restrictions.

The boasted liberty of the Poles is in fact limited to the noblesse, who have the power of life and death over their vassals. If a foreigner dies on a nobleman's estate in Poland, without leaving heirs, his effects fall to the lord of the manor as an escheat: but on the demise of a nobleman without heirs, his estate does not escheat to the king, while there are any persons living related in the eighth degree to the deceased. Even though no such relation should be found, the king cannot appropriate the estate to himself; but is obliged to bestow it upon some other nobleman of merit. The house of a nobleman is a secure asylum to all criminals. No judge or magistrate in any town can cause a nobleman's vassal to be arrested, or his effects to be seized.

*Privileges
of the Po-
lish nobility.*

⁹ Hauteville, cap. x.

The king himself cannot cause a nobleman to be arrested without a previous citation, unless he be a robber three times impeached by his associates, or taken in flagrante, or refuses to give bail. No nobleman is obliged to appear before the sovereign out of the kingdom, when cited to any cause but such as relate to the royal treasury. No ecclesiastical dignity, nor civil post, can be held by any but the noblesse, who are exempted from paying all toll or duty on cattle and corn exported from the kingdom. Any nobleman may purchase a house, and live in a city or town; but, in that case, he must submit to serve municipal offices; and if he is concerned in traffic, he forfeits the privileges of a noble Pole. Every nobleman has a vote in the election of a king, and is himself capable of being elected.

The Polish gentry are warlike by inclination; yet they cultivate peace with the neighbouring powers from views of policy. Their frontier lies exposed, the whole kingdom is naked of fortresses and towns of strength, and might therefore become an easy prey to an aspiring potentate in the vicinity of the republic. When such events happen, the king assembles the pospolite, or Polish gentry, by circular letters, to oppose the enemy; but unhappily the constitution requires that three such circular letters shall be sent, at stated periods, to each palatinate, before which time the enemy may possibly have over-run the kingdom. The landholder is exempted from the public service, unless he be the chancellor or starosta of frontier places. The pospolite is not obliged to march above three leagues beyond the limits of the Polish dominions; nor can the nobility be legally compelled to remain in arms above six weeks at a time, whence result manifold inconveniences. It is likewise observable, that during this state of hostile preparation, an entire stop is put to the course of justice, all tribunals are shut up, and every case, whether criminal or civil, whether relative to life or to property, must be deferred until the dissolution of the pospolite. These are defects in the Polish constitution too obvious to require animadversion.

Nothing can have a more formidable appearance than this army of military nobility, fighting, *pro aris et focis*; but the pospolite want discipline to direct and regulate their strength and valour. They are mounted on horseback, and generally form only a tumultuous body, difficult to resist at the first onset; but, if once broken, easily overthrown.

It is the privilege of the Polish gentry not to march against the enemy at the command of the sovereign, until he

he has redressed all the grievances of which they complain; and it is not uncommon for them to seize occasions of the greatest public danger for presenting remonstrances to the throne. They claim another privilege, attended with consequences equally pernicious: a Polish gentleman cannot be arrested upon the most heinous and probable accusation. He must first be cited to a tribunal: if he refuses to obey the summons, he is declared contumacious; if he appears, and is convicted, he is then arrested, imprisoned, and afterwards tried more legally and formally. Thus, should he be conscious of his guilt, the greatest risk he runs is the being declared contumacious, in consequence of his not paying the proper regard to the citation ^b.

There is another privilege attached to the rank of a Polish gentleman still more grievous to the nation, and destructive of the first and simplest principles of equity, and natural right: we mean the absolute and despotic authority with which every gentleman is vested over his vassals and peasants. They have the power of life and property in their hands, which they sometimes abuse in a manner the most gross and wanton, reducing this unhappy order of people to a state scarce above the brute creation. Their wives and daughters are exposed to the most brutal usage from a drunken or lascivious master, without presuming to make the least resistance, or express the smallest resentment (A). No soldier or officer of the army can be quartered upon the noblesse: and should any of the military gentlemen attempt to violate this privilege, he is summoned before the first general diet, and condemned to death, or

^b Connor, p. 35. 61. 68. Hautv. p. 79. 119.

(A) One blessing, however, attends the unhappy situation of the Polish peasants, which is their insensibility. Born slaves, and accustom'd to hardships and severe labour from their infancy, they scarce entertain an idea of better circumstances and more liberty. They regard their masters as a superior order of beings, and hardly ever repine at that severe lot which has deprived them of all the comforts of life, in order to heap them

on a cruel, despotic, and unworthy tyrant. A total want of sentiment prevails through the whole order, as if Providence had wisely mixed the stupifying drop, to render more tolerable the nauseous draught of servitude. The peasant children are bred up like the young of the brute creation; and it is indeed confidently reported that they are frequently suckled by bears in the woods (1).

(1) Hauteville, cap. xxii. & passim.

at least infamy, being deprived the benefit of ever acquiring a vote, or holding any office or employment.

We have observed, that in general, the Polish estates are royal, ecclesiastical, or patrimonial. The greater number, and indeed the most considerable, consist in starosties, which must be given away by the crown six months after a vacancy, without the sovereign's being able to appropriate the revenues to himself a single day longer. They are regarded as the rights of old military officers, and the rewards of their long and faithful services, as the word *starost*, *old age*, imports. Each starosta pays a fourth of his revenue to the republic; but, with good interest at court, may secure the reversion of his starostie to his wife and family. Ecclesiastic estates consist of benefices, bishopricks, abbacies, priories, canonries, curacies, and all the land possessed by the regular clergy, to a vast extent. Some of the bishopricks exceed one hundred thousand livres yearly: an immense sum of money in a country that does not abound in specie. As to the patrimonial estates, these compose the real solid wealth of the Polish gentry, because they are entirely independent on the court, and descend by inheritance from generation to generation. They consist of lands, houses, towns, villages, woods, and especially peafants, which are valued, at so much a head, according to their age, strength, constitution, and capacity. In general, they are reckoned worth a hundred livres each yearly to the master, and have only one chance for becoming free, by entering into orders, and enrolling themselves in the long catalogue of priests and friars; to entitle them to which rank, a slender portion of learning is required. It is the interest of the master to disqualify them early from a function which would destroy so much of his property: with this view, therefore, he obliges his peafants to marry at an early age, and by this expedient not only preserves but increases his wealth, by the multiplication of the species. It is not customary in Poland to lease out farms and estates for a certain annual rent in money, except those of beer, brandy, and public inns and taverns. All other rents are paid in corn, fish, poultry, and cattle, which the peafants rear up with the utmost care, being answerable to the master for every loss that might possibly be attributed to negligence. Some individuals of the nobility are reputed to possess an annual income of one hundred and fifty thousand crowns. A Polish nobleman has been known to attend the diets with a train of a thousand persons, and maintain occasionally

asionally, for the service of the government, a corps of three thousand able bodied men^a.

One of the most extraordinary parts of the Polish constitution is the manner of raising and maintaining an army. *Of the Polish army.* We have already mentioned the time allowed to the palatine to get his troops in readiness; this is what is termed the *pospolite* or militia of Poland, assembled at an appointed place to obey the commands of the king, assisted by his senate or council. Originally Poland was an open country as at present, without castles, fortresses, or places of strength. In course of time the government ordered fortifications to be erected in the cities, to oppose the incursions of the enemy. They were subject to royal authority, and defended by regular garrisons. These, it was found, strengthened the hands of the monarch, and composed a kind of standing army, with which some ambitious prince might destroy the liberties of the people. The citadels and fortifications were therefore neglected, and some of them demolished: they were then usurped by neighbouring lords, who thus extended their authority over burghers and citizens, as well as over the peasants on their own estates. Governors and garrisons were sometimes maintained by the government; but as the governors were generally chosen out of the neighbouring nobility, they applied the revenues to their own purposes, and suffered the garrisons to make pillaging excursions into the adjacent country^r.

At present the *pospolite* is entirely composed of cavalry; formerly every twentieth peasant was armed with a long gun, a scymetar, and a pole axe, as a foot soldier; and now there is a small body of infantry raised occasionally, though seldom applied to any useful purpose. This foot corps is raised at the expence of citizens worth four thousand florins; burghers more wealthy being obliged by the constitution to find a horseman completely armed. In the great duchy of Lithuania, the clergy are obliged to fit out a number of men, in proportion to their temporal and spiritual possessions; but only the temporal estates of the clergy are subjected in Poland. Persons possessing estates in different palatines, are obliged to appear only in behalf of one manor. The poorer gentry may either appear in person, or subscribe to equip one horseman for a certain number of small estates. Brothers, who are joint proprietors, may depute one person to represent the whole fraternity.

^a Hauteville, cap. xxii.

^r Hartnoch, lib. ii. cap. iii. iv.

The numbers that appear at the general rendezvous of the militia of Poland are formidable. Uladislaus led one hundred thousand horse against the knights of the Teutonic order, besides great numbers that were left for the defence of the provinces. It is certain that Poland can at this day arm an equal number of horsemen. Starovolscius and Fredro are both of opinion that Poland and Lithuania united can send two hundred thousand men against the enemy, without depopulating the country^s.

Exclusive of this prodigious national force, the Polish government has frequently taken twenty or thirty thousand foreign auxiliaries into service: the Polish gentry are annually mustered and registered by proper officers, in order to inform the crown what strength can be drawn forth on critical junctures. It is, however, equally difficult to get the *pospolite* under arms, and afterwards to reduce them to tolerable discipline, obedience, and subordination. Every man believes himself qualified for a general, and aspires at an independent command. All are ambitious of being officers, and none can be brought to support with temper the rank of a private soldier; whence proceed perpetual plots, conspiracies, and desertions. No magazines are ever formed for the subsistence of the army; so that the Polish soldiers are reduced to the most distressed circumstances in every expedition, and the most important enterprises are frequently relinquished just as they are on the brink of being brought to a happy issue.

In their march they are not to be quartered on the gentry, but obliged to encamp in the open fields. The Polish nobility squander the bulk of their estates in making a magnificent appearance on these expeditions, and furnishing themselves with glittering arms, fine horses, rich trappings, and elegant apparel, as well as in the maintenance of a numerous retinue. Frequently their own fortunes are insufficient to defray all their charges, as they receive no pay for some time, and this necessity obliges them to squeeze and oppress the wretched peasants. Even the inferior officers and soldiers rob, pillage, and destroy the country with impunity. A soldier seldom is paid above once in the year, sometimes not above once in two years, half of which time he lives upon his own credit and address in pillaging and defrauding the peasant, who makes up for all deficiencies, and suffers for all mistakes in the constitution, or mismanagement in the administration.

^s Connor. tom. ii. lib. vi. Starovolscius, p. 92. Hauteville, cap. xxi.

Another flagrant defect in the military constitution of Poland is, that the commander in chief holds his employment for life, and cannot, even for misconduct, be superseded by the royal authority, or the power of the republic: besides, the dignity is frequently conferred on some powerful nobleman, wholly unacquainted with the art of war, but formidable by the number of his dependents: need it therefore be matter of surprize that the Poles, with all their strength and courage, should meet with frequent defeats from an enemy greatly inferior in numbers and personal courage, but better disciplined, more unanimous, and obedient? No sutlers being admitted into the camp, every Polish officer must be provided with provision, and whatever can be wanted in the course of a campaign, which he is obliged to carry about in his march at his own expence, providing waggons and horses, without any assistance from the government.

Though the great art of war consists in celerity, a knowledge of the enemy's motions, a perfect acquaintance with the situation of the country, and the most profound secrecy, the Poles give themselves no trouble about these matters. They pay little regard to opportunity, seldom reconnoitre the enemy or the ground, and ostentatiously publish all their designs to the whole world, depending upon strength and courage, and despising the thoughts of clandestinely seizing an advantage, which they think reflects highly on the national honour. Thus an expert and cunning enemy is certain of victory; but it has been the fortune of the Poles to have waged their most bloody wars with nations as unskilful as themselves.

When the king does not command in person, that dignity devolves to the great general of Poland, and his rival in power the great general of Lithuania; each of whom have particular lofty titles. The authority of these generals is mutually independent; they act in concert, rather from inclination than in virtue of their instructions. Each possesses the entire conduct of his own army, and may march where he pleases without consulting the other; whence have flowed manifold inconveniences. Upon the whole, the military power of Poland is extremely formidable; but it stands at present upon such a footing as renders all her strength contemptible, and places this nation in the lowest rank in point of discipline, knowledge, œconomy, and all that constitutes the art of war, of any people in Europe.

* Connor. Hartnoch, & Starovolsk. passim.

Religion.

In the reign of Miceſſaus I. about the year 964, the Poles were firſt converted from idolatry to the Chriſtian religion. St. Adelbert, afterwards archbiſhop of Gneſna, was the great inſtrument of this happy revolution. The Catholic doctrines may be termed the national religion, as perſons of that perſuaſion only are permitted to ſit in the ſenate, riſe to eminence in the army, or preſide in the courts of juſtice; yet the government not only tolerates, but is bound to protect Lutherans and Calviniſts, Jews, Armenians, and Greeks. Formerly Poland was over-run with ſectaries of all denominations; Huſſites, Picards, Arians, Anabaptiſts, Tritheiſts, Manicheans, Photians, Ebionites, Bruniſts, Neſtorians, and Socinians: now theſe ſects are almoſt extinguiſhed, and Socinianiſm is ſuppreſſed by the government. The bulk of the proteſtants reſide in Poliſh Pruſſia, at Dantzick, Elbing, Thorn, and Marienburg, where they enjoy privileges of which they are deprived in all the other provinces. The Poles gave them the appellation of Saxons, becauſe Luther taught in Saxony; though they ſometimes diſtinguiſh the Calviniſts by the name of Zborocoi, from the Poliſh word Zbor, ſignifying an unlawful aſſembly.

In Poland the monks are wealthy, profligate, and debauched. They are often ſeen drunk, and led from taverns, without apprehending any diſgrace to the ſacred function, or dreading the cenſure of their ſuperiors, who themſelves require equal indulgence. Their faſts conſiſt in abſtaining from eggs, milk, and boiled fiſh at night. Though no clergy on earth are ſo attached to the ſee of Rome as the Poliſh; yet they prefer good living even to every other conſideration, and therefore confine their abſtinence from animal food wholly to the evening, believing that degree of temperance ſufficient to their future ſalvation.

Even the biſhops are ſo negligent about the due execution of episcopal duties, that they are forced to wink at the enormities of their inferiors. Notwithſtanding the ignorance and profligacy of the clergy, the laity are all bigots, and endeavour to ſignalize their devotion by their bounty to the church. They will grind the face of the poor to enrich a monastery; cheat, cozen, and defraud, for the bleſſing of beautifying or enriching an altar. In theſe particulars Poland is now what the more civilized nations of Europe were two centuries ago: their adoration is paid not to the Almighty, but to the miniſters of his holy word, whom they regard as the mediators between God and man. The preſents which have been made to them are immense:

all

all their churches are built by donations: they are in general rich and magnificent; and the Jesuits at Lecpold have a chalice set with jewels, said to be worth a million of livres. So zealous are the Poles in the Catholic faith, that they draw their swords at mass, in testimony of their readiness to defend their religion. Formerly they would not intermarry with heretics, contract any alliances with them, nor accept of their assistance in war; and the bishops preside in the senate for no other purpose than to watch that no decree shall pass which is contrary to the Catholic doctrines established by law. As to the erudition of the clergy, it consists entirely in that species of sophistry known by the name of school-divinity, in an unmeaning metaphysical jargon, and the most useless logical distinctions. They pay no regard to church history, but solve all difficulties by the affirmations of the Stagyrte, and the decisions of the pontiff. In a word, they are ignorant, obstinate, opinionated, and superstitious; a mixture of pride, arrogance, stupidity, avarice, and low cunning (B).

It has been observed, that the peasants are the abject slaves of their lords, who decide in all suits among their vassals. Indeed the civil tribunals are in the hands of a variety of judges. The starostas hold courts within the extent of their several territories; and every city enjoys a privilege of giving judgment in certain cases. The starosta's court sits the most constantly; but the palatine, mareschal, and chancellor, have likewise their courts; and, in truth, every gentleman holds a tribunal of justice upon his own estate. Civil or criminal causes of greater importance, are finally decided by the king, senate, and diet, or the general courts of the nobility; of which there are two for Poland, and one for the great duchy of Lithuania: the former holding their sessions at Peetrocow or Lublin, and the latter at Minsk or Vilna. These courts are composed of a certain number of the clergy and laity of each palatinate. Judgment is given by a plurality of voices; but in matters purely ecclesiastical, the number of clergy must be equal

Courts of justice

† Vide Auct. sup. citat.

(B) No country on earth contains such a number of Jews as Poland, and they are indeed the only industrious body of people in the kingdom. Their number hath been computed at two millions, and they pay fifty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six rixdollars yearly, for the protection of the government, besides the general imposts (1).

(1) Busching's Geography, tom. i. p. 573.

to that of the laity. The lay members are elected every four years, the ecclesiastics once in two years. At Radem and Vilna are likewise courts relative to the finances, where all matters of property between the crown and the subject are debated. The affairs of merchants and foreigners come before the mareschal's tribunal; they belong wholly to his jurisdiction, and seldom are brought to any other court, though indeed the officers of justice shew so barefaced a partiality to Poles against strangers, that it is almost unnecessary to bring the matter in dispute to a legal trial, the event being perfectly known before the parties make their appearance in court. This partiality co-operates with a variety of other reasons to depress industry, and prevent commerce from ever lifting up her head among this haughty indolent people.

Language. The Polish language is derived from the old Slavonic: but the High Dutch is much in vogue; and the Latin tongue is commonly spoke, though very inaccurately, even by the lower class of people.

Commerce. The commerce of Poland is very inconsiderable. There are few, if any manufactures in the kingdom; so that all the commodities of the country are exported unwrought. Indeed the Poles send abroad great quantities of corn, flax, hemp, linseed, hops, honey, wax, tallow, hides, leather dressed in the Russian manner, pitch, pot-ash, masts, deal boards, timber, horned cattle, and horses: but these exports are greatly overbalanced by the imports; namely, wine from Hungary, of which there is an incredible consumption, spices, woollen cloths, linen, silk, velvet, pearls, precious stones, plate, copper, brass, steel, and furs^u.

S E C T. II.

Containing the History of the first Class of Polish Monarchs, from Lechus or Lecht, to the tragical Death of Popiel.

A PASSION for removing their origin to the remotest antiquity, has involved the earlier ages of all nations in fable and absurdity; we have had repeated occasions to confirm the truth of this remark in our history of the northern kingdoms, whose annals were for centuries confined wholly to oral tradition, and couched in the songs and tales of those bards and *shenachies* maintained for the pomp and

amusement of the great. Poland wants even this feeble assistance; it was not the practice of the country to entertain itinerant poets, and we are obliged wholly to the neighbouring states for the imperfect accounts transmitted of the series of the first Polish monarchs (A). The writers of Denmark and Sweden reflect considerable light upon our subject; they are serviceable in filling up chasms, but not sufficient materials for a complete and uninterrupted thread of history. It is to Guagnini, Cromer, and Matthew of Michovia, we are obliged for the most regular deduction of narrative, though they are so replete with fiction, that it is difficult to determine what to retain, and what to reject.

The first sovereigns of Poland were only called dukes, or generals (*duces* in Latin) as if their office was properly to lead the armies into the field. For a great number of years the ceremony of coronation was unknown, and Boleslaus Chobry is said to have been the first of the princes who assumed all the badges of royalty. Historians are unanimous in placing Lechus or Lecht at the head of the Polish princes; and to render his pedigree more illustrious, they pretend to call him a lineal descendant from Japhet the son of Noah. He is said to be the founder of the nation; and some writers think that he migrated, at the head of a numerous body of men, from some of the neighbouring countries, and settled in Poland; but all allow, that both the prince and his people were the descendants of the Slavi or Scalvi^e. To this day the Tartars call Poland the kingdom of Lechus, by which name it is distinguished by a variety of eastern nations (B). Little more is recorded of this

A. D. 550.

Lechus.

^e Guagn. apud Pistor. tom. i. Math. de Michov. ibid. tom. ii. Kadlubken Pref. p. 8.

(A) The learned Pistorius hath collected into one large volume, all the treatises wrote upon the origin and remote history of the Polish nation; and to this useful compilation we are indebted for a variety of facts, which have not been mentioned by any modern historians.

(B) The learned German professor Busching, in his New System of Geography, gives an account of the origin of the

Poles somewhat different, and rejects as fabulous all the dukes of Poland before Piaustus, though it doth not appear upon what authority. Sarmatia, he observes, was an extensive country, inhabited by a variety of nations of different names. He supposes them to be the descendants of the Lazi, a people who lived in the ancient Colchis, near the Pontus Euxinus; hence the Poles are called Polazi, which he spells Polacy.

this prince, than that he founded Gnesna, now the archbishop's see; and Pofnan, the capital of Pofnania. The manner of his death, and the name of his fucceffor, are difputed. One writer alledges^b, that a fon called after his own name fucceeded to his dominions; another affirms^c, that, like Alexander the Great, he left his authority to the moft deferving; and a third^d fcruples not to write a kind of life of Vifcimir, as the nephew and fucceffor of Lechus. We have adhered to the laft as the moft approved and plaufible opinion, though numberlefs ftories are related of this prince, which favour ftroingly of fable.

Vifcimir.

He is reported, for inftance, to have extended his conqufts to the very bowels of Denmark, fubduing provinces and building cities, particularly the city Wifmar, which he called after his own name. Our author pushes matters fo far, as to describe a battle fought between Vifcimir and the Danifh monarch, in which, after a bloody conteft, victory declared for the former, and the latter was taken prifoner, and carried in triumph to Poland. After having obtained his liberty, through the generofity of Vifcimir, the Dane ftill thirfted for revenge, and joining the Swedes and Holfteiners, marched directly for Poland, met Vifcimir, gave battle, and was a fecond time defeated; in confequence of which defeat, the Poles again over-ran Denmark, and carried defolation wherever they appeared. Vifcimir befides maintained a powerful fleet, and in particular one large fhip, which proved the terror and deftruction of all his enemies: however, it is remarkable that not a trace of thefe wars is to be met with in any of the Danifh hiftorians, nor the leaft mention of a Polish prince of the name of Vifcimir. After a long and glorious reign, this hero refigned his laft breath, leaving his people in the utmoft diftreff and confufion, on account of the difputes that arofe about a fucceffor.

The ducal government abolifhed, and twelve palatines appointed.

Although there are ftrong reafons for doubting whether the ducal government was abolifhed on the death of Vifcimir, yet the unanimous voice of hiftory declares, that the nobility were on the point of electing a fovereign, when the people, harraffed by the wars carried on by Vifcimir, oppreffed by his victories, and almoft ruined with his con-

^b Mat. de Michov. p. 7.
tom. iii. p. 49.

^c Laurent. Corvin apud Piftor.
^d Guagn. p. 52.

Croffing feveral rivers they entered Pofnania, and fettled on the borders of the Warta, while their neighbours, the Zechi, fettled on the Elbe, in the 55cth year of Chrift.

quefts,

quests, unanimously demanded a different form of government. It was easy for the nobility to conjecture that they should be able to profit by this humour of the people; they pretended, however, to yield reluctantly to their solicitations, and at last determined upon a mode of government which brought the whole power into their own hands. Twelve palatines or vaivods were chosen, and the Polish dominions divided into as many provinces. These vaivods assumed a despotic authority within their several jurisdictions, and aggravated the misery of the people by perpetual wars among themselves, and a series of the most deplorable civil dissensions. The people soon perceived that they had only changed one tyrant for many; and, disappointed of the liberty which they expected under the vaivods, they were eager to return to the old form of government, and held a general assembly for this purpose; but could for a long time come to no agreement, on account of the opposition made by the palatines, and their struggles to be continued in their dignities. The people, however, determined upon electing a prince; but the choice was attended with a thousand difficulties. To restore order, to repel the invasions of neighbouring nations, to reconquer the territories wrested during the late troubles from the Polish dominions, and re-establish the national honour, required a prince of extraordinary talents in the field and the cabinet.

The ducal government restored.

C R A C U S I.

AT length they cast their eyes on Gracus or Cracus, whose wealth, popularity, and ability, had raised him to the highest pitch of credit among his countrymen. The Poles allege, that he was a native of Poland, and one of the twelve vaivods; on the contrary, the Bohemians claim him as theirs; they agree only in deducing his origin from the Roman Gracchi, who, according to them, were banished into this country during the monarchical state of the city. We are told by Mathew of Michovia that Cracus first signalized himself in a dreadful battle with the Franks, who had over-run Pannonia, and threatened destruction to all the northern kingdoms. He raised an army, marched against the barbarians, and, after one of the most obstinate conflicts recorded in history, obtained a complete victory, and drove the enemy out of the province. It was with the spoils of the Franks that he built the city of Cracow, which he made his own residence, and the capital of his dominions. Cracus anticipated every wish of his happy subjects; he was always victorious in war, and consummately prudent in peace; he framed many

admirable laws, was the darling of his people, and the terror of his enemies. Without extending his frontier, he rendered his dominions powerful, merely by dint of good order, unanimity, and harmony, in all the different departments of the government. At last, oppressed with years, and covered with glory, he expired, or, as some writers allege, was assassinated by a nobleman who aspired at the sovereignty. It is remarkable, that Cracus ordered his remains to be buried on the summit of a high hill in sight of Cracow, that the inhabitants might always have their founder in view, and cherish his memory ^e(A).

C R A C U S II.

CRACUS left three children, who succeeded by regular succession to his dominions. The reign of Cracus, the eldest son, was short. He fell a victim to the ambition of his brother, by whom he was assassinated.

L E C H U S II.

LECHT, or LECHUS, the fratricide, was raised to the supreme dignity, by the unanimous voice of the people,

^e Mat. de Michov. in Collect. Pistor. tom. ii. lib. i. cap. 5. Duglof. lib. i. Micral. lib. ii.

(A) There are different opinions about the period when this prince flourished. Some will have it, that Lechus I. lived about the year 550 of the Christian æra, and Cracus towards the beginning of the seventh century; while Duglofius and Michovia place the latter four hundred years before the birth of Christ. This is a wide difference; and, in truth, both chronologies appear to be erroneous; for, admitting the former opinion, there would be only three reigns, and a short interregnum, to fill up a period of near two centuries; and if we embrace the assertion of Duglofius, the chronology will be still more defective, and a chasm of above a thousand years unnecessarily introduced

into the Polish history. We must besides observe, that all that is related of this prince by Guagnini, hath so much the air of the marvellous, that we cannot give it a place in our text, though it may be proper to mention it in the notes. According to this superstitious writer, a terrible dragon infested the neighbourhood of Cracow, and with his poisonous breath killed thousands of the inhabitants. A stratagem was contrived by Cracus to rid Poland of this monster. He ordered the hide of an ox to be filled with combustibles, upon which the dragon seized as a prey, and, devouring it greedily, was consumed by the fire kindled in his bowels (2).

(2) Guagn. p. 55. tom. i. apud Pistor.

who were ignorant of the horrid crime he had committed; but Providence did not suffer him long to enjoy the fruits of his villainy, nor to hold the reins of government with those hands that were polluted with the blood of his lawful prince and sovereign. The nature of Cracus's death was discovered by an accident; the murderer's own conscience betrayed him; he was deposed with all possible marks of ignominy, deserted by society, and suffered to perish with remorse and grief in want and obscurity^b.

V A N D A.

IT is a proof of the attachment of the Poles to the memory of the excellent Cracus, that, upon the deposition of Lechus; they raised his sister Vanda, the youngest child of Cracus, to the highest dignity in the commonwealth. This princess, indeed, merited the most extraordinary distinctions, possessing, in an eminent degree, all the amiable qualities of her sex, joined to manly sense and truly masculine courage. She was prudent, just, temperate, and eloquent; her affability secured all the hearts which her beauty gained. She reigned with glory, and her people were enjoying all the blessings of tranquillity, and a wise administration, when Rithogar, a Teutonic prince, sent ambassadors to demand her in marriage, and they were ordered to declare war against Poland should Vanda reject his proposals. He was in hopes that the terror of his arms would force the princess into compliance; but he was mistaken. Vanda, according to some historians, had rendered herself incapable of entering upon the nuptial state, by a vow of perpetual virginity. Other writers allege, that she was too prudent and too ambitious to share her authority with a husband; while a third historian is equally positive, that her lofty spirit would not suffer her to think of a barbarian, who had presumed to address her with such a menacing proposal. Certain it is, she prepared for war, assembled an army, animated her troops, and in person led them against the enemy, over whom she obtained a complete victory without striking a blow. At the head of her army she harangued Rigothar's troops with such irresistible eloquence, that the officers, enchanted by the beauty of her person, and the force of her persuasion, refused to lift their hands against so amiable a princess. Even the savage breasts of the soldiers were softened into complacency; they quitted their ranks, and threw down their arms before Vanda, whom they worshipped as a divinity. Rithogar

^b Michov. *ibid.* p. 11.

himself was stung with remorse, and yielding to the violent impressions of despair and shame, plunged his sword into his own bosom. The queen having pardoned the hostile army, and dismissed her enemies, who were enraptured with her virtues, returned in triumph to Cracow, to reap with her subjects the fruits of that tranquillity which she had now established by the powerful influence of her wit and beauty. Matthew of Michovia alleges, that, repenting of the vow of virginity she had made, she resolved to atone for it by the sacrifice of her life. Others affirm, that she was deeply afflicted at the unfortunate end of Rithogar, with the elegance of whose person she was smitten, at the very moment he struck the fatal blow, and that, in despair, she flung herself from the bridge into the Weiffel. All agree that she was drowned in this river; though they differ about the circumstances which occasioned this violent death^c. From this princess the surrounding country took the name of Vandalia, according to Michovia; though, if we admit the etymology, she could not have flourished so late as the year 750, the period assigned by the bulk of historians.

The tragical death of the amiable Vanda, and the entire extinction of the family of Cracus, left the Poles a second time at liberty to enjoy the sweets of freedom, had they understood how to profit by the opportunity. They had already experienced the consequences of divided power, and electing a number of sovereigns; but they attributed the calamities they had felt more to the misconduct of the persons, than to the fault of the constitution; or, rather, they became the dupes of the superior policy of the ambitious nobility. They determined, as before, upon an aristocratical form of government, chose twelve vaivods, divided the state into as many provinces, and had, as before, in a little time, cause to repent of that instability of disposition, which induced them to prefer a worse mode of government, only because it was more novel. The vaivods abused their power: Poland became the theatre of bloody wars, and a scene of the most grievous oppression. Equally exposed to external enemies and internal factions, destitute of leaders, of troops, and of conduct, the Poles had almost fallen the victims of their own imprudence, when Premislaus, a private soldier, delivered them from all their misfortunes, and was raised to the supreme dignity in reward of his extraordinary services.

*Twelve
vaivods.*

^c Guagnini res Polon. p. 56. Michov. *ibid.* Herbut de Fullin. p. 12.

P R E M I S L A U S.

POLAND was at war with the Hungarians and Moravians, whose numerous forces were opposed by a handful of men, who, on the enemy's approach, were ready to surrender at discretion. Premislaus, whom some call Lesko, a goldsmith by trade, resolved to supply the want of numbers by address and stratagem. This hero, whom a natural intrepidity of mind, and fertility of genius, joined to long experience, had formed for the favour of his country, observing that the Hungarians were wrapped in security; that they preserved no discipline, but lived careless, as if they had nothing to fear, assembled his friends, represented the calamities of his country, the necessity of some extraordinary exertion of valour, and the facility of gaining a complete victory, if they would take the resolution to attack the enemy while they were unprepared for resistance. To make his followers appear more numerous, he contrived helmets and breast-plates of the bark of trees, which he daubed over with some glittering paint, and fixed upon poles in such a manner, that the eastern sun should reflect upon them. Then, dividing his band, he attacked the enemy about dawn, in several quarters, with the utmost impetuosity. The alarm immediately spread through the camp, that a numerous army was advancing; all was in confusion; fear depriving the Hungarians of the means of defence; they were totally defeated; prodigious slaughter was made, and victory and the sovereignty of Poland were the rewards conferred on Premislaus for this signal proof of his courage, conduct, and patriotism. Being thus raised to the supreme authority, he studiously cultivated the arts of peace, and the means of rendering his people happy: the reputation of his warlike genius preserved them unmolested by foreign enemies; but with respect to the duration of his government, and the manner of his death, history is silent. We only know, that he died deeply regretted, and without issue; so that Poland once more became a scene of confusion; fortune, however, prepared a successor^d.

A. D. 750.

Several lords of nearly equal merit, influence, and power, aspired at the sovereignty; and with their factions and contentions threatened the nation with a civil war. To prevent the calamitous effects of domestic discord, the Poles assembled, and declared they would acknowledge him for their prince who surpassed all the rest in the swiftness

^d Mat. de Michov. lib. ii. cap. 7.

of his horses. Ancient history makes mention of a nation who chose their king by the neighing of his horse. The Poles determined upon this as the most effectual method to prevent fraud, but they were deceived. A stone pillar was erected in the neighbourhood of the capital, upon which was laid all the badges of the ducal authority; and at the same time a herald declared him sovereign who should first reach the goal from the river Pruderic, whence the competitors were to start. A Polish lord, named Lechus, resolved to secure fortune by a stratagem; for which purpose he ordered iron spikes to be driven all over the course, reserving only a path for his own horse. The fraudulent design was accidentally discovered by a young man, for whom fortune designed her favours; but he did not immediately divulge his discovery, in hopes of turning it to his own advantage. The day appointed for the trial arrived, and the competitors started; but some were suddenly arrested in their course, as if by the hand of fate; others were dismounted, and severely hurt by their fall; while Lechus alone flew like lightning to the goal, and was crowned amidst the acclamations of the people. Just as this ceremony was performing, the peasant, who had discovered the artifice, had the courage to oppose the pretensions of Lechus. His boldness, and the confidence with which he insisted upon the fraud, determined the people to suspend their judgment, and examine the fact, which was found to be really as the peasant had described. Resentment at the insult offered their understanding immediately took place of admiration; they tore Lechus to pieces, and raised the informer to the supreme dignity.

A.D. 774.

Lechus III.

The name of this prince too was Lechus: he governed with great wisdom, and the happiness which the people experienced under his administration soon obliterated the memory of the meanness of his birth. Lechus, however, never forgot that he was born a peasant; and, in order to secure himself from the seducing attacks of pride, he caused the humble habit he wore, before the Poles vested him with the ducal dignity, to be constantly carried before him on all public ceremonies. His humility had the desired effect: Lechus was more esteemed than if he had derived his elevated station from his birth. He studied not only the qualities of a pacific prince, but he acquired the reputation of a warrior: he repelled the enemies of the state, and removed the seat of war from his own frontier

to the heart of their country. The Bohemians and Moravians felt the weight of his prowess: he defeated them in several battles, extended his dominions, and became the terror and admiration of all the neighbouring powers. In a word, Lechus was prudent, moderate, brave, liberal, the patron of merit, and the protector of the injured. In the decline of life he was forced into a war, for the defence of his dominions, against the encroachments of the enterprising emperor Charlemagne; and some writers relate, that he fell in a battle fought with this powerful monarch. Mathew of Michovia is, however, of opinion that he died a natural death, when he was so advanced in years that the springs of life were entirely decayed^b.

It is the concurring opinion of historians, that Lechus was succeeded by his son of the same name, who inherited all his father's virtues. After acquiring great reputation, by the wisdom and spirit with which he crushed an insurrection that appeared in the provinces, he led his army against the Italian and Greek legions, who had over-run Pannonia. Here he displayed all the talents of a great general, having first reduced the enemy to great extremities, gained the advantage of situation, and then forced them to a battle upon unequal terms, in consequence of which they were totally defeated. Nor was the clemency of the victorious Lechus less glorious than his valour. He dismissed all his prisoners without ransom, demanding no other condition than their promise never again to disturb the peace of his people, or molest the allies of Poland. Incontinence is the only vice with which this great prince is charged. He left about twenty natural sons, and but one legitimate child, who inherited his dominions. It was perhaps the most impolitic act, during the whole reign of Lechus, that he invested his natural sons with the sovereignty of divers provinces, upon the sole condition of paying homage to their brother. This was laying the foundation of perpetual contentions, and can only be excused by paternal affection.

A.D. 803.

Lechus IV.

Lechus was succeeded by his only legitimate son Pompilius, Popiel, or Offerich; by all which names we find him mentioned by historians. Popiel was a moderate, wise, and pacific prince, who never had recourse to arms, but from necessity, either to support the honour of the nation, or to defend his frontiers against the attacks of ambitious enterprising neighbours. He transferred the seat of government from Cracow to Gnesna, and from thence

Popiel I.

^b Id. *ibid.* Guagnini, p. 55.

to Crufwitz, a city which he had newly founded, confining himfelf entirely to the interior adminiftration of the kingdom, preferving order, diftributing juftice, promoting induftry, rewarding merit, and fecuring that refofe to which he was naturally inclined ^c.

Popiel II.

This excellent prince was fucceeded by his fon Popiel, a minor. While Poland was governed by a regency, the people were fcarce fenfible of the lofs of their gracious monarch: the guardians of the young prince clofely purfued the maxims of the fage Popiel, and their adminiftration was fruitful of numberlefs bleffings to Poland; but as foon as young Popiel was of age to take into his own direktion the helm of ftate, he removed his uncles from the government, treated them with the utmoft contempt, banifhed them the court, and fuffered a difpofition naturally bad to be feduced into pernicious meafures by the artful infinuations of an ambitious defigning woman, to whom he was unfortunately married. This lady, not fatisfied with removing his faithful uncles from the court and adminiftration, reprefented to the credulous Popiel, that they had formed a defign upon his life, and projected the means of getting the reins of government into their own hands.

The weak and voluptuous Popiel could not refift infinuations enforced with all the blandifhments of feigned love and artful beauty. He fell into the fnare laid by his ambitious wife; and the more eafily gave credit to her fuggeftions, that his uncles had juft remonftrated to him upon his miftaken meafures, and unmanly conduct. Determined on revenge, Popiel put on the hypocrite, pretended indifpofition, kept his bed, and afsembled his uncles, under the pretext of wanting their advice in the prefent critical conjuncture. "Should it please the gods to cut him off in the bloom of years, his people, he faid, would be left without a head, and oppreffed with all the miferies confequent on a long minority. They had already exhibited proofs of their wifdom and integrity; they flood high in the opinion of the people; and he fhould efteem himfelf happy if they would take charge of his infant fon, and govern the nation with the fame mafterly conduct they had fhewn during his own minority." In a word, the falfe Popiel acted his part with fo much address, that his uncles, entertaining no fufpicion of his defign, promifed all he required; and at parting drank each a cup of poifon, which he had prepared for the occafion. The uncles died under the moft excruciating torments, and the cruel Popiel extended his inhumanity beyond death itfelf. Under pre-

^c *Mat. de Michov. cap. xi. lib. ii.*

tence that he had only anticipated the designs of his uncles, extinguished a formidable conspiracy, and caught them in their own snares, he prohibited the last honours to be paid to their remains. Their bodies were left exposed to the open air; but those disfigured remains soon produced the avengers of the crimes of this brutal prince. A swarm of rats issued from the putrid carcases, pursued Popiel, his wife, and children, wherever they went, through fire, water, and the strongest barriers. Nothing was capable of skreening the murderers from their vengeance. First the children, next the wife, and at last Popiel himself, became the victims of the vengeance executed by these animals: they were instantly devoured, and their memory consigned to infamy. Nor was the anger of the gods appeased with the punishment of the guilty Popiel and his family: their thunder was poured down on the heads of his innocent people. Poland, destitute of a chief, soon became the scene of discord and blood. Contending interests produced a civil war, in which rapine, murder, and devastation, with every other act of the most cruel oppression, were committed with impunity. All the nobility strove for superiority; different factions daily reared their heads, and the weakest became a prey to the more powerful. The enemies of the nation cherished those divisions, and converted them to their own advantage. They assisted the weakest; and held the ballance so long equal, that both parties were exhausted; upon which they appeared in the field, and openly avowed their designs. Happily, however, this apparent misfortune proved the greatest blessing to Poland. It not only carried with it its own remedy, but proved an effectual cure to all the other disorders which had reduced the state to the verge of destruction. The nobility, struck with the prospect of impending ruin, united for their mutual defence. A regard to the general welfare extinguished every spark of private animosity. They had no other alternative than either becoming the slaves of a perfidious enemy, or suddenly dropping their ambitious purposes, and joining in the election of a prince, whose courage, prudence, and popularity, should be able to stem the torrent of misfortune, and associate those independent chiefs in the general defence of the state. Before we proceed to the particulars of this election we shall close the section; as with Popiel ended the first class of the dukes of Poland, according to the general division of preceding historians^a.

*Extinction
of the first
class of
princes.*

*Civil wars
in Poland.*

^a Mat. de Michov. cap. xi. lib. ii. Herbut de Fulkia, lib. i. p. 14. Flor. Polon. cap. xii. p. 22.

S E C T. III.

Containing the History of the second Class of the Sovereigns of Poland, concluding with the Extinction of the Posterity of Piastus, in the Persons of Casimir III. and of Lewis, King of Hungary, elected King of Poland.

A. D. 830.

*Second
class of
princes.*

*Piastus
raised to
the ducal
dignity.*

THE family of Popiel being extinct, the nation threatened by powerful foreign enemies, and the nobility jealous of each other, all ambitious of the crown, and now united only from motives of necessity, a general assembly of the nation was held at Crufwitz for the election of a sovereign. Great disputes arose; and the multitude of people, together with the long continuance of the session, occasioned such a scarcity of provision, that even the most wealthy nobility were unable to purchase sufficient supplies. In this situation the assembly was relieved from their distress, and directed in their choice of a prince, by a miracle, if we may credit the superstitious historians of those times. The story is variously related. Duglossius alleges, that in the extremity of famine, when the people were dropping dead in the streets with hunger, two angels in human forms came to Cracow, and took up their residence with one Piastus, a wheelwright, the son of Cossico, a citizen of Crufwitz. Piastus was celebrated for his piety and extensive charity. He had nothing left but a small cask of the common liquor of the country, and this he presented to his new guests, who, charmed with his hospitality, promised him the crown of Poland. The faith of Piastus was equal to his other virtues: he implicitly believed the word of his guests, and piously followed their directions in every particular. He was ordered to distribute the liquor out of his little cask to the multitude: he did so, and found that it was inexhaustible. The people were astonished; all cried out, "A miracle!" and the electors determined to chuse a person in whose favour Heaven had so visibly declared: Piastus was accordingly taken from his shop, and raised to the ducal dignity^b.

Such is the relation of the canon of Cracow, which differs in many particulars from the account given by Guagnini^c, and several other historians. According to them,

^b Dugloss. lib. i. Mat. de Michov. cap. xiii. lib. ii.

^c Guag. p. 64. Hartnoch, lib. i. cap. ii.

Piaſtus had prepared a ſmall collation, to entertain ſome friends who were aſſembled at the birth of a child. Two pilgrims, Paul and John, afterwards murdered at Rome, came about this time to Cracow. They begged charity at the door of the election-hall, and were rudely repulſed; upon which they ſtumbled on the houſe of Piaſtus, and were kindly received. The miracle we have mentioned was wrought by them; and the two pilgrims, and not angels, were the inſtruments of the elevation of the hospitable wheelwright. Though we pay but little regard to the marvellous means by which Piaſtus aſcended the ducal throne of Poland, it would be preſumptuous entirely to omit a fact attested by all the writers upon this ſubject: we have therefore given it a place in our hiſtory, and leave the reſt to the reader's judgment.

P I A S T U S,

Being now raiſed to the ſupreme dignity, was not intoxicated with his proſperity. His natural charity, benevolence, and ſweetneſs of diſpoſition remained: nothing was altered but his power of doing good. He was truly called the father of his people: the injured never returned unredreſſed, nor merit unrewarded. Piaſtus wiped the tear from the eyes of the widow; and was himſelf the guardian of the orphan, and the general patron of the poor and diſtreſſed. His excellent inclinations ſerved him in the room of great abilities, and the happineſs that his people enjoyed made them forget that their prince was not born a ſtateſman and a warrior. Several inſeſtine commotions aroſe during his adminiſtration, all which he quelled by the mildneſs and clemency of his nature: his nobility were aſhamed of rebelling againſt a ſovereign who devoted his whole life to render his people happy. He removed the court from Crufwitz, a city which he deteſted, becauſe it was the ſcene of Popiel's crimes and tragical end, and fixed his reſidence at Gneſna, where he died, beloved, eſteemed, and even adored by his ſubjects ^d (A).

^d Mat. de Michov. cap. xii. lib. ii.

(A) It is in memory of this excellent prince, that all the names of Poland, who have been ſince promoted to the ducal or regal dignity were called Piaſtes, in contradiſtinction to the foreigners (1).

(1) Vide Hartnoch, lib. i. cap. ii. Connor, tom. i. lett. i. p. 23. Mat. de Michov. cap. xii. lib. ii. p. 15. apud Piſtor.

A. D. 861.

Piaſtus had, ſome years before his death, aſſociated his ſon Ziemovitus with him in the government, on account of his own age and infirmities. By theſe means the young prince was early initiated in the myſteries of the cabinet: his heart was formed by the admirable example and the wholeſome inſtructions of his father, while his underſtanding was improved and his capacity enlarged by buſineſs and experience. The people reaped the fruits of this happy education.

Z I E M O V I T U S

NO ſooner aſcended the throne, and took upon himſelf the entire management of public affairs, than Poland experienced a vaſt acceſſion of importance. The nation was happy in the late reign; now it was formidable. This prince maintained a reſpectable army, and took great pains to acquire a perfect knowledge of the art of war. He was the firſt who introduced any kind of diſcipline among the Poliſh troops: he divided them into diſtinct regiments and companies, and eſtabliſhed degrees of ſubordination among the officers. It was the eager deſire of Ziemovitus to diſtinguiſh himſelf, as a war was kindled between the republic and the Hungarians, Moravians, and other nations of the German continent. In all his battles he was victorious; and he gained not only what had been loſt during the civil wars ſubſequent to Popiel's death, but conſiderably extended his dominions. Upon the whole, he was the greateſt prince who had ever filled the ducal throne; magnanimous, warlike, wiſe, and juſt; he died at Gneſna, the darling of his ſubjects, the terror of his enemies, and the admiration of mankind.

L E C H U S V.

THOUGH the ducal dignity was almoſt invariably continued in the ſame family, yet the people claimed the right of election. Accordingly, on the death of Ziemovitus, they aſſembled at Cracow to appoint a ſucceſſor; and their choice was unanimous in favour of the ſon of the late glorious prince. Lechus was a minor when he was raiſed to the ſupreme authority, and this circumſtance obliged the diet to appoint a regency. When he was of age to take upon himſelf the government, he cloſely imitated the example of his grandfather, Piaſtus; was juſt, pacific, and pious, like him; and died as much the idol of his ſubjects, after a reign of twenty-one years, undiſturbed by a ſingle accident.

• Dubrav. lib. v.

ZIENO-

Z I E N O M I S L A U S.

OUT of respect to the memory of Lechus, and from motives of justice to the merit of his son, the people raised Zienomisslaus to the ducal dignity. His disposition was mild and gentle, and, like his father, he studiously cultivated peace; but without incurring the imputation either of timidity or indolence. A certain dignity in his manner, a firmness of mind, and boldness of expression, when occasion required, convinced all men that his love of peace proceeded from an attention to the interest of his subjects, rather than from any deficiency in point of courage. He died in the year 964, was buried at Gnesna, and succeeded without opposition by his son Mieczslaus, surnamed the Eye of Christianity ^f.

M I E C Z S L A U S.

THIS prince was born blind, and restored to sight in a manner deemed miraculous at that time; whence the magi and sages of Poland predicted, that some extraordinary events would occur in his reign. It was, indeed, a little extraordinary that he should gain his eye-sight at the age of seven years, without the assistance of art; nor need we be surprised that such a circumstance, however natural it might be, should, in that age of superstition, be construed into a miracle. About this period several of the northern nations began to embrace the doctrines of Christianity: Bohemia, and all the adjacent states, had abjured idolatry; and Poland was on the point of being received into the bosom of the church. There are a variety of accounts of the manner in which this happy conversion was effected. The most probable is, that Mieczslaus having, by ambassadors, made his addresses to the princess Dabrowka, daughter of the duke of Bohemia, the lady rejected his hand, unless he would first consent to be baptized. The duke's passion was strong: he determined, at all events, to obtain the princess, accepted her conditions, was instructed in the principles of her religion, and then declared himself a Christian, upon which the nuptials were celebrated ^g. Mathew de Michovia relates, that Mieczslaus had seven wives, previous to the offer of marriage which he made to the princess of Bohemia; but having no children, he was told, by some itinerant sages, he could never expect issue until he divorced all his pagan wives, and married a Christian princess. This determined him to the alliance with the court of Bohemia. The same writer alleges,

^f Dubrav. lib. v. Hart. lib. i. cap. ii.

^g Cromer, lib. iii. p. 44.

that he was voluptuous and indolent on his first accession, devoting his whole time to women, and paying little regard to the affairs of government; but that, after his conversion, he became a true apostle, propagated the Gospel by his own preaching; broke down the idols of superstition with his own hands; and confirmed, by his practice, the truth and divine origin of the doctrines which he recommended. He founded the archbishopricks of Gnesna and Cracow; and appointed St. Adalbert, who had been sent by the pontiff to propagate Christianity in Poland, primate of the whole republic. On the birth of his son Boleslaus he redoubled his zeal, founded new bishopricks, and monasteries; ordering likewise, that, when any part of the Gospel was read, the hearers should half draw their swords, in testimony of their zeal to defend the truths of Christianity. It must be owned, however, that Mieczslaus was too superstitious a Christian to execute all the duties of a sovereign. He spent his whole time among the clergy, and suffered his dominions to be torn from him by his barbarous neighbour the duke of Russia. If he has been transmitted to posterity as a prince of great virtues, we may attribute a character which he did not merit, to his extraordinary liberality to a set of men, who measured the piety of princes by their donations to the church. With all his complaisance for the clergy, he could not obtain the regal dignity from pope Benedict VII. though he warmly solicited that honour; but it was afterwards conferred on his son, who succeeded to all his dominions^a.

BOLESLAUS I.

A. D. 997.

*Boleslaus
Chrobry I.
raised to
the regal
dignity.*

BOLESLAUS, surnamed Chrobry, was of a character very opposite to that of his father. He professed and cherished Christianity, but he did not commence preacher and apostle. His valour was unquestioned as his faith: nothing was too arduous for the courage of Boleslaus, and the severest toils of war constituted his greatest pleasure. The first transaction of his reign, however, was in that strain of piety which formed the religion of his times. He removed the remains of a saint from Prague to Gnesna, which he had purchased at a considerable price. The emperor Otho III. made a pilgrimage to the tomb of this saint. He was hospitably received by Boleslaus, whom, in return, he vested with the badges of royalty; an act that was confirmed by the pontiff. His new dignity added nothing to the power of Boleslaus; but it increased his con-

^a Mat. de Michoy, lib. ii. cap. iv.

sequence with his own subjects. The vulgar are always attracted by appearances. The king affected more state than usual: his body-guard was considerably augmented, and he was constantly attended by a numerous and splendid retinue, whenever he stirred out of his palace. Boleslaus was a politician; he had his designs in this exterior of pomp, and they produced the desired effect. Hitherto the Poles had scarce maintained any wars with the Russians, except in their own defence: they had been frequently victorious; but they knew and dreaded the power of that vast and barbarous people. The king was desirous of inspiring them with a high opinion of their own importance; and he, perhaps, could not take a more effectual method than that of dazzling their eyes with the splendour of a court. Having thus prepared their minds, and levied an army, he was meditating an attack on Muscovy, when some disturbances on the side of Bohemia diverted his intentions.

The duke of Bohemia saw with jealousy the elevation of Boleslaus to the regal dignity, and his alliance with the imperial family by marrying Rixa, niece to the emperor. He regarded those marks of distinction paid to his rival as affronts to himself: it seems he had demanded the badges of royalty, and was refused. Fired with resentment, he entered Poland at the head of a numerous army, without so much as declaring his reasons for this invasion, and marked his way with blood and desolation. The king flew to the defence of his dominions, and the Bohemians retired at his approach with the utmost precipitation. Scarcity of provision, and the inclemency of the season, prevented Boleslaus from pursuing; but as soon as circumstances altered, he marched at the head of a well-appointed army into the enemy's country, with a full resolution of taking ample revenge. He endeavoured, by every possible stratagem, to draw the duke to a battle; but neither the ravages committed by the Polish army, nor the destruction of their cities, could provoke the Bohemians to hazard an engagement. Boleslaus laid siege to Prague, and the inhabitants made an obstinate defence; but were forced to surrender their city to be pillaged, after they had for two years withstood all the king's efforts. The reduction of Prague was a signal to the lesser cities to yield to the victorious arms of Boleslaus; but though he was in possession of almost all Bohemia, the king could not believe his conquests complete, until he made himself master of the duke's person. This unfortunate prince had shut himself up, with his son Jaremir, and a numerous garrison, in his only remaining fortress of Wissogrod, where he imagined he should be

His military exploits.

He conquers Bohemia and Moravia.

able to foil all the attempts of Boleslaus. The event shewed he was mistaken: the Polish monarch invested the place, and advanced his approaches with such rapidity, that the garrison, apprehending a general assault, refused to stand the consequences. The duke used promises, prayers, and arguments, to keep them in their duty; but the terror of Boleslaus made a deeper impression than all his rhetoric. The garrison capitulated, the duke and his son surrendered prisoners, and Boleslaus stained his victory by his cruelty; it is reported, that he put out the eyes of the old duke, and condemned his son to perpetual imprisonment¹. Moravia followed the fate of Bohemia: this province acknowledged the power of Boleslaus the moment he appeared on the frontier, and his clemency confirmed to him the acquisitions of his valour. All his conduct breathed nothing but the most consummate prudence and humanity, his behaviour to the duke alone excepted.

The king's success in Bohemia and Moravia rendered him the more eager for conquest. He now thirsted after the reputation of a warrior, and burnt with a desire of raising Poland above all the powers of the North. Elated with this notion, Boleslaus resumed the intention of attacking Russia; and a fairer opportunity could not offer, as that country was divided into factions, and cruelly oppressed by a civil war, which had raged with violence among the children of duke Volodomir. Paternal affection had induced that prince to make an equal partition of his dominions among his sons: the elder resented the injury done to his birthright: he took up arms against the father, gained some advantages, and broke the heart of his aged parent. Jarislaus, for that was the name of the young prince, was afterwards defeated by his brother; but recruiting his army, he gave him battle a second time, and by a stratagem obtained so complete a victory as obliged the vanquished Suantepolk to seek refuge in Poland. Here he exerted all his address and eloquence to persuade Boleslaus to undertake an expedition for which he had before prepared. The pretext, however, was now more plausible than before: it was given out, that the king had no other object in view than that of re-instating in his dominions a prince who had claimed his protection. A numerous army was levied; the king moved towards the frontiers of Russia, and soon penetrated to the very heart of that vast country. At last he found his career stopped by the river Bog, on the opposite banks of which prince Jarislaus was

Attacks Russia.

¹ Mat. de Michov. lib. ii. cap. v. apud Pistor. p. 23.

encamped with a prodigious army. For several days, assisted by the rapidity of the river; he kept the Poles at bay: divers attempts were made to cross; but they were all baffled by the activity of the Muscovite, and the difficulty of the enterprize. Boleslaus grew impatient, and resolved to hazard all, rather than be checked in the midst of conquest. Summoning up all his skill and intrepidity, he formed his cavalry in the best manner for breaking the stream, and exposed his own person to the utmost violence of the torrent. Fired by his example, the Poles advanced breast-high in water to the opposite shore, from whence the enemy gave them all the annoyance in their power. Nevertheless, they at last gained the bank, and soon obtained a complete victory, obliging Jarislaus to retire to Kiovia. This city was immediately invested; but the Russian prince was too expert a general to suffer himself to be cooped up within walls: he retired farther into the country to recruit his army, while Boleslaus continued the siege, and at length compelled the half-famished garrison to surrender at discretion. Here the immense treasures which had for many years been collecting by the dukes of Russia became the reward of Polish valour. The king seized the booty, and distributed great part of it among his soldiers.

Though Boleslaus was now in possession of the greater part of Russia, he was sensible of the difficulty of retaining the conquest, except by placing a natural sovereign over the inhabitants. This consideration it was that induced him to re-instate the fugitive Suantepolk. His pretensions, however, were still disputed by Jarislaus. This prince had formed a flying camp, and meditated a project of surprising and carrying off his rival brother; but his scheme being defeated by the vigilance of the Polish monarch, the unfortunate Muscovite retired to Novogorod, where the attachment of the inhabitants enabled him to make some shew of resistance, until he was again attacked and defeated by Boleslaus*.

He subdues all his enemies.

Suantepolk had no sooner attained to the height of his ambition than he forgot his obligations to the Polish monarch, and repaid all his services with the most perfidious ingratitude. He considered himself as a kind of dependent on Boleslaus, and therefore resolved by all means to get rid of a prince, the lustre of whose glory entirely obscured his own grandeur. He regarded the king as his greatest enemy, for no other reason than because he could not re-

* Herburst de Fulstia, lib. i. cap. iii. Conn. lib. iii. p. 49.

pay his favours; and he set on-foot a conspiracy for murdering him and his whole army. The execution of this barbarous project was already begun when intelligence of his design was brought to the king, who mounted his horse, assembled part of his army, and marched against the insidious enemy. His approach intimidated Suantepolk, who wanted resolution to support his horrid purpose; he therefore placed his safety in flight; Boleslaus entered Kiovia a second time, which he delivered up to be pillaged; then he led back his army to Poland, loaded with glory and the spoils of all Russian Nigra.

The Russians revolt, and are defeated.

Boleslaus had no intention of retaining Russia as a conquest; but he imagined himself perfectly secure from any attacks in his retreat, having, as he supposed, given a decisive blow to the power of the two brothers. The active Jarislaus had however assembled fresh forces, and come up with the king on the Boristhenes, just as half his army had passed the river. Prudence and valour were equally necessary to keep up the spirit of his own troops, and to resist the enemy: both were exerted in an extraordinary manner on this occasion. The king drew up what troops remained with him, animated the officers by a short, spirited harangue, placed himself at the head of a chosen battalion, began the attack, performed prodigies of valour, and bore down all before him; but the superior numbers of the enemy, and the intrepidity of Jarislaus, kept the victory long in suspense. The battle raged for several hours, and both princes broke and discomfited the enemy wherever they appeared. Each side fluctuated between hope and fear, when at last part of the Polish army passed the river, attacked the enemy in flank with irresistible impetuosity, pushed on to the center, and entirely broke, routed, and dispersed the whole Russian army. A dreadful carnage ensued: the numbers reported to have been slain in the pursuit are incredible; and Jarislaus, in the hurry of flight, was obliged ingloriously to quit the ensigns of his dignity. The victory was complete, but it was not decisive. The vast extent of the Russian dominions furnished the vanquished Jarislaus with fresh resources, and the spirit of that prince seemed to rise with his misfortunes. Other concerns, however, called upon the attention of Boleslaus, who withdrew his army, and suffered the brothers to exhaust themselves, and ruin their dominions by civil wars. It is not impossible that prudence dictated this retreat: the king had sufficiently experienced the valour, activity, strength, and perseverance of the enemy, to know that Russia would not be an easy conquest. One defeat would have

have blighted all the laurels he had collected with so much toil and bloodshed: he therefore determined to relinquish the enterprize, for another as glorious, and less hazardous. It was this, added to the desire of continuing his troops in the habit of victory, that drew the Polish army into Saxony. The inhabitants of this country had resisted all attempts on their freedom, and they now struggled hard for liberty; but were at last forced to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Polish monarch; and receive the laws dictated by Boleslaus. After a variety of unfortunate battles and skirmishes, the brave Saxons were forced to retire into an impenetrable wood, leaving the country to be desolated by the conquerors. Here they defended themselves against all the efforts of Boleslaus; but were, in the end, compelled by famine to quit their retreat, yield to their fate, and bow their necks to the yoke. But it was only during his short residence in Saxony that Boleslaus exerted the prerogatives of sovereignty. On withdrawing his army, he left the people to their liberty, contenting himself with a rich booty, and fixing the boundaries of his dominions on the banks of the Elbe, where he erected two iron columns, which likewise answered the purpose of transmitting the memory of his conquests to posterity.

Boleslaus conquers Saxony, Pomerania, and Prussia.

When the king had brought the Saxon war to this happy issue, he meditated the reduction of Prussia and Pomerania, the latter of which provinces had in the former civil wars been dismembered from Poland. It had been given by Lechus IV. to his natural sons, as a fief of the ducal crown of Poland; but these petty princes taking advantage of the distracted state of the republic, after the death of Popiel, threw off their allegiance, and claimed an independency, which they maintained until Boleslaus forced them again into submission. Besides the recovery of this province, the king had another motive for undertaking the war. Idleness, he knew, would enervate the courage of his soldiers, and the mere want of employment give birth to cabals, revolts, and conspiracies among their leaders. It was necessary to keep them in action to make sure of their loyalty; for which purpose Boleslaus once more assembled his army, and put himself in motion towards the frontiers of Pomerania. The very terror of the conqueror's name effected all the purposes of an army: he had no occasion to strike a single blow; the princes acknowledged his sovereignty, and received his conditions, the moment he appeared. Nor did Prussia make more resistance: the people equally feared and admired the Polish monarch, and willingly entered
into

into the subjection of a prince whose reputation was sufficient to protect them against all their enemies.

It was now full time to sheathe the sword; the character of Boleslaus could not be raised higher by conquest; and to fill the measure of his glory, nothing was wanting besides a display of his pacific talents. It was now his care to enjoy with his people the fruits of so many victories, and to render them happy as he had made them powerful. With this view he gave the closest application to the interior government of the kingdom; he framed excellent laws, and saw them rigidly executed; but in the midst of this happy tranquillity a new war was kindled by the restless Jarislaus, and the venerable king was once more obliged to cover his hoary head with a helmet. Age had indeed enfeebled the arm of this glorious monarch; but he still retained the fire and ardour of youth, tempered by wisdom and experience. He knew the great abilities and implacable resentment of Jarislaus; he received intelligence that the most numerous army which Russia ever assembled was ready to enter Poland; but he was not intimidated. With admirable composure he collected his army, and marched with confidence against an enemy triple his number. He came in sight of Jarislaus, on the banks of the Boristhenes, a river rendered famous by the former defeat of that prince. He reminded his troops of this circumstance; taught them not to fear, but at the same time advised them not to despise their enemy. While the armies lay in sight, an accident brought on a battle before the princes had determined upon this issue. The Poles crossed the river by swimming, and attacked the enemy, before they were drawn out in order of battle, with such impetuosity as soon produced a complete victory. A panic had seized the Russians, and all the endeavours of Jarislaus could not stop their flight. He was hurried away by the torrent, and almost trampled to death in the tumultuous croud of fugitives. Boleslaus had checked the ardour of his soldiers, and put a stop to the carnage; but several thousand prisoners were taken, and Jarislaus was forced to receive the conditions dictated by the conqueror. They proved, however, extremely moderate; the king contented himself with inconsiderable tribute; he dismissed the prisoners without ransom, after he had engaged their esteem by his kind usage: in a word, his well-timed clemency produced a better effect than all his victories; the Russians admired his virtues, and voluntarily became his subjects. Having thus by prudence and valour augmented his dominion with the addition of a vast empire, Boleslaus resigned his last breath,

with

*Conquers
Russia a
second time.*

A.D. 1025.

*His death
and character.*

with the character of the greatest monarch of his age, after a glorious reign of twenty-five years. It would be unnecessary to enter upon a detail of the virtues of this prince, as the whole series of his conduct speaks his panegyric; it is sufficient that he obtained and justly merited the surname of Great¹. His moderation was not the least of those shining virtues which were united in the person of Boleslaus; and it redounds more to his honour than all the victories, that he never made the smallest attempt upon the liberty of his subjects. It was his saying, that he chose to be the sovereign of a free people, and the Poles shewed their gratitude to his memory by the regard they expressed for his family. The assembly of the nation met at Posen immediately upon the death of Boleslaus, and with one voice chose his son as successor to his crown and dominions.

MIECZSLAUS II.

MIECZSLAUS was in the prime of life when he ascended the throne, and the people entertained the highest expectations from a prince bred under so great a master in the art of reigning. He was scarce established in the sovereignty when an occasion offered for the full exertion of his abilities. The death of his father was the signal of a general revolt of all the Polish conquests in Russia, Bohemia, Prussia, Moravia, and Saxony. No longer awed by the dread of that hero, those states prepared to attempt the recovery of their liberty, and begun with refusing payment of the shameful tribute imposed by Boleslaus. The two brothers Jarislaus and Mieczslaus, dukes of Russia, were the first who took the field with numerous forces; they penetrated into Poland, laid all waste with fire and sword, reduced and pillaged Czerwiensko, overwhelmed the kingdom with consternation, and carried some thousands of the inhabitants into captivity. The approach, however, of the Polish army stemmed the torrent. Mieczslaus forced the Russian frontier, seized the persons of several of the chief nobility, and retained them as pledges of the fidelity of all their dependents. This spirited measure broke the scheme of the dukes, and for a time smothered, though it did not extinguish, the sparks of rebellion.

Matters went otherwise on the side of Bohemia. This country continued to pay a tribute to Poland from the time it was conquered by Boleslaus. That prince had retained

¹ Hartnoch, lib. i. p. 74. Mat. Michov. apud Pistor. lib. ii. cap. vii. p. 24. Herb. de Fulstn. lib. ii. Cromer, lib. iii. Hist. Bohem. p. 52. Crantz. Annal. lib. ii. cap. xxxvii. Dubrav. lib. vi.

one of the duke's sons as hostage: he bred the young prince at his court, with all the attention that was paid to the education of his own children; and when he grew up, he distinguished him by very particular marks of his regard. Udalric was an entire master in the art of dissimulation; and he so far insinuated himself into the esteem of the Polish monarch, that he was not only suffered to return to Bohemia, but sent back with a superb retinue, and furnished with the means of supporting his dignity with great splendour. During the life of Boleslaus, he put on the exterior of the deepest gratitude; but Poland was no sooner deprived of her sovereign than Udalric resolved to throw off his dependency, an aim which he effected in a manner equally treacherous and cruel, ordering the Polish garrisons to be barbarously massacred, while they were wrapt in profound security. The Polish monarch, it was soon perceived, did not possess any of those great qualities which had so eminently distinguished his royal parent. They saw that his indolence, profusion, and debauchery, rendered him contemptible to his natural subjects. The success of the revolt in Bohemia kindled the same spirit in Moravia, and the flames of war soon diffused themselves into Prussia, Pomerania, and Saxony. So general a commotion would have given full employment to the vast capacity of Boleslaus; but it was disregarded by Mieczslaus, too voluptuous, and too indifferent about national honour, to regard what became of the provinces, provided their defection put no stop to the course of his pleasures. In consequence of his inactivity, the Polish garrisons were forced, and barbarously massacred or carried into slavery. The governors of those territories assumed the title of sovereignty, disavowed all obedience to Poland, and supported their usurpation by the aid of their German neighbours, with whom they were connected by commerce and a variety of intermarriages. At last the clamours of the whole Polish nation awakened Mieczslaus out of that insensibility in which he had continued since the Muscovite expedition. He was prevailed on, from the apprehensions of a rebellion of his natural subjects, to attempt chastising the insolence of the provinces. He levied an army, began his march against the rebels, and was attended by three Hungarian princes, who proved the chief instruments of this success. The spirit, discipline, and emulation in glory, excited in the Polish troops by Boleslaus, was not yet extinguished. They entered Pomerania, and soon obliged this province to acknowledge the sovereignty of Mieczslaus; after which expedition, this prince, as if he had fully secured his frontier,

and

and completed the reduction of the provinces, shut himself up in his palace, where, indulging to excess his former voluptuous courses, he was seized with a phrenzy that terminated with his dissolution ^m.

However vicious Mieczslaus was in his own disposition, he was not insensible of the benefits of a virtuous education. His son Casimir was therefore bred up under the most learned and prudent persons of the age, and he is reputed to have been the first of the Polish princes who had acquired a taste for letters, and made a progress in science. His natural disposition was good, his understanding excellent, and improved by all that education could impart; yet the contempt in which the people held his father occasioned his being set aside at the ensuing election. The assembly of the states met to fill the vacancy in the throne, and some of the nobility proposed Casimir; but the people fearing he might inherit the vices of Mieczslaus, suspended his election, without disqualifying him from wearing the diadem, and put the reins of administration into the hands of his mother Rixa, who was declared regent of the kingdom. Thus endeavouring to avoid one error, they fell into a worse, and dreading a voluptuous sovereign, they chose a tyrannical regent. Rixa soon exhibited specimens of her arbitrary disposition. The people were overwhelmed with taxes, and fresh exactions raised upon frivolous pretences. Germans were preferred to all places of trust and profit, and the administration was entirely in the hands of foreigners. These composed her council; and directed all her measures. Many had amassed great fortunes in the space of a single year, with which they retired out of the kingdom. The Poles complained, and fruitless remonstrances daily beset the throne. Rixa not only refused to redress their grievances, but treated with contempt those who had the courage to stand up in defence of the privileges of the nation. Incensed at her conduct the Poles flew to arms, and broke through those feeble ties which had bound them to their sovereign. Rixa was banished the kingdom; but, as if she had foreseen her fate, she first sent away the immense treasures which had been amassed by the victories of Boleslaus, and by means of her wealth laid claim to the emperor's protection.

The crimes of Rixa drew down the vengeance of the Poles upon her innocent son; Casimir was driven out of the kingdom, and the people fell into confusion and anar-

A D. 1034.

*Death of Mieczslaus.**The kingdom put into the hands of a regency.**Civil wars.*

^m Vide Cromer, Mat. de Michov. Hartnoch, Guagn. &c. in locis citat.

chy. The consequent disorders were innumerable, and almost fatal. The kingdom was filled with blood; every man aspired at the crown; no means were thought too base or cruel to attain this end; the laws were disregarded; the most enormous crimes committed with impunity; all subordination ceased; the nobility oppressed the peasants, and these retaliated by murdering their masters; the public roads were impassable; barefaced robberies, and the most barbarous murders, were daily committed: no asylum was sacred from the depredations of numerous bands of desperate villains, who infested every quarter; even the churches were plundered, and the ministers of Christ massacred by those impious wretches. A foreign war completed the calamities of Poland. The duke of Bohemia seized this opportunity to wipe off the disgrace he had sustained under Boleslaus; the young prince Bretislaus, copying the ingratitude of his father, entered the Polish frontier, seized Wratislaw and Posen, and laid those cities, with the whole surrounding country, in ashes, after having massacred or enslaved the wretched inhabitants. The archiepiscopal see of Gnesna, and the finest city in Poland, shared the same fortune; it was sacked and plundered with all the ferocity of barbarians, and the unhappy citizens were murdered on the spot, or reduced to cruel servitude. Women of all degrees and ages were defiled, and the altars polluted with the most savage acts of brutality. In a word, every thing of which the most ungovernable rage, lust, and avarice were capable, was committed at Gnesna, and that flourishing city was brought to the deepest abyss of wretchedness.

However horrible the scene acted by the cruel Bohemians might appear, it was nothing to what was transacting in another quarter of the kingdom by the incensed Jarislaus, at the head of a numerous army of Russians. It exceeds the power of imagination and language to describe the ravages he committed in the palatinate of Mazovia, from which he did not withdraw his troops before he had reduced the provinces to a heap of ashes, burning houses, woods, corn-fields, men, women, and children, without discrimination. These calamities at length opened the eyes of the unfortunate Poles, and they saw clearly the injustice of punishing the innocent Casimir for the crimes of his mother. His youth had promised all they could require in a prince; and "why, said they, may he not inherit the virtues of his royal grandfather, as probably as the vices of his father and mother?" Misfortune had softened their hearts; they were stung with the keenest remorse, and regarded all they had suffered as the just punishment of their
iniquitous

iniquitous sentence passed on Casimir. They determined to recall him as the best expiation of their crime; but they first resolved to carry their complaints against the cruelty of the duke of Bohemia to the pontifical throne; an event which laid the foundation of that vast power which the see of Rome hath ever since maintained in Poland. At this time the popes were in the zenith of their power, exercising the most despotic authority over the consciences of princes, establishing their influence over temporal as well as spiritual jurisdictions, assuming to themselves the right of adjudging the differences of sovereigns; of releasing subjects from their allegiance; of disposing crowns at pleasure; and of robbing and plundering whole nations, under the pretence of securing the gates of heaven to wicked tyrants. The anathemas of the church of Rome were dreaded as the most terrible of all calamities; and the pontiffs did not want the art of keeping up the credit of their spiritual thunder. The Poles thought to profit by their complaisance to the holy see; their presenting their grievances to the pope was an acknowledgement of his power to redress them. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to Rome, with a pathetic remonstrance to the pontiff of the cruelties and sacrileges committed by the duke of Bohemia. Their complaints were at first favourably heard; the duke and bishop of Prague were cited to appear before the pope; and their ambassadors and agents, apprehensive of an excommunication, promised ample restitution and entire compensation of their losses to the Poles. Mean while, the influence of gold was tried, and it succeeded. Presents were distributed with a judicious liberality, and the holy see forgot to exact the performance of the duke's promises. The disputes about the pontifical throne greatly favoured the general corruption; Clement, Benedict, Sylvester, and Gregory, were all equally in want and equally rapacious.

Disappointed of revenge in Bohemia, harrassed with foreign and domestic wars, and reduced to the most piteous situation, the nobility of Poland again turned their thoughts to some expedient for easing themselves from the load of calamity. All acknowledged that the election of a prince was necessary; and it was unanimously agreed that some compensation of his sufferings should be made to Casimir, the innocent victim of the people's just resentment against his parents. Policy as well as repentance dictated this measure, as it was equally dangerous to raise one of the nobility to the supreme dignity, and to bestow it on a foreign prince.

* Michov. apud Pistor. tom. ii. cap. ix: Hartn. lib. i. p. 67.

C A S I M I R . I.

A.D. 1040.

THE difficulty was how to make Casimir acquainted with the resolution of the people. He had been absent from the kingdom for the space of five years, and no one was acquainted with the place of his retreat. When he was banished Poland, he retired into France, applied closely to his studies at the university of Paris, whence he passed to Italy, where, for a livelihood, he entered into a monastery, and took upon him the habit. He afterwards returned to France, and obtained some preferment in the abbey of Clugni. All these circumstances were utterly unknown to the Poles; they sent an embassy to the mother of Casimir, to acquaint her with their intention, and procure a direction for the young prince; on obtaining which they repaired with all expedition to Clugni: but the sacred function of Casimir was an insurmountable obstruction to his ascending the throne of his ancestors, without a dispensation from the see of Rome. Ambassadors were for this purpose dispatched to Benedict IX. or as some writers affirm, to Clement II. who granted the request of the people, and discharged the prince from all his sacerdotal engagements, on his consenting jointly with his subjects to pay the capitation-tax, called Peter-pence; an exorbitant imposition levied in those days upon almost all the nations in Europe. The pontiff likewise insisted upon some other conditions of less consequence, perhaps with intention of covering his principal design, that of robbing the kingdom; among others, he exacted a promise that the Poles should shave their heads and beards, and wear a white linen stole at the chief festivals, like all the other professors of the Roman Catholic faith. Preparations were made for the magnificent reception of the young prince, who was regarded as the tutelary angel of the state, come to banish misfortune, and restore plenty, peace, and harmony. He was met on the frontier by the bishops, nobility, and forces of the nation, who conducted him to Gnesna, where he was crowned by the hands of the primate-archbishop, with more than usual solemnity. Casimir no sooner ascended the throne than he applied his attention to the establishment of public order, and enforcing the laws. He attacked with great spirit the troops of banditti who infested the highways and streets; besieged and demolished their strong holds, seized their chiefs, and punished them capitally. The rest were pardoned to avoid shedding blood unnecessarily, a few examples of severity being thought sufficient to restore the authority of the government. Now people

of all ranks pursued their several functions unmolested; the peasant returned to cultivate his land; the merchant engaged afresh in commerce, and the mechanic reaped securely the fruits of his industry; the cities were enlarged and repopled; the laws punctually executed; civil society was re-established, and the arts and sciences began to be cultivated, where they were before unknown, under the auspices of their royal patron. All cause of contention with Russia was cut off by the king's marriage with the princess Mary, sister of duke Jarislaus; and thus an alliance was contracted with the bitterest and most formidable enemy of Poland. Religion too employed part of the care of the monarch; he had not forgot that he once professed the sacred function, in commemoration of which he founded the abbey of Timiez, on the Vistula. Upon the whole, the kingdom flourished more than under any preceding reign; it was enriched by industry, and not by the spoils of conquest; it was respectable from the wisdom and stability of the administration, not from numerous armies and bloody victories. Casimir cultivated peace; but he gave sufficient proofs of the firmness of his mind and his courage in reducing the banditti (A), and establishing the public tranquillity. After a happy reign of sixteen years, he died honoured, beloved, and deeply regretted ^b.

*Death of
Casimir.*

BOLESLAUS II. surnamed the BOLD.

CASIMIR left three sons, the eldest of whom was crowned king of Poland immediately after his father's funeral. A strong party of the nobility were for deferring the coronation, under various pretexts; but Boleslaus was espoused by the majority of the people, who determined, out of respect to his father's memory, and in compliance with the solicitations of the queen his mother, immediately to entrust him with the reins of government. The young monarch soon taught them how well he merited the confidence of his subjects. His name in a few months became so famous, that all the unfortunate oppressed princes in the neighbouring states of Poland, retired to his court as to a

^b Mat. de Michov. *ibid*: Herb. de Fulstin, lib. iii.

(A) Casimir likewise approved his courage in subduing the insolence of one Maslaus, who, from a private soldier in the service of the late king, rose by dint of effrontery and the

queen's patronage, to the highest offices of the state, at last assumed the title of prince of Mazovia, threw off his allegiance to Poland, and was conquered by Casimir.

*He wages
war with
the duke of
Bohemia.*

sanctuary, where they were sure of protection, and of that pity which misfortune ever excites in generous minds. Jacomir, son of Briteslaus duke of Bohemia, Bela, brother to the king of Hungary, and Zaslaus duke of Kiovia, eldest son of Jarislaus duke of Russia, and cousin to the king of Poland, all took refuge under his wing, against the defection of their subjects, or the ambitious designs of their relations; they were unfortunate, and that circumstance was sufficient claim to his countenance. It would be digressing from our subject to recite the discontents in their several countries, which compelled these princes into banishment; it is sufficient for our present purpose to relate the measures which Boleslaus took to redress their grievances. With respect to Bohemia, hostilities first commenced from that quarter. Boleslaus was only revolving in his own mind what he should do to serve Jacomir, when the duke of Bohemia, dreading the consequences of his brother's escape, and irritated at the kindness shewn him by the king of Poland, regarded Boleslaus as his enemy, and determined to anticipate his purpose. With this view he assembled an army, and, previous to any declaration of war, marched through the Hercynian forest, desolated Silesia, and penetrated the frontiers of Poland, which he laid waste with fire and sword. He did not long continue these ravages; Boleslaus marched with a slender army to give him battle, and by dint of superior capacity, forced the duke to take shelter in a wood, where he cooped him up, and reduced his forces to great necessity. The duke made proposals of accommodation, which were rejected with disdain by Boleslaus; upon which he employed every stratagem of war to extricate himself from his present distressed situation, and succeeded. Ordering fires to be kindled in his camp, as if he proposed continuing there, he retired with the utmost silence under cover of the night through narrow defiles, and marched several leagues before Boleslaus received advice of his retreat. The king pursued, but in vain; he was forced to return, after having ravaged the frontiers of Moravia. Early in the spring he marched with a numerous army into Bohemia, determined upon taking signal vengeance; but his resentment was appeased by the duke's concessions; a negotiation was set on foot, which terminated in a treaty of marriage between the duke and the king's sister. Boleslaus, however, did not withdraw his protection from Jacomir; on the contrary, he stipulated several advantages for him in the treaty, and saw the articles minutely executed^a.

^a Mat. de Michov. apud Pistor. *ibid.*

Having concluded the affair with Bohemia to his satisfaction, he determined to succour the fugitive Bela, brother to the king of Hungary. This prince had for some time been solicited, by a body of the disaffected nobility, to return to that kingdom, and had the strongest assurances given him that his appearance would occasion a general insurrection of the people, who detested the tyrannical disposition of his brother; but he waited until Boleslaus had brought the war with Bohemia to an issue, relying chiefly upon his support. He knew the king's generosity and compassion, which, with his ardour for glory, would easily engage him in his interest: nor was Bela mistaken in his judgment; the king raised an army, and both princes entered Hungary by different routes, at the head of separate divisions. Andrew, king of Hungary, was not discouraged or disconcerted by this formidable invasion; he was powerfully assisted by the emperor, and commanded a prodigious army. A body of Bohemians had likewise come to his succour, in direct violation of the late treaty between the duke and Poland; but all these forces served only to procrastinate his fate, and render the struggle more bloody. At last a decisive battle was fought, in which the Germans performed prodigies of valour, though they were forced to yield to the fortune of the Poles, and the treachery of the Hungarians, who in the heat of the engagement deserted their king, and went over to Bela. Almost all the foreign auxiliaries were slain in the field; the king was seized in his flight, and treated with so much insolence by his perfidious subjects, that he died of chagrin a few days after the battle. This event opened a clear path for Bela to ascend the throne of Hungary, where he was scarce seated before the peasants revolted, but were soon subdued by the Polish army, and the ringleaders put to death, after which execution Boleslaus returned to his own dominions.

*He defeats
the Hungarians.*

It was now that he turned his thoughts to securing the succession of his crown in his own family by marriage; and though he was upon the eve of a war with Russia, he espoused a princess of that country. The pretext for this rupture was to obtain justice to Zaslus duke of Kiovia, who had taken refuge at his court, and claimed his protection; but the truth was, that Boleslaus had married a Russian princess only to strengthen his claim to the ducal crown, which he derived from Mary queen of Poland, sister of duke Jarislaus. Perhaps a desire of emulating the glory of Boleslaus the Great, and recovering a vast extensive country, lost by the inactivity of Mieczislaus, his grandfather, stimulated him to undertake the arduous conquest

*He conquers
great part
of Russia.*

of Muscovy. His late victories inspired him with a notion that his arm was invincible; he was in possession of money, troops, and every requisite for the enterprize; and he was seconded by a prince of Russia, who still retained a powerful influence in that country. At the head of a numerous well-appointed army he bent his march towards the Russian frontier, and was opposed by Wislouski, who had usurped the duchy of Kiovia, with a prodigious army. The king, however, continued to advance, and the Russian duke, intimidated at the multitude and discipline of the Polish forces, withdrew privately from his army with a slender retinue; upon which the Muscovites, destitute of a chief, broke up camp tumultuously, and dispersed themselves. The king, suspecting a stratagem, advanced in good order to Kiovia, with intention of laying siege to that important city. On his approach, he found that the inhabitants, deserted by their prince, had invited his brothers Suantossius and Wiszold to their assistance. These princes, however, interposed as mediators, and procured pardon from Zaslaus for their rebellion; upon which they opened their gates to receive their natural prince and the king of Poland. With the same facility the two princes recovered all the other dominions usurped by Wislouski, the terror of the Polish arms obliging all the cities to submit, without striking a blow, or making the least shew of resistance. Premislaw alone had the courage to stand on its defence. This was reputed the strongest fortress in the North, and the richest city in the Russian dominions, its wealth being now increased with the vast quantities of treasure lodged in it by the friends of Wislouski, as in a place of perfect security. The waters of the river Sona, which had overflowed its banks, and laid the adjacent country under water, rendered all approaches almost impracticable, yet the ardour of Boleslaus determined to surmount every difficulty. He invested the city, and carried on his works with unremitting diligence. The besieged made vigorous sallies, in one of which they penetrated to the heart of the king's camp, but were repulsed and driven back within the walls with prodigious slaughter; after which action, Boleslaus ordered the town to be stormed in three different quarters. The preparations made for this purpose terrified the besieged, who hung out a flag of truce, entered into a negotiation, and obtained more favourable terms, out of regard to their valour, than in such circumstances they could have expected.

While the Polish monarch was in the full career of conquest, the revolt in Hungary, consequent on the death of Bela,

Bela, demanded his attention and presence. To assist the children of his deceased friend, he marched into that kingdom with his army, contrary to the advice of many of his officers: and by the influence of his reputation only established the public tranquillity, and fixed the young princes in peaceable possession of their paternal dominions.

*Establishes
the peace of
Hungary.*

He had no sooner procured repose to Hungary than he turned back to complete the conquest of Russia, where, during his absence, the three brothers were again embroiled, Zaslus being a second time driven from Kiovia. It was necessary now to resume the work afresh; all the conquests he had made in the preceding year, were lost, and Suantoslav and Wszewold were more powerful than ever. The king's vigour, however, soon disconcerted all their measures; he ravaged those territories which now compose the palatinates of Lusac and Chelm, formed the siege of Wolyn, reduced that strong city, after an obstinate defence of six months, and transported all the rich booty to Poland. He finished the campaign with giving battle to Wszewold, which proved so bloody, that though Boleslaus gained the honour of a victory, he was too much weakened to pursue his conquests. In the winter he returned to Poland, made fresh levies, and returned in the spring with numerous forces to Russia. He began his operations with the siege of Kiovia, a city which had already cost Poland an immense quantity of blood and treasure. The attack and defence were equally vigorous; desperate sallies daily filled the trenches with carnage; but the king had at length effected a breach, and was preparing to storm the town, when he suddenly altered his resolution, on advice that famine began to appear among the besieged. This induced him to convert the siege into a blockade, not doubting but so numerous a garrison would be soon forced to surrender at discretion, without his sacrificing the lives of multitudes of brave soldiers. His conjecture proved right; rich and poor perished in crowds with hunger, and at last the garrison submitted upon such conditions as the king thought proper to impose. The moderation exerted by Boleslaus on this occasion redounded more to his honour than all his victories. Instead of punishing their obstinacy, he highly applauded the courage of the citizens, and rewarded those bold sons of freedom, by strictly prohibiting his troops from pillaging or insulting the inhabitants, and by distributing corn and provisions among them with the utmost liberality. He led his troops in triumph indeed into the city; but such was the esteem that his generosity inspired, that he was received amidst the acclamations of the

A.D. 1074

people as their deliverer, and not their conqueror. In this instance especially he equalled the glory of his predecessor Boleslaus the Great, and gave a striking example to princes how much the horror of conquest may be diminished, and the glory of victory exalted, by the godlike virtues of humanity^a.

He is corrupted with the luxury of Kiovia.

Unfortunately Boleslaus lost his reputation in the same city where he had acquired immortal honour, and, like another Hannibal, suffered himself to be subdued by the pleasures of the most sensual luxury. Kiovia was the richest, the most voluptuous, and dissolute city in the North. Most of the inhabitants were Greeks; the religion of that church was embraced by all, and the corrupt manners of that people soon succeeded. Before this last siege the Kioviaans had preserved some portion of their rough ancient spirit; now they gave themselves up to the most dissolute pleasures; the Poles received the contagion, and from a bold hardy race, became a luxurious, emaculated, debauched multitude: even Boleslaus, who had hitherto supported the dignity of his crown with distinguished lustre, abandoned himself to the most sensual and voluptuous enjoyments. His temperance, diligence, intrepidity, affability, and prudence, were now absorbed in luxury, and he became proud, indolent, and despotic. He affected all the imperious state of an eastern monarch, and contracted a relish for the most depraved debaucheries. The wealth, which was the fruit of his victories, he dissipated in the gratification of his appetite; the conqueror of Kiovia became a slave to the manners of its inhabitants, and an apostate from these heroic qualities which had raised him upon a level with the greatest monarchs of Europe. The consequence had almost proved fatal to Poland. In the space of seven years, he returned only once to his own dominions, and then made but a short stay of three months. This long absence introduced confusion, and filled the country with events as extraordinary as any recorded in history, and scarce credible if they had not been paralleled by something similar in well attested ancient annals. The Polish women, exasperated at the indifference of their husbands, and the preference given to the females of Kiovia, resolved on signal revenge, and raised their slaves to the beds of their masters. Margaret, the wife of count Nicholas of Zemboisin, alone withstood the universal corruption, and preserved her fidelity. She resisted all solicitations, and refused covering herself with crimes, because her husband had possibly given way to

Conspiracy of the Polish women.

^a Hartnoch, lib. i. cap. ii. Guagn. p. 63. apud Pistor.

temptation. Advice of this strange revolution was received at Kiovia, and it excited terrible commotions. The soldiers laid their dishonour to the king; and, forgetting that they themselves had given way to the torrent of corruption, exclaimed against Boleslaus as a prince who had stained his former glory by the most shameful voluptuousness, who had reaped nothing but dishonour from the conquest of Russia. The effect of these violent prejudices and resentments against the king was a general desertion. Almost the whole army, impatient of revenge, returned to Poland, leaving their sovereign alone in the heart of Russia^b.

Before their return the women had endeavoured to screen themselves against the resentment of their husbands, by persuading their lovers to take arms; they had accordingly seized upon most of the strong fortresses, in which they withstood, and for a long time foiled, all the attempts of the conquerors of Muscovy. The women, actuated by despair, fought by the sides of their gallants, formed themselves into battalions, sought out their husbands in the heat of battle, and attacked them hand to hand with rage and desperation. They were, however, on the point of being subdued, when Boleslaus arrived with his few remaining Poles, and a vast army of Russians, to heighten the scene of horror, and inflict equal punishment on the women, their gallants and his own soldiers, who had deserted his camp. The king's cruelty united the women, their husbands, and slaves; several desperate battles were fought; the country was overflowed with blood; the rebels were at length subdued, and the few who had escaped the sword, died in loathsome prisons, or under the excruciating pains of torture^c.

Consequences.

To add to the calamities of Poland, the schisms, which had for some time divided the church of Rome, found entrance into this kingdom; and the animosity of the parties became vehement, in proportion to the frivolousness of their differences. At last it became an affair of property, and a contention for wealth and power between the king and the clergy. This soon gave occasion for bloodshed; and the bishop of Cracow was massacred in the cathedral, while he was performing the sacred duties of his office. Some writers allege, that Boleslaus, giving way to all those vices which policy, the busy scene in which he was engaged, and the love of conquest, had hitherto suppressed, became not only the most dissolute prince, but the bloodiest tyrant of his age. Kiovia had only washed off the varnish of hypocrisy,

^b Id. *ibid.* Mat. de Michov. p. 27, 28.

^c Id. *ibid.*

and displayed his natural disposition in its genuine character. The murder of the prelate, and other enormous crimes, were soon succeeded by vengeance; the clergy joined with one voice in pouring out their complaints to the pontiff, and demanding a punishment adequate to the guilt of the royal assassin. Gregory VII. took them under his protection, thundered out the most dreadful anathemas against the king, released his subjects from their allegiance, deprived him of the titles of sovereignty, and charged the kingdom with a general interdict, which the archbishop of Gnesna saw punctually enforced. In vain did Boleslaus oppose his authority, and recall that spirit which had rendered him terrible to the neighbouring states, and the admiration of his subjects. Superstition clouded the minds of the people; they yielded implicitly to the dictates of the pontiff, and deemed it a less heinous crime to rise in rebellion against their sovereign, and fill the kingdom with slaughter, than oppose the tyranny of the holy see. A king under the censure of the church was regarded as a monster, and avoided with abhorrence. Conspiracies were formed against his government and person; Poland became a scene of confusion; Boleslaus was abandoned by all men, even those reptiles who basked in the radiance of his prosperity; he could not with safety continue longer in his own dominions; and the unfortunate monarch was forced to fly precipitately with his son Mieczslaus, and seek refuge in Hungary. Nor did the pontiff's vengeance stop with having driven him from a throne; it pursued Boleslaus to his retreat, plunged him into the abyss of misery, and forced him to earn a scanty subsistence by the mean occupation of a cook in a monastery in Corinthia, in which office he died (A).

ULADISLAUS, surnamed HERMANNUS.

The pontifical resentment was not appeased by the misfortune and death of Boleslaus; it extended to his son, and

(A) Authors differ widely respecting the end of this monarch, some affirming, that he was murdered by the clergy, as he was hunting in Hungary; others, that he committed suicide in a fit of despair; while the greater number, and indeed the most approved authorities, adhere to the relation we have given; nor is the circumstance at all improbable, considering the implacable resentment of the ecclesiastics in those times, and the spirit which the pope excited in Hungary (1).

(1) Hartnoch, lib. i. cap. ii. Math. de Michov. p. 38. Herbert de Fulstin. lib. iv. p. 45.

the whole kingdom of Poland. The former was excluded the succession, and the latter still continued under the most rigid interdiction, which could only be removed by the force of gold, and the most abject concessions. Besides the tax called Peter-pence, Poland was subjected to other oppressive impositions, as an expiation of the horrid murder committed on the bishop of Cracow. At length, the pontiff having satiated his avarice, and impoverished the country, consented that the brother of the deceased monarch should be raised to the supreme dignity, on condition, however, that he should be satisfied with the ducal title. It was no difficult matter to convince the meek spirited unambitious Uladislaus, that he ought to be implicitly obedient to the pontifical mandate: he accordingly accepted the terms proposed, and began his administration by sending an embassy to Rome, to beseech Gregory to withdraw the cruel interdiction. This request was granted; but all his endeavours to recover the regal dignity proved fruitless, the pope having, in conjunction with the emperor, bestowed that honour upon the duke of Bohemia. This preference was extremely mortifying to Uladislaus; but it was absorbed in considerations of more importance, and in misfortunes which equally affected his own person and the happiness of his dominions. Russia took the opportunity of the late civil disturbances to throw off the yoke; and this revolt drew after it the defection of Prussia, Pomerania, and other provinces. The appearance of a Polish army, and a trifling check soon however reduced the smaller provinces to obedience; but the duke had no sooner returned to Poland with his army than they again broke out in rebellion, and secured their families and effects in impenetrable forests. Uladislaus quickly began his march to Pomerania, with a full resolution of taking ample vengeance. He surrounded the forest; but was unfortunately surpris'd, defeated, and forced back to Poland, covered with shame and confusion^a. Next year, however, he had his revenge. Penetrating into the province with a numerous army sooner than was expected, the rebels submitted to a power which they could not resist, and surrendered the ringleaders of the revolt, to be punished as the duke thought proper.

A. D. 1082.

Uladislaus had no sooner secured the dignity of the commonwealth, by the reduction of the turbulent Pomeranians, than civil divisions appeared, to poison the felicity which he expected would be the result of his pacific disposition.

^a Guagnini apud Pistor. lib. iii. Hartn. lib. ii.

*Civil wars
in Poland.*

These proved the more irksome, because they were excited by his own son, and supported by the palatine of Cracow, and some of the first nobility in Poland. Sbigneus was the name of this young prince, the issue of Uladisslaus by a concubine. He was destined for the church, and his brother Boleslaus, the duke's legitimate son, was considered as successor to the sovereignty. The discontented nobility, however, drew Sbigneus from the monastery, where he was finishing his education, and placed him at the head of an army, to subvert his father's government, and dispute his brother's claim to the succession. They invested Wratisslaw, and by dint of corruption gained possession of the city. Uladisslaus took the field, and obliged the rebels to take sanctuary in Cruszviczia, where they were powerfully supported by the Prussians and Pomeranians. Sbigneus, when his army increased, ventured to give battle to his father, and met with the fate which he merited: he was defeated with great slaughter, took shelter in Cruszviczia, withstood an obstinate siege, and at last was taken prisoner, and confined; but released, on condition that he should join his father in punishing the insolence of the palatine of Cracow. The palatine perceived the approaching storm, and had the address to divert it, by purchasing a reconciliation with the duke; but Sbigneus and his brother Boleslaus could never forgive certain injuries which they imagined he had done them, or suffer that the power of a subject should eclipse their own glory. Here was laid the foundation of a war between the father and the children, the former having privately quitted his palace, and joined the palatine, who had suddenly become his chief favourite. He resolved to hazard every thing in support of his minion; and the young princes were equally determined upon vigorous measures, and the keenest revenge. They had already gained possession of Cracow, and other considerable places; and were preparing to besiege their father in Plocsko, when the archbishop of Gnesna, who was honoured by all parties for his wisdom and moderation, interposed, and effected a reconciliation. The palatine, however, was the sacrifice of this union: he was banished to Russia, and the children acknowledged the former authority of their parent. It was after this transaction, that Boleslaus marched with a powerful army to chastise the Prussians and Pomeranians, for having presumed to lay waste the Polish frontiers during the late civil commotions. In this expedition he proved himself a great warrior, and the heir of the king his grandfather's extraordinary military talents. The enemy every where fled before him, and the two provinces being wholly

over-

over-run and subdued in the space of a few weeks, Boleslaus returned laden with spoils and glory. Towards the end of the year Uladislaus died, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, with the reputation of a pious, mild, and virtuous prince, wholly under the influence and direction of parasites and favourites ^d.

A.D. 1103.

*Death of
Uladislaus.*

BOLES LAUS III. surnamed **CRIVENSTUS**, or **WRY-MOUTH**.

ULADISLAUS made no difference between his legitimate and natural children. An equal partition of his dominions was made, with the consent of the states, between the brothers, which soon involved the nation in a civil war. Without the capacity, Sbigneus had all the ambition of his brother, and impatiently sought the opportunity of coming to a rupture, which he hoped would terminate in placing him in the quiet possession of all Poland. Boleslaus saw his brother's design; but his regard for the public welfare obliged him to conceal his sentiments until Sbigneus became quite intolerable, and insolently demanded the whole treasure of his father, which was deposited in Plocsko, a city comprized within his share of the partition. This demand was not only refused, but resented by Boleslaus; and the two brothers were on the eve of a rupture, when the primate again seasonably interposed, and persuaded them to an equal division. However, the archbishop's endeavours accomplished nothing more than a temporary reconciliation. The princes were mutually inflamed, and nothing but bloodshed could cool the ardour of their passions. Sbigneus, incensed that he was disappointed in his designs upon the whole treasure, and dissatisfied with half those dominions which his ambition claimed entire, traduced his brother's conduct, raised up enemies to his administration, was at the bottom of perpetual cabals and conspiracies to disturb his government and endanger his person, and at last prevailed on the duke of Bohemia to assist him with a numerous body of forces. He likewise excited disturbances in Saxony and Moravia, procured an army of auxiliaries from these countries, and made such formidable preparations as threatened the destruction of Boleslaus, and the entire conquest of Poland. Sbigneus carried on his intrigues in the neighbouring countries with such secrecy, that his brother was astonished upon advice that the troops of Bohemia, Saxony, and Moravia were ready to overwhelm his frontiers. He was not destitute of courage; but having no forces pro-

^d Mat. de Michov, apud Pistor, lib. iii, cap. vii. p. 48.

portioned to the imminence of the danger, he had recourse in his extremity to the Russians and Hungarians, who readily embraced his cause, in expectation of turning it to their own advantage. The resources he found in these countries enabled him to act offensively: his presence alone dispersed the Prussians and Pomeranians, who had likewise been seduced by the promises of Sbigneus; his troops ravaged Moravia, and in one campaign he totally broke and disunited the league. Early in the spring he fell upon his brother by surprize, defeated his army, reduced all his fortresses, and then generously laid aside his indignation; and, satisfied with depriving Sbigneus of the power of hurting him, left him the duchy of Mazovia in quiet possession, to support the dignity of his birth^e.

*Civil wars
in Poland.*

The good fortune and merit of Boleslaus, and particularly his kindness, rendered his brother quite desperate: instead of being reclaimed by the lenity and liberality of Boleslaus, he became furious from a sense of his own unworthiness, stuck at nothing to satiate his revenge, and formed a new conspiracy, with a view to recover his dominions, and depose his brother: but the plot being discovered, he was seized, banished, and declared a traitor, if he ever again presumed to set foot in Poland. Even this rigour did not produce the desired effect: Pomerania armed to avenge the prince's injuries; Sbigneus entered Poland, was defeated, and taken prisoner a second time; when Boleslaus's clemency saved him from the rigour of the law, and was contented with the same punishment before inflicted, that of banishment. Almost all the nobility were unanimous in opinion, that he should be put to death; but Boleslaus could not be prevailed upon to pollute his hands with fraternal blood; however unworthy and corrupted. He even was moved with pity at seeing Sbigneus wander a vagrant from province to province, took him back to Poland, assigned him a handsome maintenance, and had some reason to lament his generosity; for the unnatural brother formed a fresh conspiracy, and at last suffered the just punishment of his treachery and ingratitude (A).

^e Mat. de Michov. apud Pistor. lib. iii. cap. xiv.

(A) The accounts of this prince's death are contradictory: some affirm, that he was slain in a tumult of the people; some, that he was put to death by order of the nobility; while others are equally positive, that he was condemned to lose his eyes, and to perpetual imprisonment, in which he died of grief and vexation (1).

(1) Cromer, lib. iv. Hartnoch, lib. ii. Guagnini, lib. iii. apud Pistor.

Boleslaus

Boleslaus was now in hope that he might enjoy the blessings of repose ; but he had scarce extinguished the wars kindled by his brother, when a more powerful enemy appeared, and he found himself under the necessity of opposing the ambition of the emperor Henry IV. and succouring the king of Hungary, who had generously espoused his cause when he was reduced to the greatest extremities. It was with this view he made a powerful diversion in Bohemia, and repeatedly defeated the imperialists. Fired with the desire of revenge, the emperor assembled all his forces, ravaged Silesia, penetrated into Poland, and injudiciously invested the strong town of Lubusz, which baffled all his attempts, and obliged him disgracefully to raise the siege. Much time was lost in the pursuit of this impolitic measure ; but Henry was not discouraged. He penetrated farther into Poland, and was laying all waste before him, when the superior skill of Boleslaus compelled him to retire, after having ruined his army with fatigue and famine, without once coming to action. Enraged at his disappointment the emperor laid siege to Glogaw, in hopes of drawing the Poles to an engagement, before he should be obliged to evacuate the country. The place was defenceless ; but the spirit of the inhabitants supplied the want of fortifications, and gave the imperialists an unexpectedly vigorous reception. They were at length, however, under the necessity of yielding to superior power, and signing an agreement, that they would surrender, if they did not receive succours in the space of six days. This was precisely what Henry desired ; by a general battle he doubted not but he should retrieve all the honour he had lost during the campaign. Boleslaus determined not to suffer so brave a garrison to fall a sacrifice to their loyalty. He assembled his utmost strength, and was reinforced by a body of Russian auxiliaries. With this army he advanced, by forced marches, to give battle to Henry ; but all his endeavours would have proved fruitless, as the time limited must have expired before his arrival, had he not prevailed on the besieged to break the capitulation, rather than surrender just as they were on the point of being delivered. All this was transacted with the utmost secrecy ; and the emperor, on the day appointed, advanced to take possession of the city ; but he was received by a furious discharge of arrows and javelins, which so incensed him, that he resolved to storm the place, and give no quarter. On the approach of the army it was matter of astonishment to see not only the breaches filled up, but new walls secured by a wet ditch behind the old, which had been made during the suspension of hostilities by the industry

*Boleslaus
defeats the
emperor of
Germany.*

industry of the besieged. The attack, however, went on; but the inhabitants, animated by despair, performed such prodigies of valour as almost exceeded belief, and obliged the imperialists to break up the siege with great precipitation. Next day Boleslaus arrived, pursued the fugitive emperor, came up with him in the neighbourhood of Warsaw, and constrained him to have recourse to an ignominious flight, which terminated on the frontiers of the empire.

This was the most glorious campaign which hitherto had appeared in the Polish annals, as the duke fought with regularly disciplined troops, and not the tumultuous savage rabble over which his predecessors had triumphed. It was followed by a peace, in which Boleslaus dictated his own conditions to the first monarch in Europe, and crowned his glory by receiving in marriage the emperor's sister ^b.

A.D. 1118.

We are told of an expedition which Boleslaus made into Denmark about this period; but as it is wholly omitted by the Danish and Polish historians of best authority, and favours strongly of fiction, we shall wholly omit the relation. Certain, however, it is, that the duke took part in the general madness of Europe, which at this time began to shew itself, and that ardent zeal which was displayed for the recovery of the Holy Land, though we are not informed of the particulars of the Polish crusades.

It was about the year 1135 that the good fortune of Boleslaus began first to abandon him, and suffered him to become the dupe of his own credulity. He was imposed upon by an artful story patched up by a certain Hungarian, who insinuated himself, through the door of compassion, into the duke's affection. To this stranger he gave the government of Willica, a strong town on the Nida; but the villain betrayed his trust to the Russians, who pillaged and burnt the houses, and carried the inhabitants into slavery. Boleslaus was incensed, and entered immediately upon a war with Russia, by which he only heaped one calamity on another. The enemy, knowing the capacity of the duke, and the valour of his forces, despaired of withstanding them in the open field; they therefore had recourse to the most perfidious stratagems. A deputation was sent from the inhabitants of Halitz, to implore his assistance in favour of a young prince who had been banished into Poland. Boleslaus marched to their relief with a choice body of troops; but, as he was preparing to enter the town, he was attacked by the whole Russian army, that poured out

^b Mat. de Michov. apud Pistor. lib. iii. cap. 14. Guagnini, lib. iii. Herbut de Fulstin. lib. iv.

upon him like a torrent; and, after a violent conflict, overwhelmed the Poles with numbers, the duke saving himself with much difficulty by flight. Thus, after having been conqueror in forty battles, Boleslaus was at last defeated by the cunning of a set of barbarians whom he despised: a misfortune which some writers attribute to the misconduct of the palatine of Cracow, to whom the king, after the engagement, sent a hare-skin and a spinning-wheel. Certain it is, that this inglorious check to his conquests filled the duke with grief, and is generally allowed to be the cause of his death, after he had reigned for the space of thirty-six years, with a renown that even eclipsed the glory of his predecessor, Boleslaus the Great. Boleslaus was brave, open, liberal, and a strict observer of truth and equity; but he had a credulity that sometimes led him into errors, and is the amiable weakness which too frequently accompanies generous minds^c.

Natural affection seduced Boleslaus into the same error committed by his father; notwithstanding his own experience had shewn him the fatal consequences of a partition of his dominions, he assigned equal portions to his four sons. To Uladisslaus, the eldest, were given the provinces of Cracow, Sirad, Lencici, Silesia, and Pomerania. Boleslaus, the second son, had for his share the palatinates of Culm and Cujava, with the duchy of Mazovia. The palatinates of Kaleszh and Pofnania fell to Mieczslaus, the third son; and to Henry, the fourth son, were assigned those of Lublin and Sandomir. Casimir, the youngest child, then an infant in the cradle, was entirely forgot, and no provision made for him, though his tender age required particular indulgence.

A.D. 1122.

ULADISLAUS II. surnamed the DRIVELLER.

THE funeral obsequies of the late duke being solemnized, the four princes made application to the diet to ratify the will of the deceased, and confirm them in their several possessions; besides, the states were to elect a successor to the ducal throne, their choice falling, after warm debates, upon Uladisslaus. The brothers were confirmed in their duchies, and the whole will of Boleslaus was ratified, except what related to the equality established among his children. Now all the brothers were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Uladisslaus, who was declared duke of all Poland; they were restrained from forming alliances, declaring war, or concluding peace, without his approba-

^c Hartnoch. lib. i. cap. 2.

tion; they were obliged to take the field with a certain number of troops, whenever required by the duke; and they were forbid meddling with the guardianship of the infant prince Casimir, whose education was wholly referred to the sovereign. The harmony of the princes was soon disturbed by the ambition of Christina, the consort of Uladislaus, the daughter and sister of two emperors. She formed a scheme to gain possession of all Poland, and deprive the younger children of the benefits of their father's will. She had an entire influence over her husband, and easily raised his ambition to a level with her own. To give an appearance of justice to her projects, she assembled the states, and enlarged eloquently on the danger of the late partition of the Polish dominions, so contrary to the fundamental laws of the commonwealth, and so likely to produce fatal effects. She alleged, that all endeavours to unite a state, divided under so many chiefs, would prove impossible, should the common danger ever require such a measure; she reminded them, that the commotions excited by Sbigneus had almost brought Poland to the verge of ruin, and should have prevented the states from ever again acceding to so impolitic a partition of power. She concluded her harangue with demonstrating the necessity of revoking their ratification of the late duke's will, in order to insure the obedience of the princes, provide against foreign incursions, and secure the tranquillity and honour of the republic. Thus the Poles were solicited immediately to commence a civil war, in order to avoid the inconveniences of domestic faction.

It was apparent to many of the nobility, that Christina's ambition, and not her patriotism, had dictated these measures. They expressed their resentment, and some had the courage to upbraid her for presuming to require that they would dishonour themselves by revoking a decree, solemnly passed by the whole assembly of the nation. They refuted every argument in her speech, and obliged her and Uladislaus apparently to relinquish their design. Mean while they resolved to take another method, and for that purpose entered into private engagements with the Russians, whom they invited into Poland. Uladislaus then used his influence with the nobility to join him; some he seduced by interest, others he drew over by fear, and a few he convinced by his arguments. A noble Dane, who possessed great wealth in Poland, alone ventured to espouse the young prince's cause, by which conduct he incurred the resentment of the cruel Christina, who had him seized as he was celebrating the nuptials of his daughter, deprived of his sight, and thrown
into

into a loathsome jail, after having been mangled in a shocking manner^c (A).

This outrage was the signal to other violences. Immediately the duke attacked Boleslaus, and drove him from Ploesko. Next he marched against Henry, and dispossessed him of his territories, obliging both the brothers to take refuge with Mieczslaus in Posnania, where they sustained a siege. Several of the nobility interposed; and used all their influence to effect a reconciliation; but Uladislaus proved as inexorable as if he had conceived himself injured. He insisted, that the besieged princes should surrender at discretion, and submit to the laws dictated by the conqueror. He despised their numbers, and thought himself perfectly secure in the completion of his ambitious projects. This cruelty drove the princes to despair, and set them upon executing the most vigorous resolutions. They sallied out, and attacked the duke's camp with such impetuosity, as put all in confusion, and obtained a decisive victory, having destroyed some thousands of the enemy, and taken all the king's baggage and valuable effects. Flushed with success, the brothers improved the opportunity, regained possession of their own dominions, and laid siege to Cracow, before the duke could collect his scattered forces. The Russians now entirely abandoned him; and evacuated Poland, a circumstance which obliged Uladislaus to throw himself into Cracow; but finding this city little disposed to hazard the consequences of a siege, he retired to Germany, from whence he hoped to return with a numerous army of auxiliaries. He soon, however, discovered, that his wife's friends were only attached to his prosperity, and that a prince without dominions was but an unwelcome visiter.

^c Mat. de Michov. lib. iii. cap. xvi. p. 62.

(A) The fate of this nobleman is otherwise related. He is said to have been the duke's prime favourite; and being one day with him on a hunting party, Uladislaus said jocosely, "Peter, I believe your wife lies more at ease with the abbot Scrinnen than we do." To which the Dane replied, sharply, "And it may be Christina does the same with Dobeſſus;"

a handsome young nobleman, who was supposed to partake of the favours of that lewd ambitious woman. Uladislaus was so affected with the answer, and stung with the reproach, that, forgetting he had given the provocation, he employed Dobeſſus to procure revenge, and had the favourite's tongue and eyes plucked out in the most barbarous manner (z).

(z) Flor. Polon. lib. ii. cap. vii. p. 73.

*Uladislaus
deposed.*

Mean while Cracow surrendered; the rest of Poland followed the example of the capital, Uladislaus was deposed with great formality by the diet; and his brother Boleslaus raised to the ducal dignity^c.

BOLESLAUS IV. surnamed CRISPUS.

THIS prince began his administration with an act of generosity which the late duke his brother little merited. He assigned him Silesia for his maintenance, and thereby severed that province from the crown of Poland, to which it was never re-annexed. Even this instance of fraternal affection did not operate on the mind of Uladislaus; he continually solicited the emperor for assistance; and at length prevailed on Conrade to send ambassadors with this view to Poland. The embassy proved fruitless; Conrade was incensed at the little regard paid to his request, and determined to effect his purpose by dint of arms. Accordingly he levied an army, marched into Poland, and sustained incredible fatigue from the vigilance and address of Boleslaus, who harrassed him with perpetual marches, skirmishes, stratagems, and ambuscades, obliging him, in one campaign, to relinquish his project of restoring Uladislaus. It is said by some historians, that the princes had an interview; that Boleslaus treated Conrade with the utmost magnificence; inspired him with a high opinion of his good sense and generosity; pulled off the mask from Uladislaus, disclosed his real character to the emperor, and fully convinced that prince of his ambition, injustice, and tyranny.

For some years Poland enjoyed profound tranquillity under the wise government of Boleslaus, who lived in the utmost harmony with his brothers Henry and Miecslaus, and gave great attention to the education of the young prince Casimir, for whom he intended making a handsome provision, as soon as he should arrive at the years of maturity. Henry seized the opportunity of the present repose of his country to signalize his courage and zeal for religion, against the enemies of Christianity in Asia. Crowds of noble volunteers flocked to his standard: Poland distinguished itself in this crusade; the prince embarked with his troops; arrived, after a prosperous voyage, at Jerusalem; and distinguished his valour in divers actions with the Saracens; but, in the space of one campaign, he lost the greatest part of his army, a circumstance which obliged him to return to Poland, where he was joyfully received, as the great support of the Christian faith, and the bul-

^c *Herburt de Fulstin, lib. iv.*

wark against the progress of infidelity. He had made large donations to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem; and for this reason his fame is transmitted, by the superstitious writers of his age, with uncommon splendor.

It was soon after Henry's return from Palestine that Poland was invaded by the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, who was persuaded into that measure by the solicitations of Uladissaus, and the address of his wife Christina. Frederic, with a powerful army of imperialists, he entered the Polish frontiers, where Boleslaus and his brothers waited to dispute his entrance; a resolution which they soon altered, on advice of the emperor's formidable numbers. It was now determined not to oppose force to force; but to practise all the stratagems of war, and annoy the enemy by cutting off their convoys, placing ambuscades, harrassing them in their march, and keeping them under perpetual alarm. With this view the three brothers divided their forces, after which division they desolated the country before the enemy's approach, and burnt all towns and cities that were in no condition to stand a siege. These measures produced the desired effect: the imperial army was reduced to the utmost extremity; provision and forage failed; men and horses perished; and those whom necessity forced upon excursions for food were slaughtered by flying parties of Poles, that perpetually hovered round the camp. Famine was succeeded by an epidemical distemper, that swept the troops off by hundreds in a day. Barbarossa was involved in the utmost distress and perplexity: he was ruined beyond redemption, without having scarce beheld the face of the enemy; and, to save his honour, had recourse to a conference, which he solicited with a humility extremely mortifying to so proud a monarch. Boleslaus was too prudent to stand upon punctilios: he knew the emperor's power, and the facility with which he could repair his present losses. Policy therefore dictated that he should not be irritated, and have affronts superadded to misfortunes: he therefore went, attended with his brothers and a slight guard, to the imperial camp; an instance of confidence which gave great pleasure to Frederic, and raised the Polish duke high in his esteem. A treaty was readily concluded, whereby the Poles agreed to assist the emperor with three hundred lances in his expedition to Italy; and Frederic promised his niece Adelaide in marriage to Mieczslaus, duke of Polesania. Such was the fortunate issue of this formidable invasion, which ought to be wholly ascribed to

Barbarossa's army ruined.

the prudence, perseverance, and valour of Boleslaus and his brothers (A).

It was the fashion of this age to conquer countries merely from motives of religion: this at least was the pretext used by the duke of Poland, to palliate the designs he had formed against the Prussians, a people sunk in the grossest ignorance and idolatry. His own dominions enjoyed the most perfect blessings of repose, and he thought he could not better shew his gratitude to the Almighty than by compelling barbarians and infidels to take refuge in the bosom of Christ's church, and to rob them of their freedom for the benefit of their souls. Accompanied by his brother Mieczslaus, he invaded Prussia with a powerful army. As nothing could oppose his progress, several of the leading persons in the country came to his camp to promise obedience, provided he would withdraw his forces, and release them from the heavy tribute he had imposed; but Boleslaus would listen to no conditions, unless they consented to be baptized. Great numbers of infidels were accordingly converted. Their idols were destroyed; their temples turned into churches; priests appointed for their instruction; and an entire revolution effected in religion, without a drop of bloodshed. There, however, appeared no sincerity in the conversion of the Prussians: it was dread of the power of Boleslaus that made them dissemble; and the moment he had withdrawn his army, they relapsed into their errors, banished the priests, and persecuted the few who, from conviction, seemed persuaded of the truth of Christianity. They corrupted certain Prussians in the Polish camp, who had insinuated themselves into the esteem of Boleslaus, and had been raised to offices of trust and honour. By their means the Polish army was seduced into defiles, where it was attacked, defeated, and dispersed by the Prussians, duke Henry being slain in the field, and Boleslaus and Mieczslaus escaping with great difficulty^b.

*Boleslaus
defeated by
the Prus-
sians.*

^a Flor. Polon. lib. ii. cap. viii. Mat. de Michov. lib. iii. cap. xix. xx. xxi. xxii. Guagnini apud Pistor. iii. Cromer, *ibid.* lib. ii.

(A) About the time this treaty was concluded, the unfortunate Uladislus died at Oldenberg, in his way to Poland, where he once more resolved to assert his claim. His son Boleslaus attended the emperor to Italy, and by his courage ac-

quired the esteem of that monarch, who had sufficient influence with the duke of Poland to procure him the investiture of Silesia; for which province he was required to do homage to the republic (1).

(1) Mat. de Michov. lib. iii. cap. xix. p. 66.

This defeat was followed by domestic broils, excited by the children of Uladisslaus. They demanded restitution of their father's dominions, most of which had now been assigned to the young prince Casimir. A great number of discontented Poles rose in their favour, and their claim was supported by a considerable army of German auxiliaries. Bolefflaus found himself unable to oppose the enemy by force, and had recourse to negociation, by which he gained time to recruit his army, and repair his late losses. An assembly of the states was held, before which the duke refused the claims of the children of Uladisslaus so much to the satisfaction of the diet, that it was voted, almost unanimously, that they had kindled an unjust war. However, to remove every pretence for renewing the civil discords of Poland, a fresh investiture was made of Silesia, which province was divided among the nephews of Bolefflaus. A certain Polish writer alleges, that Bolefflaus, having settled the affairs of his kingdom, resumed the scheme of obliging Prussia to embrace Christianity; and that, having sustained a second overthrow, he died of chagrin and disappointment: but authors of the best credit agree that he spent the last years of his life in peace and tranquillity, promoting the felicity of his subjects by the wisest measures of administration.

A. D. 1174

*Death of
Bolefflaus.**MIECZSLAUS III. surnamed the OLD.*

MIECZSLAUS was now raised to the ducal throne, and the duchies of Mozovia and Cujavia were assigned to Lechus, the son of Bolefflaus, his uncle prince Casimir being appointed his guardian. The succession was disputed by the friends of the infant Lechus, by Casimir the brother of Bolefflaus, and by the sons of Uladisslaus; but the states gave Mieczslaus the preference, on account of the high expectations they entertained from the government of a prince, who had already displayed the most extraordinary marks of wisdom, valour, and affability. Nevertheless, when Mieczslaus was seated on the throne, they found reason to question whether all his former life had not been one continued scene of hypocrisy. He became a tyrant the moment he ceased to be a subject, and changed all the virtues of an amiable hero into despotism, pride, avarice, and every vice which could render him contemptible and detested. He had been surnamed the Old, on account of the sagacity he displayed in his youth; and might now be styled, with equal reason, the Young, on account of the follies of his age. No prince ever afforded greater hopes at his accession, and no prince sooner disappointed the sanguine expectations

of his people. He countenanced his favourites in all kinds of rapacity, violence, and exaction. The wealth of individuals roused his avarice, and rendered the possessors criminal. He shut his ears against the murmurs of discontent, and the groans of the oppressed. He grew prodigal at the expence of his subjects; and at the same time became a miser and a spendthrift. Poland, in general, was wretchedly poor; but the prince's coffers overflowed with riches. His cruelty was so remarkable, that, when he wanted human creatures to torture, he gratified his bloody passion on the brute creation; and, merely out of a barbarous disposition, became immoderately fond of hunting. Some of his subjects remonstrated to him upon his strange change of temper, and the fatal consequences of the measures he pursued. Gideon, bishop of Cracow, in particular, relying upon his sacred function, and the friendship which Mieczslaus, while a subject, had professed for his person, ventured to declare his sentiments freely, and assured the duke that his conduct would necessarily produce an open rebellion. The return his loyalty met with was a declaration, that his next trespass of the same nature should be punished with banishment. Not satisfied with this imprudent step, the infatuated duke threatened to confiscate the effects of those who should presume to censure his administration; and, by a series of such arbitrary conduct, wholly exhausted the patience of his subjects. Private cabals were held, conspiracies formed, and it was at length determined to depose the tyrant. The palatine of Cracow joined the discontented, proposed that prince Casimir should succeed, and accordingly set about a formal deposition of Mieczslaus^d.

CASIMIR II. surnamed the JUST.

CASIMIR was a prince of generous and virtuous sentiments. He scrupled accepting the proffered dignity, because he feared it was a trespass upon equity, and a violation of another's property. One argument alone, out of the multitude that were used, had weight with him upon this occasion: it was the mutual obligation subsisting between the sovereign and the subject. Vanquished by the force of this reflection, and the prayers of the nobility, clergy, and people, he accepted the ducal dignity; after a solemn protestation, that the good of his country, and not the gratification of his ambition, was the sole object he had in view. Mieczslaus was absent at the time this revo-

^d *Auct. sup. citat. ibid.*

lution happened: upon advice of what was transacted, he employed his utmost diligence in raising an army; but meeting with a general repulse from the neighbouring princes whom he solicited for assistance, he found himself too weak to hazard a battle; and while he remained thus in a state of inaction, Casimir subdued the Lower Poland and Pomerania, which had remained firm in their allegiance to his rival. This prince having established the tranquillity of Poland, and fixed himself securely on the throne, applied his attention to the discharge of those duties required from a sovereign, and soon justified the high opinion which the people had entertained of his virtue. He began with redressing grievances, adjusting property, establishing right, and correcting the abuses which had crept into the administration during the corrupt, despotic government of his predecessor. All exorbitant imposts were suppressed, and a general diet was assembled, to rescue the peasants from the tyranny of the nobility; an affair of such consequence as the duke refused to determine by his own authority, though supported by the clergy. But it proved less difficult than was imagined to prevail upon the nobility to relinquish certain privileges which they possessed, extremely injurious to natural right: they were moved by the example of a virtuous prince; and, by their conduct on this occasion, demonstrated the great influence of a sovereign who is beloved by his people. All that the king required was immediately granted; and, to secure this declaration in favour of the peasants, the archbishop of Gnesna thundered out dreadful anathemas against those who should endeavour to recover the unjust privileges they had now renounced; taking care likewise to secure ecclesiastical property, by establishing severe penalties, and a variety of spiritual fences. The acts of this diet were transmitted to Rome, and confirmed by the pontiff.

Though the nobility in general consented to have their power retrenched, there were some to whom this limitation furnished cause of discontent; and these immediately became the partizans of the deposed prince Mieczslaus. This unfortunate prince had not only lost his crown, but likewise his hereditary dominions, so that he was reduced to extreme indigence. He now had recourse to supplications; wrote to Casimir an affecting account of his situation, drew tears from the eyes of this compassionate brother, and determined him to evacuate the throne in his favour, if he could procure the consent of the diet. For this purpose he assembled the states, pathetically described his brother's wretched circumstances, enlarged upon his penitence,

touched feelingly upon the injustice of one brother's usurping the property of another: and concluded with a request, that he might be permitted to restore the crown to Mieczslaus, for whose future conduct he would himself be security. The answer made by the states was peremptory. They told him never more to mention the subject, lest they should be under the necessity of deposing him, and excluding his brother, who they were determined should never again wear the Polish diadem. Casimir, however, was so moved with his brother's recital of his misfortunes, that he tried every measure to relieve him, and even connived at the arts practised by some discontented noblemen to effect a revolution in favour of Mieczslaus. By a very singular spirit of generosity he facilitated the reduction of Gnesna and Lower Poland, where Mieczslaus might have lived in splendour and peace, had not his heart been corrupted, and his ambition and avarice too strong to be subdued by kindness and fraternal affection. The possession of Gnesna only whetted his ardour to wrest the crown from his brother, and reduce Casimir to the same unfortunate situation from which he was just relieved by the unparelled goodness of that prince. He begun with attempting the conquest of the provinces of Mazovia and Cujavia, which had been assigned for the maintenance of Lechus, the son of Boleslaus, who was under the tutelage of duke Casimir. He corrupted certain persons about the young prince's court, and having persuaded Lechus to quit the party of Casimir, seized upon all his dominions. This violence opened the eyes of Lechus, and determined him to embrace the first opportunity of escaping, which he soon found, returned to Casimir, and was received with the same kindness as if he had never erred in his conduct. The young prince was equally affected with the sense of his own imprudence, and of the generosity of his guardian; grief preyed upon his constitution, and he soon became the victim of his own sensibility, leaving his dominions to Casimir by way of atonement^d. Policy and self-preservation required that Mieczslaus should be dispossessed of those countries which he had fraudulently seized: an army was assembled for this purpose, and the duchies of Mazovia and Cujavia were recovered and re-annexed to the crown of Poland.

Scarce had Casimir restored the tranquillity of his dominions (leaving his unworthy brother in possession of some places in Lower Poland) when he was engaged in a war with Russia, to re-establish Ulodimir in his dominions, of

^d Flor. Polon. lib. ii. cap. x. Mat. de Michov. lib. iii. cap. xx. which

which he had been dispossessed by the Hungarians. The expedition was displeasing to many of the Polish nobility, who were strongly connected by ties of interest and affinity with the Hungarians; in order to frustrate the design, they set on foot a scheme for employing the duke at home, by exciting a civil war, and attempting the restoration of Miecslaus. A report was artfully propagated, that Casimir was poisoned in Russia, and this considerably strengthened the faction. Cracow was surprised, but the citadel refused to surrender. Casimir's unexpected return destroyed the hopes of the conspirators. Miecslaus was forced to evacuate all his conquests; his son fell into the hands of Casimir; and the rebellion was entirely crushed, only to make way for farther proofs of the duke's clemency and moderation. He released all his prisoners, and even furnished them with every necessary to return to their several homes, condescending likewise, though victorious, to ask peace of his vanquished brother.

The last action of this amiable prince was the conquest of Russia, which he effected rather by the reputation of his wisdom and generosity than by force of arms. Those barbarians voluntarily submitted to a prince so famed for his benevolence, justice, and humanity. Soon after his return he died at Cracow, lamented as the best, the meekest, the most pious, liberal, and amiable prince that had ever filled the throne of Poland; his very failings were of such a nature as engaged the esteem, the affection, and the admiration of his people (A).

The Poles were doubly sensible of the merit of Casimir the moment he was removed, and this sensibility made them

• Mat. de Michov. lib. iii. cap. xxvii.

(A) The following anecdote is a sufficient illustration of his character. While Casimir was prince of Sandomir, he won at play all the money of one of his nobility, who, incensed at his ill fortune, struck the prince a blow on the ear, in the heat of passion. He fled immediately from justice; but being pursued and overtaken, he was condemned to lose his head; but the generous Casimir deter-

mined otherwise. "I am not surprised, said he, at the gentleman's conduct; for not having it in his power to revenge himself on fortune, no wonder he should attack her favourite." He revoked the sentence, returned the nobleman his money, and declared that he alone was faulty, as he encouraged by his example a pernicious practice, that might terminate in the ruin of his people (1).

(1) Flor. Polon. lib. ii. cap. x.

more

more difficult in their choice of a successor. His son Lechus was a boy, and they dreaded the consequences of a long minority, while there remained such a number of claimants to the throne. The young prince's cause, indeed, was espoused by the bishop of Cracow, and a majority of the nobility; besides, the election of the diet was sufficient to constitute the legitimacy of his right; yet the nation in general dreaded a civil war, and the confusion that might follow the elevation of a prince to the throne, who at the age of maturity might prove unworthy of the dignity, and of the danger and fatigue they should be obliged to undergo in his support. The deposed duke, and the son of Uladislaus II. now duke of Oppelen in Silesia, had each a powerful faction, determined upon joining interest to oppose the election of Lechus. However, the influence, the policy, the address, and the eloquence of the bishop of Cracow prevailed: he recited all the virtues of Casimir, and by reminding the assembly of the many benefits deduced from the piety of the father, strongly recommended the son. Gratitude, pity, and all the more powerful passions, operated in favour of the young prince, who was accordingly declared duly elected, the bishop and palatine of Cracow being constituted his guardians, and regents of the republic. Nor did the gratitude of the assembly to Casimir's memory stop at the elevation of his eldest son; Casimir, the second son, was declared duke of Mazovia and Cujavia, under the tutelage of the same great personages.

LECHUS VI. surnamed the FAIR.

THE consequences foreseen by the people immediately followed this act of the diet. Mieczslaus the Old, resolving to dispute the election, formed an alliance with the dukes of Oppelen, Pomerania, and Breslau; raised all the men in Lower Poland fit to bear arms; and bent his march with a numerous army towards Cracow. A bloody battle was fought on the banks of the river Mozgarva. After a terrible slaughter, the left wing of both armies were seized with a panic. On the one side Boleslaus, the son of Mieczslaus, was slain, and the old duke on the point of being taken prisoner; while on the other hand, the palatine of Sandomir fell into the enemy's hands, and the Russian auxiliaries entirely routed. Upon the whole, the advantage remained on the side of Lechus, though both were disabled from keeping the field, and forced to retire to recruit their forces and spirits, in order to overwhelm Poland with fresh scenes of slaughter. Mieczslaus was first ready
for

for action, and he commenced his operations by invading the duchy of Cujavia, which lay contiguous to his own dominions. Nothing opposed his progress; the cities opened their gates at his approach, and the divisions that reigned among the enemy, offered a fair opportunity for the entire conquest of Poland. Mieczslaus laid his scheme deep; not satisfied with the reduction of Cujavia, he formed a design on Cracow, but preferred artifice to open force. His first attempt was to corrupt the guardians of the young Lechus; but finding their integrity inflexible, he applied to the duchess-dowager, mother to the prince. To her he made the fairest promises, after having described, in the strongest terms, the miseries which would ensue from her refusal of the conditions he proposed. He engaged to adopt Lechus and Conrade, her sons; to surrender the province of Cujavia for their present support; and to declare them heirs to all his dominions. The principal nobility opposed this accommodation; but it was accepted by the duchess, in despite of all their remonstrances, and Mieczslaus was put in possession of the capital, after he had taken a solemn oath punctually to execute every article of the treaty.

MIECZSLAUS the OLD restored.

MIECZSLAUS had too often broke his engagements to have any regard to promises where his interest was concerned: ambition had surmounted greater difficulties than the mere breach of a simple contract with a credulous woman. He was indifferent to the opinion of mankind, and careless of his reputation when it stood in the way of his promotion or his passions; and now, having got the power in his hands, he resolved to exert it in the same manner as if no treaty at all subsisted with the duchess. His despotism soon became apparent; the duchess perceived she was duped, and endeavoured to retrieve her misconduct by rendering the perfidious duke odious to his subjects. Her children were beloved by the people, and she thought a few spirited measures in their favour would excite a general insurrection. Accordingly she formed a strong party; the nobility took arms, and the people followed their example. The rebellion was too general to be withstood; Mieczslaus was shamefully driven out of Cracow, and on the point of being reduced to his former wretched circumstances. His intriguing genius, however, once more availed him; he found means to sow dissension among the enemy; set the duchess and the palatine of Cracow at variance; and by this artifice obliged that powerful nobleman to embrace his party.

His death.

party. So formidable an accession soon turned the scale of fortune; Mieczslaus' forces became superior, and he in consequence regained possession of Cracow; but he did not long enjoy the fruits of his prosperity. He fell a sacrifice to intemperance, and his son Uladisslaus was raised to the ducal dignity, through the influence of the same palatine, who had been artfully seduced to embrace the cause of Mieczslaus. After the transactions we have related, the subsequent saying will exhibit a sufficient idea of the character of this perfidious prince: "A sovereign," said he, "is no longer obliged to keep his oath, than while it is neither safe nor beneficial to break it."

The opinions of historians differ with respect to the successor of Mieczslaus. Some relate, that Uladisslaus was elected duke, and died a few days after his accession^b; others are equally strenuous in asserting, that the palatine of Cracow, sensible that he had been deceived by the artful Mieczslaus, was preparing to join his enemies before his death, and immediately upon that event seized the capital, and restored the young Lechus to the supreme dignity^c. Guagnini differs from both these relations, and affirms, that Uladisslaus succeeded his father for three years, and then reflecting upon his own usurpation of another's right, voluntarily resigned the crown to Lechus.

LECHUS restored.

A. D. 1206.

WE can only be certain, amidst so many discordant opinions, that Lechus was restored. In this particular, all writers agree; and they are equally unanimous that his government was unfortunate. The Tartars broke into Poland, ravaged it with the utmost cruelty, and diffused terror and confusion through all the northern kingdoms. At last they came to an engagement with the Poles, who were assisted by the Russians; and, after an obstinate and dreadful conflict, obtained a complete victory. This was their first incursion into Poland; and happily for that country, it terminated as precipitately as it commenced. Without any apparent reason they retired, just as the whole kingdom was ready to submit. Disease and famine, however, marked their way. The devastations they had committed produced a dearth, which was soon followed by a pestilence, that reduced one of the most populous countries of the northern hemisphere to a solitude. In this situation was Poland, when death put an end to the misfor-

^b Hartnoch, lib. i. cap. ii. Herbut de Fulstin, lib. vi. p. 102, 103.
^c Guagn. p. 92, ap. Pistor.

unes of Lechus, whose reign was the most inauspicious in the annals of that republic. The manner in which Lechus perished completed the tragedy; he was sacrificed to the ambition of his own subjects, and murdered as he was bathing with Henry the Bearded of Silesia. The conspiracy was set on foot by Swentopelus, palatine of Pomerania, who aspired at the sovereignty of that province, the investiture of which had been refused him by Lechus. A civil war ensued, and Poland became the prey of a number of petty princes, each of whom claimed the ducal dignity^s (A).

It would be difficult to determine who was the successor of Lechus, for a series of years. He had a son called Boleslaus, by his wife Grewslaw, daughter of the duke of Russia; but this prince being a minor, the regency, and at last the ducal throne, was contested between Conrade, uncle to Boleslaus, and Henry the Bearded, duke of Silesia. Each triumphed in his turn; and that prince was considered as duke of Poland who got possession of Cracow, notwithstanding the rest of the kingdom was in the hands of men who claimed independency on the capital. Henry, after having defeated Conrade in two bloody battles, first gained the seat of government, and assumed the title of duke; but his imprudent confidence in the inhabitants of Cracow, soon destroyed the fruits of his victories. Having sent the Silesian troops back to their own country, to avoid giving umbrage to the citizens, he was surpris'd and taken prisoner by Conrade. The civil war raged with redoubled vigour; the son of Henry having collected an army, Poland was on the verge of destruction, when an accommodation was effected by the prudence and policy of Henry's wife Hedwiga. The treaty concluded upon this occasion was broke by Henry, who in less than a year assumed, without any opposition, the title of duke of Poland, got possession of Cracow, and enjoyed both for the remainder of his life.

It was during this unfortunate state of the kingdom that the Tartars made a second irruption, laid all desolate be-

^s Mat. de Michov. lib. iii. cap. xxx. Hart. lib. i. cap. ii.

(A) Mathew of Michovia relates, contrary to the testimony of all other Polish historians, that Lechus the Fair was four times deposed, and at last was murdered in the manner above related, while he was in possession of the sovereign authority of Poland, all the other princes paying him homage (1).

(1) Lib. iii. cap. xxx. p. 31.

fore

fore them, and were advancing to the capital, when they were attacked by the brave palatine of Cracow, defeated with great slaughter, and forced to retire with precipitation. The palatine's valour served only to stem the torrent; it did not break the power of the enemy: for next year the Tartars returned, and, spurred on by resentment, committed such barbarities as cannot be described without horror. Neither sex, age, nor quality, could excite compassion in the obdurate breasts of those savages; whole provinces being burnt to the ground, and the inhabitants massacred. They were returning loaden with spoils, when the palatine fell upon them a second time with a slender force; but fortune was unpropitious; he was defeated, after an obstinate conflict, and after he had displayed all the qualities of a good soldier, general, and patriot. This unfortunate action laid all Poland open to the Tartars; the nobility fled into Hungary, and the peasants sought an asylum among rocks and impenetrable forests. Cracow was left entirely defenceless; the Tartars took possession, and soon pillaged and burnt the capital. Next they penetrated into Silesia and Moravia, and destroyed Breslau and other cities; nor did Hungary escape the fury of their barbarity; the king gave battle to the Tartars, was defeated with vast carnage, and then had the mortification to see his capital laid in ashes, and above a hundred thousand of his subjects perish by fire and sword. The Tartarian arms were invincible; nothing could withstand the prodigious forces they brought into the field, and the fury with which they seemed actuated. They fixed their head-quarters on the frontiers of Hungary, and spread their devastations on every side with a celerity and success that threatened the destruction of the whole empire, as well as of the surrounding kingdoms.

BOLESLAUS V. surnamed the CHASTE.

IN this situation was Poland, bleeding under the scourge of the most cruel servitude, when Boleslaus, surnamed the Chaste, was raised to the throne, by which means a civil war was added to the other misfortunes of the kingdom. This prince, the son of Lechus, was opposed by his uncle Conrade, who, though he did not contest the right of the father, nor of Henry the Bearded, was resolved not to admit that of their children, and see himself become the subject of his own nephew. He took the field with a numerous army, gained possession of Cracow, and assumed the title of duke of Poland, having the provinces of Cracow and Sandomir wholly under his authority. As Boleslaus was forced to take refuge in Hungary, it is probable that
Conrade

Conrade might have kept possession of the ducal throne, had not his avarice and pride equally offended the nobility and peasants, and obliged them unanimously to invite Boleslaus to head the insurrection which appeared in every quarter. On his arrival the capital received him with joy; but his sovereignty was not universally acknowledged. A powerful party still espoused Conrade; and it is reported that on this occasion the knights of the Teutonic order were called into Poland to dispute the pretensions of Boleslaus (B). All his endeavours however proved ineffectual; he was defeated in two pitched battles, and forced to live in a private situation, though he never ceased to harass his nephew, and make fresh attempts to recover the crown, to which he had no right either by birth or election. To his intrigues Mathew of Michovia ascribes an irruption made by the Lithuanians into Poland, where they made dreadful ravages, and were at last defeated by Boleslaus, with the loss of their duke Mimdacus. We know but few particulars besides of the reign and character of Boleslaus, except that he is reported to have made a perpetual vow of continency, and to have imposed the same oath on his wife; that he was liberal to the church; that he founded near forty monasteries; and that he died after a long reign, in the year 1279, after having adopted Lechus duke of Cujavia, and procured a confirmation of his choice by the free election of the people^d.

A.D. 1240.

LECHUS VII. surnamed the BLACK.

NO period in the Polish annals is more replete with carnage than the reign of this prince, whose whole life was one continued tissue of domestic and foreign troubles. On his first accession he was attacked by the united forces of Russia and Lithuania, assisted by the Tartars, whom he had the good fortune to defeat in a pitched battle. The advan-

^d Flor. Polon. lib. ii. cap. xv. Guagn. tom. i. p. 97, apud Pistor.

(B) Some writers allege, that Conrade first invited the Teutonic knights to assist him against the Prussians, a few years before his contest with Boleslaus; and that in recompence of their services, he gave them Culm, and other places, where they were settled at this time, and ready to lend their assistance to their patron. In a few years these auxiliaries proved the bitterest enemies of Poland, and the authors of a great number of bloody wars (1).

(1) Flor. Polon. lib. ii. cap. ii. Guagn. p. 96.

tage obtained on this occasion obliged the enemy to evacuate Poland; but the victory so weakened Lechus, as to give birth to civil dissensions. The bishop of Cracow, and duke of Mazovia, with several other prelates and nobles, united to depose Lechus, from motives of ambition, some allege of resentment, the prince having detained the bishop of Cracow in prison for the space of a month. This was an affront never to be forgiven by the clergy, who had interest enough with the pontiff to procure sentence of excommunication to be denounced against their sovereign, whereby all his subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance. In consequence of this fulmination, the revolt became so general, that Lechus was forced to take shelter under the wing of the king of Hungary, the inhabitants of Cracow alone remaining firm in their duty. These brave citizens sustained a tedious siege, and were at last relieved by the Hungarian army and Lechus, who defeated the rebels, and restored the legitimate sovereign.

Lechus had scarce reascended the throne, when the united Russians, Tartars, and Lithuanians, made a second irruption into Poland, and desolated the country. Their forces were prodigious, and rendered more terrible, by the incredible number of large dogs trained to the art of war, with which they were accompanied. Lechus however was not discouraged; he attacked the enemy with an inferior number of troops, and obtained a complete victory, the Poles being animated by despair. This was the last exploit recorded in history of Lechus, who died with the reputation of a warlike, wise, but unfortunate monarch, having never had the power to gratify his inclination to promote the felicity of his subjects. As he died without issue his crown was contested, and his dominions were again exposed to all the horrors of civil discord. The competitors for the sovereignty were Uladisslaus Locticus, brother to the deceased prince, who seized the palatinate of Siradia; Boleslaus duke of Ploskow, brother to Conrade duke of Mazovia, who took possession of Cracow and Sandomir; and Henry duke of Breslau, a prince lineally descended from the family of Piastus. The struggle for power was violent, but short; Henry triumphing over his adversaries, and driving them from the provinces they had seized, took possession of the capital, and was acknowledged duke of Poland.

A.D. 1290.

HENRY, surnamed the HONEST.

HENRY did not enjoy his dignity in peace. Uladisslaus Locticus made another effort, and was so successful as to oblige the duke to quit the capital; however, he sustained a defeat

a defeat in the open field, which obliged him with reluctance to abandon his claim, and suffer his rival to remain in quiet possession for the short remainder of his life. About five years after his election Henry died, as some writers allege, of poison, administered to him by certain noblemen of Silesia, leaving the duchies of Cracow and Sandomir to Premislaus duke of Great Poland, his relation, and likewise the descendant of Piastus.

P. R E M I S L A U S II.

POLAND had lost all its splendor since its princes had been deprived of the regal dignity. Almost all the provinces had shook off their allegiance, and even the palatinates of Poland sometimes refused paying obedience to the dukes. Premislaus knew the influence of pageantry on the minds of the multitude, and accordingly had the ceremony of coronation renewed at Gnesna, and was crowned with all the pomp and magnificence observed by the former kings of Poland. He assumed the title of king, and was attended with all the badges of the regal dignity; but he did not live to experience the effects of this measure. A conspiracy was formed against him, and he was deprived of life about seven months after his elevation. The historians of this country differ extremely in their relations about the cause of this event. Some ascribe it to the jealousy of the marquis of Brandenburg, who employed assassins to execute his vengeance, though they are silent with respect to the occasion of this animosity between the princes: others, on the contrary, affirm, that the widow of the late sovereign, incensed at being stripped of the territories consigned to her for her dowry, entered into treaty with the monarch of Bohemia, and resigned to him her rights, on condition that he would assist her in gratifying her revenge, and punishing the ungrateful Premislaus. This offer was readily accepted; and accordingly that sovereign marched with a powerful army into Poland, reduced Cracow, and deposed the Polish prince, seizing upon all his dominions, whence he is ranked by some writers among the kings of Poland. It is said, however, of this prince, that he was better acquainted with the means of acquiring than with the art of retaining conquests. He suffered himself to be surprised and defeated by Uladislaus Locticus, who soon recovered all the places which had been taken, and drove the Bohemians out of the kingdom. It

A.D. 1296.

^a Guagn. tom. i. p. 99. Flor. Polon. lib. vii. cap. xv. pag. 113. Mat. de Michov. apud Pistor. tom. ii. lib. iv. cap. i. Hartn. lib. i. cap. ii. Herbut de Fulstin, lib. ix.

is impossible, at this distance of time, to reconcile accounts so opposite; we must therefore content ourselves with relating the various opinions, submitting it to the choice of our readers to which they think proper to give their assent.

ULADISLAUS III. surnamed LOCTICUS.

NOR are the relations of authors more consistent with respect to the succession; some affirm, that Uladisslaus Locticus seized the throne, and governed the kingdom for the space of five years, at first with great ability and applause, but towards the end of his reign, with so much tyranny and profligacy, that he was deposed by the unanimous voice of the people. Others are equally positive, that Premislaus, son to the late monarch, was vested with the regal dignity, out of regard to his merit, and certain considerable services which he had done his country. It is probable indeed that both these princes reigned; though it will be difficult to ascertain which was the immediate successor of Premislaus II. Both were solemnly crowned at Gnesna by the primate of that name. Premislaus was assassinated just as his people had begun to taste the fruits of his prudent administration; and Uladisslaus was deposed for his vices, after he had exhibited proofs of courage in repressing the insolence of the Silesians, and of ability in the administration of government.

WINCESLAUS.

A. D. 1300. AS soon as the throne was vacant, it was offered, by the unanimous voice of the people, to Wincefflaus king of Bohemia, who likewise claimed it by right, in consequence of the resignation made in his favour by Griphina, widow of Lechus the Black. He had likewise married Rixa, the daughter of Premislaus, and thereby strengthened his right and interest. His reign commenced with a cruel persecution of Locticus and his adherents, who were forced to quit the kingdom: he then introduced the Bohemians into Poland, and conferred upon them the principal offices in the kingdom. After he had firmly established himself upon the throne, as he imagined, and garrisoned all the fortresses with the troops of Bohemia, he visited his native country, and thereby laid the foundation of the revolution which immediately followed. The Bohemian governors used their power with insolence, and grievously oppressed the people with heavy taxes, imposed without the authority of the sovereign or the states. Uladisslaus Locticus resolved to profit by the general discontent that appeared among all degrees of men. He returned to Poland, and made profession

session of an entire reformation of manners. The troops he had brought from Hungary were soon increased to a considerable army by the crowds of Poles who took refuge with him, to screen themselves from the tyranny of the Bohemians. He had the good fortune to reduce several towns, and was rapidly pursuing his conquests when the death of Winceslaus paved the way to his restoration, as there was no other competitor able to dispute his claim with such numerous forces. Accordingly the states assembled, and unanimously elected Uladislaus, though they considerably retrenched his authority, and deferred his coronation until he had given proofs that his manners were really reformed*.

U L A D I S L A U S restored.

ULADISLAUS was no sooner restored to the sovereign authority than he engaged in a war with the Teutonic knights, who had usurped the greater part of Pomerania, during the late disturbances in Poland. They had been settled in the territory of Culm, as we have seen, by Conrad duke of Mazovia; and they soon extended their dominion, not only over Prussia, but Pomerania, and some of the neighbouring countries likewise. In the year 1310, they laid siege to Dantzick, and gained possession of the city by means of a secret correspondence with the corrupt magistracy. Here a great number of Pomeranian gentlemen were massacred in cold blood, an execution which so terrified all the other towns of the province, that they submitted without making the least resistance. To colour their ambition with the varnish of justice, they purchased the rights of the marquis of Brandenburg, who in fact had no legitimate claim to an inch of property in this country, and then set at defiance the thunders of the Vatican, and the menaces of the Polish monarch. Divers conferences were held in order to effect an accommodation; but as the knights refused to yield any of their conquests, Uladislaus had recourse first to the see of Rome, and then to arms, resolving to compel them by ecclesiastical censures and secular force to make restitution. As soon as the knights were excommunicated by the pope, the king marched with a numerous army into Brandenburg, and laid waste the marquis's dominions, because he pretended to sell a country to which he had no right, and to support with his forces the usurpation of the Teutonic order. Next he ravaged the territory of Culm with fire and sword, and being op-

A D 1305.

Conquers
the Teuto-
nic orders

* Vide Aust. citat. ibid.

posed by the joint forces of the marquis, the knights, and the duke of Mazovia, obtained a complete victory, after a bloody conflict, in which he eminently displayed his conduct and courage. Without pursuing the blow he returned to Poland, recruited his army, and being reinforced by a body of auxiliaries from Hungary and Lithuania, penetrated a second time into Prussia and Pomerania, dispersed the enemy's forces, and desolated all the dominions of the Teutonic order. Had he improved his advantage, he might either have exterminated the knights, or reduced them so low, that they could never more have been in a condition to injure Poland; but he was soothed by their supplications, and cajoled by promises, which they made with no other view than to extricate themselves from their present perplexity. He suffered a treaty to be concluded, under the mediation of the kings of Hungary and Bohemia, to the former of whom he had given his daughter in marriage, and was in a few months convinced of the perfidious designs of the knights. They not only refused to make the restitution of Pomerania, stipulated in the treaty, but endeavoured to extend their usurpations, for which purpose they assembled a very considerable army. Enraged at their treachery and ambition, Uladislaus a third time took the field, and gave battle with such extraordinary success, that four thousand knights were left dead upon the spot, and about thirty thousand auxiliaries, if we may credit the Polish writers, either killed or taken prisoners. Uladislaus had displayed all the qualities of a great general in this action: he animated his troops equally by his eloquence and example; and exhibiting striking proofs of his generosity after victory had declared in his favour. Among the enemy's wounded was one Florianus Szari, a knight of the Teutonic order, who, with his belly ripped open, and his bowels hanging down, accosted the king with these words: "See the situation of the poor man who is hedged round with bad neighbours." Uladislaus, struck with the expression, told him his valour merited a better neighbourhood, and accordingly sent surgeons to attend him; and as soon as he was cured, appointed him lands, where he spent the remainder of his days in tranquillity. Nor was the king's moderation inferior to his valour and humanity: though he now had it in his power to annihilate the whole order of knights, he satisfied himself with obtaining the territories which had occasioned the war, and securing the tranquillity of his dominions by a long truce.

He now turned his attention to the pacific arts; but he first resolved to give lustre to his government, by having his
 coro-

coronation performed with the utmost magnificence; to which the Poles could now have no objection, as the king had approved himself worthy of their election. For the space of fifteen years he had reigned with equal prudence and success; and this was the least favour he could expect from the gratitude of his subjects. They consented with one voice to his request; but Uladislaus entertaining some doubts about the propriety of assuming the regal dignity, without the consent of the holy see, detached an embassy to Rome to request the pontiff to confirm his own and his queen's coronation. As the request was accompanied with a liberal donation, it was immediately granted, and accordingly the ceremony was performed in the cathedral of Cracow, by the bishop of Guesna. Not long after this ceremony he was seized with a chronic disorder, that terminated with his life. When he perceived his dissolution near, he sent for the principal nobility and officers of the crown to his apartment, and recommended his son Casimir so strongly, that they all promised their utmost influence to have him appointed his successor. Then he addressed himself to the young prince, pointed out to him the errors in his own conduct, advised him to study gaining the affections of his subjects, and never to put any confidence in the promises of the Teutonic knights, who had so often trifled with their oaths, and imposed upon his credulity. Finally, he expired with the reputation of a prince who had acquired consummate prudence by experience, and learnt wisdom from adversity^d.

CASIMIR III. surnamed the GREAT.

THE conduct of the Teutonic knights justified the advice of the sage Uladislaus. They accepted the late truce only to draw breath and recruit their forces; and, now instead of making restitution, employed their utmost diligence to repair their losses. It was necessary, however, to act with caution; Casimir was powerful, and could with one blow crush all their forces: they therefore determined to accomplish their designs by intrigue, and had the good fortune to succeed: they submitted their differences with the crown of Poland to the decision of the kings of Hungary and Bohemia; and thus, by making the first overtures of chusing those princes for umpires, gained them actually to be parties. Conferences were appointed, Pomerania was adjudged to the knights, provided they would restore Culm, and Casimir

^d Herbut de Fulfstin, p. 153. Flor. Polon. lib. ii. cap. xviii. Mat. de Michov, lib. iv. cap. xiii. xiv. xv. xvi. tom. ii. apud Pistor.

reduced to the necessity of abiding by the decision of the kings, or of declaring war against the Teutonic order, assisted by the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia. The Poles, however, appeared more spirited on this occasion than their monarch. Casimir undertook to get the treaty ratified by the diet; but the states unanimously denied their assent, and even insisted upon the king's complaining to the see of Rome, of the turbulence, the perfidy, ambition, and restless disposition of the knights, who were perpetually lighting up the torch of sedition in the northern kingdoms. Casimir rejoiced at the courage of his people, and was glad to find the diet had disavowed measures which he himself could not approve, in any other respect but as being the result of necessity. He took his measures so well with the pontiff, that a legate came to Poland, examined the point in dispute, and condemned the knights to make immediate restitution, under the penalty of the severest spiritual punishments; a sentence to which they paid very little regard, as it was not enforced by secular power. His Polish majesty had thoughts of declaring war, to satisfy the inclinations of his subjects; but sensible of the power of the knights, and of the strength of the alliances they had formed, he at length resolved to wait a more seasonable opportunity, and be satisfied with the restitution of Culm and Cujavia.

Casimir had besides another motive for this seemingly tame conduct: he had projected the conquest of Russia, at least of that great province of the present Polish dominions called *Russia Nigra*. The divisions of that country, on account of religion, offered a fair opportunity; and he thought that this conquest might be more advantageous to Poland than the reduction of Pomerania, without the danger which would attend any attempts upon the latter. He immediately formed a flying camp, entered the province, and laid siege to Leopold, before the inhabitants were apprised of his intention. The place was destitute of provisions, and every other necessary for withstanding an enemy; the garrison therefore capitulated upon Casimir's promise of allowing entire liberty of conscience, and took an oath of allegiance to the crown of Poland. Leaving a garrison in Leopold, he turned his operations against the neighbouring cities, and soon made himself absolute master of Volhinia. Returning to Poland with an immense treasure, he levied a greater army, and again penetrated into Russia, to complete the conquest of that country, and was so successful as to subdue the whole province in the course of one campaign. Next he invaded Mazovia, over-ran the duchy, and annexed

*Subdues
Russia-
Nigra.*

it as a province to his crown; after which expedition, he applied his attention to domestic affairs, reviving the force of the ancient laws, framing new ones, and digesting the whole in a written regular code, such as had never before been seen in Poland. Hitherto the Poles were entirely ignorant of written laws; all causes were decided by custom, tradition, and the pleasure of the judge. The usual regulation observed in determining private differences was exceedingly ridiculous. An oath was written down upon paper, and delivered to one of the parties, who was desired to pronounce it. If in course of reading he hesitated or blundered, he was immediately condemned as guilty, merely perhaps because he happened not to be a scholar, though his adversary had indeed but little cause to triumph; for both parties were obliged to pay large fines to the judges. The palatines, starostas, and nobility sat as judges, and took this method of enriching themselves, under pretence of preventing litigation. Casimir resolved to reform these abuses: he stated the fees of the judge, who was to decide by written laws, which he adopted from the Teutonic order, and ordered that the whole costs should fall upon him whose obstinacy, injustice, or desire of tyrannizing over his fellow-subject, had given occasion for the law-suit. The written code he presented to a general diet, where it was examined, approved, and enlarged. Casimir then ordered it to be published; and the people soon reaped the fruits of his wisdom and care for their welfare. He raised Leopold to the dignity of an archbishoprick, erected several fortresses, strengthened his frontier, inclosed the chief cities of his dominions with strong walls, and governed with such ability, integrity, and vigilance, as could not fail of gaining the affections of his subjects. He was the most impartial judge, the most rigid observer of justice, and the most distinguished example of submission to the laws, that the history of Europe affords among persons vested with the regal dignity, who usually measure equity by power, and think themselves equally the sovereigns of the law and of the people. The peasants were relieved from the oppression of the nobility, and yet compensation was made to the latter by the means which Casimir took to promote industry, and increase the general wealth of the kingdom. In a word, Casimir's character was unsullied by a single vice, except incontinence, which however he confined within the bounds of policy, if not of strict morals. The clergy themselves confess, that in Casimir unchastity was a venial vice, which he more than compensated by the great number of his virtues, particularly

ticularly his liberality to their order, for whose use he founded several monasteries, and one university. It is certainly however a reproach to his memory, that he divorced his queen only to raise to his bed an intriguing artful concubine, who was so perfectly mistress of his passions, that she prevailed on him to marry her privately. In every other instance he approved himself a wise, valiant, and virtuous monarch.

L E W I S.

A D. 1370. CASIMIR had been careful to continue the last drop of the blood of Piastus in the succession; with which view Lewis, king of Hungary, his nephew by his sister, was declared prince of Poland by the diet. In the life-time of the late king he had sworn to observe the *pacta conventa*, and now ascended the throne without obstruction, being solemnly crowned at Cracow, on the 17th day of November. The Poles were not happy in this election; they could not but consider Lewis as a foreign prince, who would give the preference to his native country and hereditary dominions, enriching them perhaps at the expence of a kingdom which he could not regard as his own property. In the *pacta conventa* they had inserted a variety of articles to restrict his authority, which had never before been stipulated with their monarchs of the house of Piastus. This restriction occasioned a coldness between the king and his people, as it intimated a suspicion of his conduct; and indeed he too soon afforded cause for their jealousy. He had scarce received the homage of his new subjects before he retired into Hungary, carrying with him the crown, sceptre, globe, and sword of state, to prevent the Poles from electing another prince during his absence; and he left the reins of government in the hands of the queen his mother. The choice of a regent would have been agreeable to the people, had Elizabeth's capacity been sufficient for the important charge. She was a Pole by birth, and sister to their late darling monarch; but the disturbed circumstances of the state required the exertion of manly talents, and the queen possessed those only of a weak woman. Poland was overrun with bold robbers and gangs of villains, who plundered towns and desolated whole countries: they were headed by a Brandenburg partisan, and spread terror through the kingdom with impunity. The Lithuanians too had made inroads into Poland, and marked their way with blood and slaughter. They reduced Wlodomirów, a city which Casimir had fortified merely as a check on their ferocity; but

but it was now left ungarrisoned, whereby it fell an easy prey, was sacked and destroyed. They next penetrated into the palatinate of Sandomir; and, to increase the public calamity, the whole province of Russia Nigra revolted. The kingdom itself was filled with dissension; the Poles could not patiently endure to see their garrisons in the hands of Hungarians; and they sent the king word, that they thought he was sufficiently honoured in being himself elected to the regal dignity, without suffering the kingdom to be governed by a woman and his Hungarian subjects. So bold a message was regarded as a signal for action: Lewis raised a numerous army, and marched for Poland, with a full resolution of breaking the high spirit of his new subjects. His first operations, however, were directed against the Russians, whom he defeated, obliging them again to receive the yoke of servitude. He then turned his arms against the Lithuanians, whom he drove out of the kingdom. Had he stopped there, and withdrawn the Hungarian garrisons, he might easily have recovered the affections of his Polish subjects. Instead, however, of a measure which common understanding dictated, he strengthened the fetters of the Poles, by increasing the foreign troops, and raising Hungarians to all the chief dignities. His credit and authority even extended so far as to cause a successor to be nominated, who was disagreeable to the whole nation, and this by a step the most unprecedented, and contrary to the constitution of the Polish government. He assembled a diet of the states of Poland at Zwolen, in Hungary, and prevailed on the principal nobility, whom he won by presents, or intimidated by menaces, to swear allegiance to Sigismund, marquis of Brandenburg. To give weight to their election, he sent that prince with a body of Hungarian forces into Poland, and obliged him to fix his court at Gnesna, where he resided when Lewis, very happily for the kingdom, breathed his last, after an ill conducted reign of twelve years (A).

† Mat. de Michov. lib. iv. cap. xxviii. xxix. xxx. xxxi. Radevicus, lib. i. cap. iii.

(A) It is reported of Lewis, that notwithstanding his administration relative to Poland was impolitic, he was neither destitute of understanding, nor of valuable qualities. He always expressed an extreme anxiety to know what opinion his subjects entertained of his government; for which purpose he used to disguise himself, and enquire of the peasants how they liked their king, carefully redressing all the grievances of which they complained (1).

(1) Flor. Polon. lib. ii. cap. xx. Herbart de Fulstin, lib. xi. p. 189.

All the endeavours of Lewis to confirm Sigismund in the succession were frustrated by his own mismanagement, and the rivetted aversion of the nation to a foreign prince, set over them by fraud, corruption, and force. His election was not only irregular; but the imperious manner in which he behaved would have provoked the people to set aside the most legitimate claim; they therefore refused to proceed to the ceremony of coronation, and the diet came to a resolution of offering the crown to Hedwiga, daughter to the late monarch.

H E D W I G A.

THE only conditions proposed to this young princess were, that she should marry with the approbation of her subjects, and expressly stipulate that her husband should reside constantly in Poland. The proposal was accepted, and Hedwiga, attended by cardinal Demetrius, bishop of Strigonia, set out for Poland, where she was received amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, and crowned with the utmost splendor and magnificence at Cracow. She was scarce seated on the throne before several neighbouring princes demanded her in marriage. The first who courted her affection was Ziemowitüs, duke of Mazovia, who was rejected: next William of Austria made proposals, and came to the court of Poland to give weight to his address. Hedwiga was won by the comeliness of his person, his magnificence, and plausible manner; but the diet positively refused all connection with a prince, whose power might one day enable him to render Poland a province dependent on Austria. At last Jagello, duke of Great Lithuania, demanded the queen in marriage, by a magnificent embassy. His terms were so advantageous to Poland, and the alliance in every respect so honourable, that there was no possibility of raising objections. He consented to embrace Christianity, and to oblige all his subjects to be baptized: he proposed uniting Lithuania to Poland inseparably, and to incorporate them into one solid government, under the same sovereign authority; and he promised to re-conquer Pomerania, and all the provinces belonging to Poland, which had been usurped by the knights of the Teutonic order. By such magnificent proposals Jagello easily triumphed over all his adversaries; the queen regarded them as tests of his affection, and the people considered them as extremely advantageous to the kingdom, as the union of Lithuania not only augmented the power of the commonwealth, but cut off all cause of those cruel wars, which of late years were

were continually disturbing the repose both of Poland and Lithuania.

Still however the queen entertained a secret passion for William of Austria. She had endeavoured to mould her affections to the inclination and welfare of her people; but when the treaty of marriage with Jagello was on the point of being concluded, her resolution failed, and she could not help considering herself as the sacrifice made to a barbarian and infidel, to promote the happiness of her subjects. Filled with these sentiments, she now determined at all hazards to encourage the address of William; for which purpose she entered upon a clandestine intercourse with him, whereby he was invited to enter the kingdom with a body of forces to support her designs. She even had a private interview with this prince, which being discovered, the nobility in arms surrounded the palace, obliged William to retire, and kept their sovereign a sort of prisoner until the arrival of Jagello, who advanced with a numerous army, attended by his two brothers. On his arrival at court, the queen refused to admit him to her presence; but being at length prevailed on by the prayers of the nobility, the handsome person, the vivacity and youth of the Lithuanian duke, soon banished from her mind the idea of William, and her heart corresponded with her duty. The nuptials were celebrated with the utmost magnificence; Jagello was baptized by the name of Uladislaus, and the duchy of Lithuania inseparably annexed to the crown of Poland, but not as a dependent province.

Hedwiga marries Jagello, duke of Lithuania, and thereby unites that duchy with the crown.

S E C T. IV.

Containing the History of the third Class of Polish Monarchs, or the Race of Jagello, extinct in the Person of Sigismund II. 1574.

U L A D I S L A U S IV. (A)

IN consequence of the marriage of queen Hedwiga with Jagello, duke of Lithuania, the kingdom of Poland was augmented not only by the union of that duchy, but by the vast provinces of Samogitia and Russia Nigra, the latter of which had cost the republic so much blood and treasure. These provinces paid homage to the dukes of Lithuania; and though they were governed by their own princes, yet

A.D. 1388.

z Id. *ibid.* Mat. de Michov. lib. iv. cap. 37. Polon. lib. iii. cap. 2.

(A) This prince is, by a general mistake, called Uladislaus V. the

the sovereignty of the duchy, and now of the united crowns of Poland and Lithuania, was acknowledged. So formidable a union excited the jealousy of the Teutonic knights, who were sensible that Jagello, now Uladislaus, was obliged by the articles of the alliance to undertake the reduction of Pomerania, and revenge all the indignities which Poland had for a number of years sustained from their order. From his first accession they considered this monarch as their declared enemy, and exerted their utmost ability to frustrate his designs, by carrying fire and sword into his country, and exciting a revolution in Lithuania in favour of his brother Andrew. The situation of the duchy afforded a prospect of success. Almost all the nobility resented the late alliance, particularly the constant residence of the prince in Poland, which was stipulated in the treaty of union. This, they imagined, would not only drain the country of money, but in time render Lithuania a mere dependent province. Besides, Jagello had promised to effect a revolution in religion, and this measure could not fail of meeting with opposition, and giving birth to civil commotions. Though the order of Teutonic knights was first instituted to oppose infidelity, and defend the Christian faith, they now resolved to follow the dictates of policy, and strenuously oppose the progress of the Christian doctrines in Lithuania, with a view to stir up the people against their sovereign. Two armies marched with great expedition towards the frontiers of the duchy, which they suddenly penetrated, laying waste the country, and seizing upon some important fortresses, before the king of Poland had any suspicion of their design. As soon as he received advice of the ravages committing in Lithuania, the king raised forces with the utmost celerity, which he entrusted to the conduct of his brother Skirgello, who attacked the knights with such impetuosity, as soon obliged them to evacuate their conquests. Mean time Uladislaus marched in person, at the head of an army, into the Higher Poland, a country rent with civil divisions, and subjected to a variety of petty tyrants, who oppressed the people, and governed with intolerable despotism¹. The palatine of Posnia, in particular, had seized the opportunity of the weakness of the late government to throw off his allegiance. Uladislaus advanced against him, gave him battle, obtained a complete victory, reduced the whole country to obedience, and punished the fomenters of the rebellion in an exemplary manner.

¹ Herbut de Fulcin, lib. xiv.

Having secured the tranquillity of Poland, he visited Lithuania, attended by a great number of the clergy, in order to effect the conversion of his subjects, who had hitherto been immersed in the grossest idolatry. Like some eastern nations the inhabitants of Lithuania worshipped fire, which was attended by priests, whose office it was to keep the sacred lamps continually burning, under the penalty of losing their lives for the first neglect. Over this body of priests presided a high-priest called Ziutz, and a chief temple was erected at Vilna, the capital of the duchy, whither the whole nation flocked in the utmost terror if the sun happened to be obscured for some days by clouds, to appease that deity by human sacrifices. If that luminary chanced to be eclipsed, the people were overwhelmed with consternation; rivers of human blood flowed; all the unhappy captives were immolated without mercy at the shrines of ignorance and superstition; and cruelty was added to the most absurd of all religious tenets. Trees, serpents, and vipers, were likewise the objects of their adoration. In gloomy forests, and under lofty trees, they paid their devotion, while the reptile creation were cherished in every family as the household gods. Uladislaus took the most effectual method of removing the errors of this infatuated people: he crushed their serpents under foot, cut down their forests, extinguished their sacred fires, demolished their temples, and by these means demonstrated to the Lithuanians the impotence of their gods. At first the people expected to see the Polanders blasted with lightning, and punished with the signal vengeance of heaven; but perceiving that they met with no injury, they were convinced those gods were destitute of power. It was then they embraced Christianity, suffered themselves to be baptized, and desired they might be instructed in all the doctrines of Christ. Accordingly a great number of the clergy were left in Lithuania, an archbishoprick was erected at Vilna, and Uladislaus, imagining he had sufficiently laid the foundation of the conversion of the people, returned to Poland, constituting his brother Skirgello viceroy of the duchy. This was a measure upon which the king had not duly deliberated; he must have been too well acquainted with the character of his brother to believe, that he could possibly be entrusted with power without abusing it. Skirgello was fierce, haughty, cruel, and debauched; his great ambition was to become dreadful; and this addition of power rendered him altogether untractable. With him the king sent his cousin Vitowda, a prince, amiable, brave,

and

Civil divisions in Lithuania.

and generous in his disposition, to be a check on his conduct; but Skirgello's barbarity, and unspeakable ferocity, obliged the young prince to withdraw among the Teutonic knights, the usual refuge of the oppressed and discontented. He had too much honour, however, to assist the knights in their designs against his country, and therefore applied to the king for protection; but finding that prince unmindful of his promises, he actually embarked in the scheme formed by the knights to invade Lithuania. This country he entered at the head of a numerous army, seized upon the capital, which he burnt to the ground, and destroyed fourteen thousand persons of both sexes in the flames, besides great numbers who were massacred endeavouring to escape. Such was the fate of the lower city, while the Poles, who garrisoned the upper city, were animated by despair to the most vigorous defence. The slight walls were soon ruined; but new works were speedily erected by the brave garrison, by which means the enemy were diverted so long, that Skirgello had time to assemble an army, with which he so harrassed the besiegers, that they were forced to relinquish the enterprize, after they had laid waste the adjacent country ^m.

Vitowda was now too deeply engaged in open rebellion to retract; he therefore recruited his forces, and next year laid siege a second time to the Upper Vilna, which was still defended by the same brave garrison that had before foiled all his attempts. Their obstinacy now likewise obliged him to raise the siege; but he got possession of some other cities, and aimed directly at the sovereignty of Lithuania, independent of Uladislaus and the crown of Poland, relying on the general discontent which his brother's cruelty had produced. As soon, however, as an opportunity offered, he came to an accommodation with the king, and had the government of Lithuania in reward of his moderation, by which Uladislaus disobligeed his brothers Skirgello and Swidrigello. During the first years of his government, Vitowda gave the most diligent application to domestic affairs, repairing the calamities occasioned by the late civil dissensions; but his impetuous courage at last stimulated him to enter upon a war with the great Tamerlane, the conqueror of the celebrated Bajazet; a prince who had spread the terror of his name over all Asia. For some time before Vitowda had been at war with the neighbouring Tartars, and was constantly victorious, extending his con-

*War with
the Tar-
tars.*

^m Mat. de Michov. tom. ii. apud Pistor. p. 133.

quests to the banks of the Don and the Volga. He had transplanted whole hords of that barbarous people into Poland and Lithuania, where, to this day, they form a kind of separate colony, distinct in arms, manners, and dress, from the natives; but he had not experienced the strength of the great body of the nation commanded by the emperor in person. Uladislaus dissuaded him from so romantic and useless an enterprize; but the courage of Vitowda was only to be cooled by fatal experience; he encountered the Tartars with a fine army of Poles, Lithuanians, and Prussians, fought for a whole day with the utmost magnanimity, but was at last surrounded by superior numbers, and forced to break his way through with prodigious slaughter. The Tartarian army, commanded by Ediga, the lieutenant of Tamerlane, is said to have exceeded four hundred thousand men, to whom Vitowda opposed no more than forty thousand, and at last came off without an entire defeat, after he had killed a number of the enemy equal to that of his whole army^a.

During the absence of Vitowda the knights had penetrated into Lithuania, and committed the most barbarous ravages. On his return he attacked and defeated them, making an irruption into Livonia, to punish the inhabitants of that country for the assistance they had lent the Teutonic order. This was succeeded by a series of wars between Poland and Prussia, in which Uladislaus found it necessary to take the field in person. By war, treaty, and intrigue, the knights had stripped Poland of a variety of provinces, and got possession of Samogitia, Mazovia, Silesia, Culm, and all Pomerania. It was very uncertain where their ambition would terminate; the king, therefore, came to a resolution of punishing their perfidy before they should grow too powerful. With this view he assembled an army, composed of Poles, Lithuanians, Prussians, Moravians, and Bohemians, with which he penetrated into Prussia, took several towns, and was advancing to Marienburg, the capital of Pomerania, when he was met by the army of the Prussian knights, who determined to hazard a battle. The king was at mass when advice was brought that the enemy were in sight; but he neither quitted his devotions, nor seemed the least agitated. It was some time before he gave orders for the disposition of the troops; and this delay was construed into fear by the grand-master of the Teutonic order, who, by way of challenge, sent two drawn swords into the Polish camp. As soon as prayers were over Ula-

^a Flor. Polon. lib. iii. cap. 2.

dislaus drew out his troops; and began the attack with his right wing, on which stood the Lithuanians, who, in despite of all the endeavours of the gallant Vitowda, made but feeble efforts, and at last had recourse to an ignominious flight. Their misconduct proved contagious; the Moravians and Bohemians on the left wing followed their example, and retreated, without striking a blow, into a neighbouring forest, leaving the Poles to sustain singly the whole weight of the Teutonic army. It was in the center, where the king commanded in person, that the battle raged with the greatest fury: the most desperate attempts were made to seize upon the great standard of Poland; it was once hurled to the ground, and recovered by the king, who immediately planted it among the thickest squadrons of the enemy, as a signal to his troops to follow him, which they readily obeyed. His courage, indeed, hurried him on too fast for the Poles to follow, as they were obliged to fight their way through crowds of the enemy; and he saw himself exposed to a thousand dangers in the midst of a German squadron. His life he owed to the attachment of his secretary, who flung himself in the way of a blow levelled at the king, and received it upon his shield. After a desperate engagement the Poles forced their way through to their sovereign, hewed down the enemy in heaps, beat to the ground the standard of St. George, and obliged victory to declare herself in their favour, after she had hovered for the space of six hours in suspense. The slaughter was dreadful; near forty thousand of the enemy are said to have perished in the field with their general, and above thirty thousand to have been made prisoners; but the consequences of so signal an overthrow was less fatal to the Prussian knights than was expected; the king neglected to improve his advantage, and in fact reaped little more than glory from the most distinguished victory that was ever obtained by the Poles, as it flowed entirely from the valour of a handful of men, in proportion to the enemy's forces. Had Uladislaus proceeded to the capital, Marienburg must have surrendered, as the garrison was draughted to augment the Prussian army, and the inhabitants were overwhelmed in the general consternation spread by the defeat. The smallest detachment might have gained possession of the most important city in Pomerania, where immense treasures and magazines were lodged; but Uladislaus, desirous of refreshing his troops, lost the opportunity, and afforded the enemy leisure to collect their scattered forces, and

*He defeats
the Teuto-
nic army.*

• Mat. de Michov. lib. iv. cap. 46. Flor. Polon. lib. iii. cap. 2.

throw themselves into Marienburg, where they made an obstinate resistance, and at last obtained a peace more favourable than they had any reason to expect.

Some infraction of the treaty occasioned the recommencement of hostilities; according to some writers the knights only sued for peace, but could obtain no equitable conditions from Uladislaus, who was too much elated with victory to listen to the suggestions of prudence. He refused to accept Pomerania and the territory of Culm as the price of pacification; and his inflexibility served only to drive the enemy to the desperate resolution of burying themselves in the ashes of their capital: the siege was renewed, and both sides acted with the utmost vigour. One of the knights, whose name was Plawen, was elected grand-master, on account of the gallantry he had displayed on divers occasions, and he now approved himself worthy of the honour, by a series of the most glorious actions. The measures he had taken spun out the siege to so great a length, that the Polish army was reduced considerably by disease and the sword. His perpetual sallies on the quarter possessed by the Lithuanians, quite exhausted the patience of that people, and determined them to relinquish the enterprize, in despite of all the remonstrances made by the king and the brave Vitowda. Their example was followed by the dukes of Mazovia; and an irruption of Hungarians into Poland, at last determined the king himself to break up a siege which had cost the lives of a third of his army, destroyed all discipline, and considerably impaired his authority. It was Plawen who had excited the Hungarians to this unprovoked attack: he had likewise prevailed on the grand-master of Livonia to take part in his quarrel; and that prince was on his march with a prodigious army, when he was surpris'd and defeated by a Polish general, who had assembled all the neighbouring garrisons on observing the enemy's security. This was another terrible wound, to which the abilities of Plawen only were capable of applying adequate remedies. Though plunged into the deepest distress, his presence of mind and courage never forsook him; he was now destitute of troops; but he supplied that deficiency by a secret negociation he set on foot with Vitowda, by which he staggered the integrity of that gallant prince. Every object that could dazzle his understanding, rouse his ambition, and efface all memory of his duty and obligation to his sovereign, was presented to his eyes. Vitowda yielded to the promise made of erecting Lithuania and Samogitia into an independent monarchy.

Several lords about the person of Uladislaus were corrupted, and the knights first obtained a truce, and afterwards an advantageous peace, at the very juncture when they expected to be wholly exterminated. Such was the issue of a war, in which the political errors committed by the Polish monarch destroyed the fruits of all his glorious exploits in the capacity of a general. His conduct, however, on this occasion, was the only blunder of his whole reign; all the rest was sage, politic, and resolute: his penetration discovered all the intrigues of the emperor Sigismund, the Teutonic knights, and the ambitious Vitowda, to disturb the peace of Poland, and to erect Lithuania into a sovereignty; and his prudent and spirited measures disconcerted all their designs. Having established the repose of his kingdom, subdued all his enemies, and filled up the measure of his reputation, Uladislaus paid the last duty to nature in a very advanced age, after a prosperous and glorious reign of forty-eight years^p. His remains were deposited with great solemnity in the cathedral at Cracow, amidst the groans and tears of his affectionate subjects, who equally admired the qualities of his head, and loved and revered the virtues of his heart.

*His death
and cha-
racter.*

U L A D I S L A U S . VI.

A.D. 1435.

AT the death of Jagello, who had been baptized Uladislaus, his eldest son Uladislaus was in the ninth year of his age; however, he was raised to the regal dignity by the influence of the bishop of Cracow, who eloquently represented to the diet the advantages which would result from maintaining the race of Jagello in the succession, and thereby incorporating Lithuania with Poland. The opposition, however, was violent; and even after the election of the young prince was admitted, warm disputes arose about the manner of his taking the oath to be administered at the coronation. At length this difficulty likewise was surmounted, his mother and several of the nobility and clergy becoming his sponsors that he would accept the oath as soon as he should attain to the age of maturity. Uladislaus had scarce ascended the throne of his father when the repose of Poland was disturbed by an irruption of the Tartars in Podolia, where they laid waste the country with the most barbarous ferocity. A Polish army, conducted by the palatine Buccarius, was sent to oppose them; the general ventured, with greatly inferior forces, to give battle: he

^p Id. *ibid.* etiam Herb. de Fulstin. lib. xiii. p. 208.

was defeated, with the loss of half his army, and the Tartars were suffered to retire, loaded with plunder, to their own country. A few years after this invasion, the disturbances in Hungary, and the ambition of Amurath, emperor of the Turks, involved Poland in a war with that powerful monarch, and obliged Uladislaus to command his army in person, before the constitution allowed him to take the management of the reins of civil government. The young prince was so earnest to signalize his courage against the infidels, that the regency yielded to his ardour, and made all the necessary preparations for his opening the campaign with success. The Hungarians, indeed, threatened with an invasion from the Turks, implored the assistance of Poland to dissipate a storm which, after destroying Hungary, might fall upon the neighbouring kingdoms, and the regency thought that policy required they should exert their utmost endeavours to guard against the calamity. Before all things were prepared for the young king to take the field, a strong body of auxiliaries were detached to serve under the famous John Hunniades, vaivode of Transylvania, and likewise to support the election of Uladislaus, who was invited to accept the crown of Hungary by the states, in opposition to the party of the empress Elizabeth. This detachment of Poles, under the conduct of the brave vaivode, performed prodiges of valour. They surpris'd the Turkish army near the river Morava, and defeated Amurath with the loss of thirty thousand men killed and taken prisoners; after which victory Hunniades retook all the towns conquered by the Turks in Rascia. This action proved so decisive, that the proud Amurath was forced to sue for peace, and Uladislaus was raised, without opposition, to the crown of Hungary, in reward of the services performed by his troops. A treaty was concluded; whereby the Turks promised to relinquish their designs upon Hungary, to acknowledge the king's right to that crown, and to yield up all their conquests in Rascia and Servia. It was sealed by mutual oaths; and Uladislaus would probably have rigidly performed his engagements, but for the persuasions of the pope's legate, who insisted that now was the opportunity of humbling the Othoman power. At the same time he produced a special commission from the pontiff, to absolve him from the oath he had taken at the signing of the late treaty. The artful insinuations of the legate, the king's belief in the dispensing power of the holy see, and the eager desire of signalizing his zeal and valour, easily won the consent of a young monarch flushed with his late success, and ardent to emulate the glory of the brave vaivode. Without

farther reflection Uladislaus renounced the treaty with Amurath, and marched at the head of his army into Bulgaria. After having taken some fortresses in his way, he penetrated into Thrace, with intention of advancing to Adrianople, and seizing the person and vast treasures of the sultan.

A.D. 1445.

*Uladislaus
defeated
and killed.*

The suddenness of the irruption, the rapidity of the Polish monarch's progress, and his perfidy, astonished Amurath, but did not deprive him either of courage or conduct. With the utmost celerity he assembled a powerful army, and marched in quest of the Christians, whom he found encamped near Varna, a city of Moldavia. Here he attacked Uladislaus with irresistible fury, after having appealed to God as a witness of the treachery of the Christian monarch. Uladislaus sustained the shock of the Turkish army with undaunted resolution, and maintained the battle for several hours, until his wings gave way, and the centre was entirely surrounded by the enemy. Even then he refused quarter, and determined rather to perish than return home with a character sullied by perfidy and a defeat. All his efforts to break through the Turkish squadrons were fruitless, and he fell with his sword in his hand, after having exhibited proofs of courage and military skill much superior to his years. By his side perished the cardinal legate, with about ten thousand Poles, who covered with their bodies the same ground on which they were first drawn up. In this manner Uladislaus fell, after he had reigned ten years in Poland, four in Hungary, and had just attained to the years of maturity. Some writers allege, and with such circumstances as we think render their account probable, that Uladislaus had, before this event, obtained in person a complete victory over the infidels, pursuing them to the very frontiers of the Morea, and there defeating Carambeius, general of the Asiatic forces, whom he drove into the mountains and inaccessible places. He had displayed great gallantry in this action, and received a wound, which however did not check his ardour. On this occasion it was, that he was honoured with a complimentary embassy from the pope, the Greek emperor Paleologus, and several Christian princes, who, by flattering his vanity, impelled him to the expedition into Bulgaria, which proved so fatal to himself and to his whole army^d.

^d Mat. de Michov. lib. iv. cap. 54, 55, 56, 57. p. 207, & seq. Flor. Polon. lib. xxxii. p. 175. Herbut de Fulstin, lib. xiv. p. 172.

C A S I M I R III.

DURING the late reign the great duchy of Lithuania had been governed by Calimir, the second son of Jagello, who held it as a fief of the crown, though the deputies of both nations composed one joint diet. Now that prince was elevated to the throne of his brother, immediately after the unfortunate battle of Varna, the nobility in a manner compelling him to accept the regal dignity. The first operations of this reign were directed against Bogdan, the pretended vaivode of Moldavia, who usurped that province from the vaivode Alexander, a feudatory to the crown of Poland. An army was sent to this country, which, after considerable dangers and losses, obliged Bogdan to sue for peace. The repose of the country was immediately after established by the assassination of the usurper; a perfidious act, in which some of the Polish nobility were suspected to have had a share.

Nor was Poland less successful in another quarter, where all her victories had hitherto produced no solid advantage. She had frequently vanquished the Teutonic knights in the field; but neglecting to follow the blow, they had always recovered their losses, and extended their dominion equally by force and policy. Now an event occurred which was likely to prove more serviceable to Poland than all the glorious victories obtained by her monarchs over that ambitious order. The tyranny of the knights had rendered their government altogether insupportable to the Prussians, who were oppressed by the most grievous exactions, and, on deficiency of payment, treated with unspeakable barbarity. They had long borne the galling yoke without murmuring; but as the inhumanity of their masters increased with their misery, they resolved upon a vigorous effort for the recovery of their liberty. All Prussia, and great part of Pomerania, took arms; and amidst the consternation of so universal a revolt, the knights could only provide for the security of Marienburg and Schut. Divers other cities, Dantzic, Thorn, Elbing, Culm, and Golub, implored the protection of Poland, and desired they might be admitted into a partnership in the republic, upon the same conditions which had been granted to Lithuania. Casimir received their deputies favourably, promised his protection, but referred them to a diet with respect to the union proposed. He created four palatines for Thorn, Elbing, Dantzic, and Krowlogrod, repealed the exorbitant taxes, and assembled an army to support these alterations, and enable the Prussians to withstand the efforts of the Teutonic order. As

*War with
the Teu-
tonic order.*

soon as Casimir entered the country, the inhabitants flocked to his camp, to take the oaths of allegiance, and obtained a variety of privileges in return for the zeal they expressed. The Dantzickers in particular were favoured with a number of valuable commercial immunities; and they acknowledged Casimir's goodness, by obliging themselves to maintain his majesty and the court at their own expence, whenever he should think fit to honour the city with a visit. Immediately after, the Prussian army, assisted by a few of the king's forces, went and laid close siege to Marienburg, in which they were soon disturbed by the approach of the Teutonic army. The knights had assembled powerful forces in Bohemia, Austria, and several principalities of the empire, with which they determined to give battle to Casimir, who with his army covered the siege of Marienburg. Their attack on the Polish camp was impetuous, and it proved fortunate; the Poles were put in confusion, and the king was constrained to have recourse to a shameful flight, after four thousand of his troops had been slain or taken prisoners. In consequence of this defeat, the siege was raised, and the king reduced to the necessity of returning to Poland, to recruit his forces, and bring such an army into the field as should effectually revenge the indignity he had sustained in his first campaign.

*Casimir
defeated.*

When Casimir arrived at Cracow, his first measure was to assemble a diet, to whom he represented the necessity of retrenching the power of the knights, supporting the alliance with the Prussians, and redeeming all the territories which had been wrested of late years from the republic. The diet easily entered into his sentiments; the whole nation took fire at the disgrace of the monarch, and resolved upon the most vigorous measures to retrieve his reputation. A second expedition was made into Prussia, under the conduct of the king in person; the knights were vanquished in divers engagements; the strongest fortresses were reduced; and the citadel of Marienburg was at last forced to surrender at discretion, after a very obstinate resistance. The grand-master made several spirited efforts to redeem his affairs; but they were baffled by the superior power, the fortune, and the vigilance of Casimir, who in the result obliged this proud order, which had for so many years embroiled the North, and kept all the neighbouring states in subjection, to yield to the terms imposed by their conqueror. A treaty of peace was concluded at Thorn, whereby the knights ceded the territories of Culm, Michlow, and the whole duchy of Pomerania, together with the towns of Elbing, Marienburg, Talkmith, Schur, and Christburgh, to the crown of Poland. On the other

*He con-
quers the
knights,
and makes
peace.*

hand,

hand, the king restored to them all his other conquests in Prussia; granted a seat in the Polish senate to the grand-master; and indulged him with other privileges, on condition that six months after his accession, he should do homage for Prussia, and take an oath of fidelity to the king and republic. Such were the conditions on which Casimir terminated a war, and humbled an order which had given perpetual disturbance to the northern hemisphere, for near the space of two centuries.

These successes revived the spirits of the Polish nation, which had drooped ever since the misfortunes of their late monarch at Varna. The triumph obtained by the sultan upon that occasion discouraged the republic from continuing the war against the infidels, who now became more considerable in Europe by the reduction of Constantinople, and the entire overthrow of the Grecian empire. An opportunity, however, offered of extending the Polish dominions, without coming to an open rupture with the Porte. The hospodar of Moldavia solicited the protection of Poland against the infidels, and it was thought that this province would make a convenient barrier on that side: the request was granted, an oath of fidelity exacted from the prince and inhabitants, and a tribute required, the regular payment of which was made for a great number of years in the sequel.

Another event no less advantageous to Poland fell out about the same time. By the death of the celebrated George Podiebrak, the crown of Bohemia became vacant, and the people were extremely desirous of being governed by one of the princes of Poland. The barons, therefore, bestowed the crown upon Uladislaus, the eldest son of Casimir, in opposition to the intrigues of the king of Hungary. Not satisfied with this unexpected acquisition, Uladislaus took advantage of the dissensions in Hungary, and determined to deprive his rival of that crown, which he proposed uniting to his own. He marched with a great army into that kingdom, and soon accomplished his designs, by deposing Matthias Cervinus, though the people intended the crown for a younger son of the king of Poland. Thus we see the three crowns of Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia, united in the same family, by which Casimir's power was greatly augmented, though the felicity of his people did by no means increase in the same proportion. So many foreign expeditions exhausted the treasury, and oppressed the peasants with taxes. The gentry were greatly diminished in number, by a variety of bloody engagements; and all industry was neglected amidst the din of war. It was

A.D. 1432.

impossible for Casimir to apply adequate remedies to these evils; time alone was capable of effecting a cure: but before this happy period arrived, Casimir paid the last tribute to nature, more admired than he was beloved or regretted. Matthew of Michovia remarks, that in this reign the deputies of the provinces first appeared at the diet, and assumed to themselves the legislative power, all laws before this period having been framed by the king, in conjunction with the senate; and it is observed by Hartnoch, that before Casimir's time, the Latin language was understood only by the clergy in Poland, in proof of which assertion, he alleges, that an interview between this prince and the king of Sweden at Dantzic, his Polish majesty was forced to make use of the assistance of a monk to interpret between him and the Swedish monarch. Casimir, ashamed of the ignorance which himself and court had shewn, published an edict, enjoining the diligent study of the Latin, a language which is now spoken as vernacular by every gentleman in Poland^r.

J O H N A L B E R T.

ON the day that succeeded the funeral obsequies of the late king, the diet assembled for the election of a successor, when violent debates arose. Uladisslaus, the eldest son, was by universal consent excluded, because the Poles imagined he might prove partial to the Bohemians and Hungarians, among whom he had lived for some time, and whose manners he had now adopted; but they were greatly divided between the claims of Sigismund, the second son of Casimir, and the duke of Mazovia, which last had gained over to his interest the archbishop of Gnesna. Sigismund, on the other hand, was powerfully supported by the marshal of the crown, and the body of the nobility: the contention ran high, and laid the foundation of the good fortune which attended John Albert, the third son, a prince who was scarce thought of for the royal dignity. Each of the two parties, finding it would be impossible to carry their point, compromised the difference, by joining in the election of Albert, who was accordingly declared king of Poland, and complimented on his accession by a splendid embassy from the republic of Venice, at that time the bulwark of Christendom against the Ottoman power, and the greatest maritime state in the universe. The real intention of the embassy was to engage the young monarch in a

^r Matthew de Michov. lib. iv. cap. lxxvi. lxxvii. lxxviii. Guagn. Rerum Polon. p. 104.

league then forming among the Christian powers against the infidels: Albert, however, did not think it advisable to embarrass the dawn of his reign with so important a war, especially as the sultan had shewn him great civilities, and purchased a treaty by magnificent presents. It would have been happy for Poland had he persisted in this resolution; but Albert had ambition, and he could not long withstand his own inclinations, the solicitations of the Christian princes, particularly those of his brother the king of Bohemia and Hungary, with whom he had an interview at Livocz: besides, the Polish nation longed for an opportunity to avenge the disgrace at Varna, though prudence had hitherto prevented all attempts. But now the conjuncture offered, they could no longer resist the temptation, especially as the pretext was to afford succour to the oppressed, and they saw themselves supported on one hand by the forces of Hungary and Bohemia, while on the other, the Venetians were making a powerful diversion, and keeping in play the principal strength of the Ottoman empire.

Moldavia, we have seen, became a province voluntarily dependent on the crown of Poland. Stephen, the vaivode, under pretence that he was oppressed by the Turks, craved the protection of Poland, which Albert, at the intreaty of his brother, determined to furnish. Accordingly the two kings assembled an army, which began its march towards Walachia, under the conduct of Albert. The combined forces amounted to eighty thousand fighting men, and were attended by thirty thousand waggons, loaded with arms and baggage, no thought being taken of provision, which the vaivode had promised to supply. Depending upon his ally, the king penetrated into the country, and soon perceived that the vaivode had not only neglected the execution of his engagements, but was in actual treaty with the Turks; a discovery which so enraged him, that, without farther consideration he turned his arms against the Walachians, and determined to punish the perfidy of Stephen. One writer indeed alleges, that Albert sought industriously an opportunity of coming to a rupture with the vaivode, in order to plunder his country; though this is highly improbable^s. It is certain that the Poles first commenced hostilities, by laying siege to the capital of Moldavia. The inhabitants defended themselves with great gallantry, and Albert's army was reduced to the utmost necessity by the vaivode or hospodar, who cut off all his provisions, and kept the Polish camp under continual alarms. After hav-

^s Flor. Polon. lib. iii. cap. iv.

*Albert de-
feated in
Wallachia.*

ing sustained the united efforts of the sword, famine, and disease, Albert at last broke up the siege, and was returning into Poland, when he fell into an ambush laid for him by the vaivode, in which, after a sharp conflict, he was defeated with the loss of six thousand men^t. But this was not the whole extent of his misfortune. The Walachians, having joined the Turks, made an irruption into Poland with a prodigious army, and carried off a hundred thousand captives. The Turks, however, from motives of avarice, remained until they were surpris'd by the frosts and snow, when the severity of the climate destroy'd above forty thousand of their best troops. It was this irruption which induced Albert to make peace with the vaivode, upon such terms as the conqueror thought proper to impose^u.

Albert, having rid his hands of those formidable enemies, made preparations for invading Prussia, to oblige Frederic, duke of Saxony, who had been elected grand-master of the Teutonic order, to take the oath of allegiance to Poland, according to the late engagement of the order. He had made formidable preparations for this expedition, and was advanced to Thorn, when he was seized with a malady that proved fatal in the space of a few days^w.

ALEXANDER.

ALBERT died without issue, and left the crown to be contested by three princes, who had nearly equal pretensions. Immediately the expedition to Prussia was relinquish'd, and the whole attention of the Polish nation was turned to the approaching election. When the diet met, it was only to dispute, and not to determine: intrigue, corruption, and animosity, suppress'd all regard for the welfare of the republic. Every member of the assembly had only his own particular prejudices or interests in view, which he endeavour'd by every possible means to gratify at the public expence. The first of the candidates was Uladislaus, king of Bohemia and Hungary, elder brother of the late monarch. This prince insist'd upon his birthright, and magnified his opulence, his power, and the advantages which Poland would necessarily deduce from the union of two such potent, neighbouring kingdoms. His liberality had besides secur'd a strong party among the nobility; but the same reasons that were urg'd at the death of his brother Casimir, were now repeated for his exclusion. Sigif-

^t Flor. Polon. lib. iv.

^u Vide apud Pistor. lib. iv. cap. ii.

^w Flor. Polon. lib. iii. cap. iv. Herb. de Fulst'n, lib. xix. Revol. de Pologne, lib. iv.

mund, Casimir's second son, was the second candidate; and this prince was supported by the affections of the people: but motives of policy carried the crown in favour of his younger brother Alexander, great duke of Lithuania. As the Lithuanians were extremely attached to their sovereign, the diet apprehended that setting aside the pretensions of Alexander might dissolve the union formed by Jagello between the two nations; and for this reason alone they elected Alexander, in preference to both his elder brothers. At first the archbishop refused to assist at his coronation, a refusal which occasioned considerable difficulties, because custom, and even the constitution, required that this ceremony should be performed by the primate: however, at length his scruples were overcome with respect to the king, though he could never be prevailed upon to place the crown on the head of the princess of Muscovy, whom Alexander had married soon after his accession, because that lady adhered to the doctrines of the Greek church. How this obstacle was surmounted we are not informed: history only relates, that John, grand duke of Muscovy, invaded Lithuania, without regard to the alliance lately contracted with his Polish majesty, and possibly on account of the indignity put on his daughter by the archbishop of Gnesna, which he might regard as an affront from the whole nation. He laid siege to Smolensko; but was forced to relinquish the enterprize, and conclude a truce for six years, upon the arrival of Alexander, whose rapid march and spirited conduct diffused terror through the Russian army.

In consequence of the fatigue of this expedition, Alexander fell into a chronic disorder, which terminated with his life. During his illness, the Moldavians and Tartars made an irruption into Lithuania, and committed such dreadful barbarities as filled the king with horror, and determined him to set out in person to punish those perfidious violaters of solemn treaties. He accordingly began his march at the head of his army, carried in a litter; and, by the resentment which he expressed, excited such a spirit of revenge among the Polish troops, as proved fatal to their enemies. The two armies met at some distance from Vilna, and engaged with great fury. The Tartars were superior in number; but the Poles balanced that advantage by intrepidity. For several hours victory seemed doubtful, when at last it declared in favour of the royal army, in consequence of a stratagem of the palatine of Posnania. With three hundred men he appeared on an eminence, in view of the armies; and had drawn up his army into so exten-

five a line, that the Tartars mistook this handful for a powerful reinforcement to the Poles, and were immediately seized with a panic. Stanislaus Kiska, the Polish general, improved this fortunate circumstance to the best advantage. He spread the report through his own army that succour was at hand; and exhorted them to the most spirited efforts, that victory might depend wholly upon their own valour, before assistance should arrive to lessen the glory: he made one furious attack, broke and defeated the enemy, and killed twenty thousand Tartars in the field and pursuit. All this time the king lay at Vilna, the increase of his illness not suffering him to attend the army. The agonies of death had seized him just as advice of the victory arrived; upon which he collected all his strength, rose in his bed, and being deprived of speech, expressed by signs, his fervent acknowledgements to heaven; then sunk down, and died, with the reputation of a prince whose virtues adorned the regal diadem; but whose excessive liberality would have impoverished the kingdom, had his reign been of any duration. He is described as of a short stature, robust make, and great strength. His visage was long, his hair exceeding black, his eyes sparkling, and his carriage bold and majestic. His taciturnity was remarkable, and his genius heavy; but his sentiments generous and humane. He was a great patron of the liberal arts, particularly music, of which he was so great a lover, that he squandered away great part of the revenue upon musicians; and we are told, that his profusion in this respect occasioned that law called *Statutum Alexandrinum*, whereby the king was prohibited from disposing of the revenue without the consent of the senate, or diet. All the donations of this prince were revoked. He reigned five years in Poland, and fourteen in Lithuania, leaving his dominions, with the consent of the diet, to his brother Sigismund, who had twice before been a candidate for the crown^w.

SIGISMUND I.

A D. 1507. AT the time that Sigismund was raised to the throne of Poland, he resided in Lithuania, the government of which duchy had been assigned to him by the king his brother, on his removal to Poland. He was no sooner elected at Petricovia than he resigned his government to Gliniski, the great favourite of king Alexander; and repaired to Cracow, to go through the ceremony of inauguration, and assume the reins of government. His first care was to reform fe-

^x Matthew de Michov. lib. iv. cap. lxxxii. lxxxiii.

veral abuses, which, during the late reign, had crept into the administration; and to enforce the statute called *Alexandrinum*, for revoking injudicious grants, and such donations as appeared to be prejudicial to the public. He found that the richest demesnes of the crown were mortgaged, and almost the whole revenue proportioned out in pensions to ingenious artists, and persons deserving of encouragement, but in a limited degree. The lands he redeemed, and retrenched the pensions within the bounds of moderation, being directed in every thing by his able and disinterested minister John Bonner, a name to this day held in veneration by the Poles. Having established the internal government of the kingdom, in the best manner that circumstances would permit, he next applied his attention to the extension of his frontier, and the means of rendering Poland formidable, as he had made it happy. These were measures seemingly incompatible in themselves; yet did Sigismund rely upon the abilities of his ministry, and his own courage and perseverance.

*He reforms
divers
abuses.*

While he was employed in making preparations for the execution of his vast designs, a rebellion broke out in Lithuania. Glinki, whom he had appointed governor, had acquired so great authority with the inhabitants, that he entertained thoughts of shaking off his dependence, and claiming the sovereignty of the duchy. Intoxicated by prosperity, and giddy with the height of his elevation, he was unmindful of his sovereign's favour, to which he owed all his good fortune, and persuaded himself that he soared wholly by the strength of his own pinions, and the force of his merit. For some time he concealed his design, and took his measures with great circumspection, entering upon a secret treaty with Basilius, czar of Muscovy, whereby he purchased the assistance of that potentate at the price of half the duchy of Lithuania; imagining that if he once possessed the remainder, independent of Poland, he could soon recover the portion assigned to the Russians. Sigismund was too penetrating to let such a negotiation escape his discernment. He found, by the movements in Russia and Lithuania, that some great design was in agitation, and made preparations as if it was against himself. Basilius advanced with an army of eighty thousand men to the frontiers of the Polish dominions, and was opposed in his march by Sigismund. As soon as the two armies confronted each other, the Russians were seized with a panic. On seeing the Polish battalions covered with a forest of lances, they had recourse to flight, leaving behind all their booty and baggage. At the same time the Walachians and

*Rebellion
in Lithua-
nia.*

Molda.

Moldavians entered Russia Nigra, where they spread terror and desolation by the most cruel ravages that barbarians were capable of committing; but they soon met with their just punishment. Sigismund advanced against them, drove them before him; obliged them to sculk in their forests, and then laid waste their country without pity or remorse, as the only method of striking terror into this perfidious and lawless people. The cities Dorichim, Sczepanowitz, Chezim, and Czarnowitz, were taken by assault, sacked, and the inhabitants put to the sword; not a soul of either sex escaping the fury of the conquerors. At length the Poles began their retreat; loaded with spoils, and were attacked in their turn by the enemy, at the pass of the Neister, but after a sharp action the Walachians were repulsed with great slaughter.

Sigismund, having, by his vigorous measures, compelled the Walachians to sue for peace, was preparing to re-establish the affairs of Lithuania, when he was again attacked by the Russians, who reduced Smolensko before he could assemble his forces to oppose them; but he soon deprived them of their conquest, after having defeated their army in a pitched battle, in which he slew thirty thousand Russians. - He was forced to swim his cavalry over the Boristhenes to begin the attack, while a bridge was laying across for the infantry. It was astonishing to see with what celerity and success these orders were executed, notwithstanding the rapidity of the stream, the steepness of the banks, and the resistance of the enemy on the opposite shore. The onset was led by the Lithuanians, who were directed to retreat gradually; with a view of drawing the enemy within reach of the cannon. This feint the Muscovites mistook for a real flight, and as they were pursuing with eagerness, Sigismund opened his line to the right and left, and poured in grape-shot from the artillery with dreadful success. Such was the method in which he obtained this complete victory, that redounds equally to the honour of his valour and his military capacity. The Russian general, and several noblemen of the first distinction, were taken prisoners, while the whole loss of the royal army did not exceed three hundred men. The utmost terror was diffused through all Muscovy, and Basilijus evacuated the Polish dominions with the greatest precipitation, apprehending his own were in danger of being over-run; and it is indeed probable, that Sigismund would have pursued the blow, had not other concerns diverted his attention.

The Teutonic knights had elected the marquis of Brandenburg for their grand-master. This prince, in imitation

*He defeats
the Rus-
sians.*

of his predecessor, the duke of Saxony, refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of the crown of Poland, and pay the usual fealty for the province of Prussia. He even proceeded so far in his opposition as to commence hostilities against the republic, by investing the fortress of Brauntberg, and reducing it by assault. Sigismund marched against the marquis, penetrated into his hereditary dominions, and gained possession of several important places in Brandenburg. He was pursuing his conquests when the marquis was reinforced by fourteen thousand Germans, led by the duke of Schonenburg, who ventured to lay siege to Dantzick, after he had ravaged all the adjacent country. The Dantzickers, however, defended themselves with so much spirit, and played their artillery so furiously, while they at the same time made the most vigorous sallies, that the besiegers were soon reduced to extremity, and at last forced to relinquish the design of reducing the city, after they had lost half their army by famine, distemper, and the sword. In their retreat they were attacked by a strong body of Polish cavalry, who made prodigious carnage, and compelled the wretched remains of the Germans to take shelter in Pomerania, where they were inhumanly butchered by the peasants. The surrender of a great number of towns was the consequence of this impetuous tide of victory; and the marquis was reduced to the necessity of submitting himself to the clemency of the conqueror, with the additional mortification of having broke the faith of treaties to come to an impolitic rupture. He obtained conditions indeed which he had no reason to expect, unless he had abandoned the interest of the Teutonic order, and resigned the dignity of grand-master. The doctrines of Luther had already made considerable progress in the empire, under the protection of the duke of Saxony; they were embraced by the marquis, and this circumstance obliged him to break off all connection with the Teutonic order. He entered now into treaty with Sigismund, and that monarch determined to secure him in his interest, and make him the barrier against the ambition of the knights by liberal concessions. He granted him half the province of Prussia, in the quality of a secular duke, and a dependent on the crown of Poland, by which means he entirely deprived the Teutonic order of the best part of their dominions, and for ever extinguished those sparks of war which were lighted up on every occasion by those ambitious restless neighbours.

His farther conquests and victories.

At this time the power and dominions of the house of Jagello were so considerable as to excite the jealousy of the house

house of Austria. King Sigismund possessed, in his own person, the republic of Poland, the great duchies of Lithuania, Smolensko, and Severia, besides those vast territories lying beyond the Euxine and Baltic; and on the head of his nephew Lewis, son of Uladislaus, were united the crowns of Hungary, Bohemia, and Silesia. Besides, the valour, policy, and daring ambition of the Polish monarch, afforded strong presumption, that he would still endeavour to extend his frontiers at the expence of the neighbouring powers. To anticipate effects, which must in the end prove disadvantageous to the empire, the house of Austria set all engines at work to stir up enemies against Poland. Corruption, fraud, force, and intrigue, were all exerted for this purpose: her policy in some measure succeeded: the Russians, Moldavians, and Tartars, all fell upon Sigismund in different quarters, and met with an unexpectedly warm reception. The vaivode of Walachia, with fifty thousand men, made an irruption into the small province of Pokatia, where, after having burnt Sniatyn, he was attacked by the gallant count Taro, at the head of no more than six thousand men, and entirely defeated. The victory is wholly ascribed to the ability of the commander, who possessed some eminences on the enemies flanks, on which he erected batteries that played with such fury as soon put their ranks in disorder; upon which the Poles attacked them sword in hand, entirely dispersed them, and killed or took prisoners above ten thousand Walachians. The same brave officer was equally fortunate against the Muscovites and Tartars, who made inroads into Lithuania, and ravaged the country to the very gates of the capital. Count Taro now augmented his forces with a strong body of Lithuanians, drove the enemy out of the duchy, pursued them into Russia, reduced several towns, and at last laid siege to the strong fortrefs of Straradub, in which the regent, with the best troops of Russia, made a gallant defence. The fortifications of this city were composed of beams joined together, and supported by a bulwark of earth, upon which the cannon-shot made no impression; but the count contrived a method of setting the wood on fire, reduced the fortifications to ashes, obliged the regent and nobility to surrender at discretion, and carried off sixty thousand prisoners, with immense booty.

This flow of good fortune which attended the Polish arms received a considerable check by the defeat and death of Lewis king of Hungary, who was slain in a battle fought with Solyman the Great, emperor of the Turks. The daughter of this monarch married Ferdinand of Austria,

sria, whereby the dominions of Hungary, Bohemia, and Silesia, were for ever lost to the house of Jagello, and inseparably annexed to the hereditary dominions of the Austrian family. These events, it is supposed, affected the health of Sigismund, who was now in his eighty-fourth year: he was sensible of the enmity of the house of Austria to his family, and beheld with chagrin such an accession of dominion to a prince whom he considered as his rival. Certain it is, that about this time he was seized with a lingering disorder, which, in the space of a few months, carried off the greatest monarch who had ever wielded the Polish scepter. Sigismund was the completest general, the ablest politician, the best prince, and the strongest man in the northern hemisphere; of the last of which qualities some instances that are scarce credible are related. His whole reign was a continued scene of prosperity, obtained by courage, firmness, and conduct: nor is his character or conquests by any means exaggerated in the Latin epitaph which the reader may peruse in the margin * (A).

A.D. 1548.

His death and character.

SIGISMUND AUGUSTUS II.

When Sigismund found himself sinking under the burden of old age, he took care to fix the succession in his family, by procuring an election in favour of his son Sigismund, who now ascended the throne without the ceremony of assembling a diet. By this expedient Poland was happily secured against those miseries which usually attend disputed elections; and the young prince was at liberty to apply his attention to the affairs of government. He, however, incurred the displeasure of his subjects immediately after his coronation, by marrying Razivilla, widow of an obscure vaivode, without the consent of the diet. It was said, that by this match he drew dishonour on the regal dignity, and had not acquired the advantage of one single

The policy of Sigismund.

* Guagn. apud Pistor. tom. ii. p. 82. & seq. Flor. Polon. lib. iii. cap. vii. Hartnoch. lib. i. cap. viii. Connor, tom. i. lett. ii.

(A) Divus Sigismundus Jagellonius, Poloniae rex, &c. Lithuanæ dux magnus, Scithicus, Valachus, Moschoviticus, Pruficus, victor ac triumphator patris patriæ, in hoc monumentum a se magnificentissime erectum, illatus requiescit (1). The monument here mentioned was erected in the cathedral of Cracow, in which the remains of this great monarch were deposited, attended by the sincere lamentations of all his subjects.

(1) Flor. Polon. lib. iii. cap. vii. Fontaines, p. 205.

ally to Poland. This indeed was the case in a variety of former marriages; but the fault was, that on this occasion the king preferred in the choice of a consort his own inclinations to those of his people, and thought it unreasonable that in a point of the greatest consequence to his felicity he should be deprived of the privilege allowed to the meanest of his subjects. His future conduct soon, however, obliterated any bad impressions occasioned by this measure. While religion, or rather superstition, armed the powers of Europe against each other, with more zeal than they had ever manifested against infidels, Poland alone enjoyed profound repose under the wise administration of a prince, the worthy successor of his renowned parent. His address and prudence kept at a distance those fatal disorders which had almost ruined Christendom, and were then tearing the bowels of France, Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, Saxony, Sweden, and other northern kingdoms. Views of policy more than respect for the pontifical dignity, kept him firm in the opinions of his ancestors: he thought that religion was purchased too dear at the price of humanity, and the slaughter of his subjects. He denied his people the liberty of corresponding with those divines who were taxed with advancing heterodox opinions, and chose to remain ignorant in some points that were not essential to salvation, rather than make his kingdom a scene of bloodshed: however, he avoided persecution, and employed no other weapons to secure the public tranquillity, than those of salutary institutions, prudent laws, and a regular system of well-conducted policy. Instead of disputing with his subjects about speculative opinions, Sigismund was diligent in reforming abuses, enforcing the laws, enriching the treasury, promoting industry, and redeeming the crown-lands, where the titles of the possessors appeared illegal. Out of the revenue he recovered in this manner, he maintained a formidable well-appointed standing army, without laying any additional tax upon the subject; and though he preferred peace to war, convinced the world that he neither wanted the power, spirit, nor capacity to resent and punish injuries. An opportunity soon offered for the display of Sigismund's military talents.

*His wars
with the
Musco-
vites.*

The disputes which had for some time subsisted between the Teutonic knights in Livonia and the archbishop of Riga, cousin to Sigismund, encouraged the Russians to make an irruption into that province, with a view of reducing both parties, after they had been weakened by civil discord. The province was divided between the knights and the prelate; and the Russians, under pretence of suc-
coursing

couring the former, had seized great part of the dominions of the latter. The archbishop had recourse to his kinsman the king of Poland, who, after fruitless efforts to accommodate matters, bent his march at the head of a hundred thousand men towards the frontiers of Livonia. Every city opened its gates, and every place submitted to so irresistible a power; the grand-master of the Teutonic order broke off his alliance with the Russians, and was reconciled to the archbishop on the terms proposed by Sigismund. The whole order put themselves under the protection of Poland, and agreed to turn their arms against their late allies, who had gained possession of some important places (A). The czar, though deserted by the knights, insolently refused returning any answer to the proposals of peace made by Sigismund. His army amounted to three hundred thousand fighting men, with which force John Basilides thought he should be able to reduce all Livonia, in despite of the utmost efforts of the king of Poland: however, some checks which he met with on this quarter determined him immediately to make a direct attack on the Polish dominions, and turn his whole strength against the great duchy of Lithuania. On his first entrance into the province he carried all before him; every thing sunk beneath the weight of so prodigious a force. Polocz and Derpt, incapable of

(A) On this occasion it was that Livonia was annexed to Poland. Sigismund insisted, that not only the knights, but the whole country, should acknowledge his sovereignty. At first the inhabitants shewed some reluctance; but they yielded in the end to the arguments enforced by the power of Sigismund. Gothofred Ketler, great-master of the Livonian knights, was forced to abdicate his dignity, resign the city and citadel of Riga into the hands of the palatine of Vilna, deputed for that purpose by the king; and to declare Livonia from that time subject to the crown of Poland. In exchange, the grand-master was declared duke of Cour-

land and Semigallia by the palatine, and afterwards viceroy of Livonia. The exchange was advantageous to the grand-master: it was giving him the perpetuity of two fine provinces, for the contingency of a dignity, which involved him in continual war with the neighbouring princes. His successors reaped the advantage of so prudential a bargain, as they enjoyed for several ages the sovereignty assigned to Ketler; nor was it less beneficial to the republic of Poland, which was thereby augmented by the addition of an extensive and wealthy province, besides a sea port of vast and profitable commerce (1).

(1) Sarnitius, lib. viii. *Annal. Polon.* p. 391, & seq. *Flor. Polon.* p. 253.

resistance, received the Russian forces, and in return were cruelly sacked and pillaged, above eighty thousand of the citizens and neighbouring peasants were carried off into captivity. Among these was a great number of Jews, who obstinately refusing to be baptized, were thrown into the river Dwina, the czar ordering the ice to be broke to glut his eyes with this barbarous sacrifice to his cruel disposition.

All this time Sigismund was necessarily employed in the affairs of Livonia, and in concluding the exchange of it with the grand-master of the Teutonic knights. John Basilides, however, did not act the tyrant with impunity. Early in the spring a detachment of forty thousand Russians was attacked, defeated, and dispersed, by two thousand Poles. Soon after this action, Nicholas Radzivil, palatine of Vilna, returning from Livonia, assembled a body of forces, and fell upon the Russian army, commanded by Peter Swiski, on the banks of the river Usla. The attack was unexpected, and the surprize, together with the fury of the assailants, soon put the Russians in confusion, and produced a total defeat. Near forty thousand men perished by the sword, or were drowned in the marshes, endeavouring to escape; great numbers were slaughtered by the peasants, and among these was the unfortunate general, whose head being cut off, was stuck upon a lance, and carried in triumph to the victorious palatine. This however was but an advanced column of the Russian forces; the remainder of the army was encamped in the neighbourhood of Olska, whither the conqueror immediately began his march, with a resolution to attack them before they should have recovered from their consternation. The Russian general did not think proper to hazard a battle, which might have proved as fatal to him as it had done to his colleague: he evacuated Lithuania, and retreated with such precipitation, that he left all his baggage and military equipage a prey to the Poles. A variety of other victories followed; and though the success of the Poles was uninterrupted by a single unfortunate accident, yet still did the Russians continue their irruptions into the different provinces of the republic. In vain were they slaughtered in every quarter; in vain were they defeated in every enterprize: they took the field with fresh forces, and, like the Hydra, seemed to acquire fresh strength from every overthrow. Obstinacy and a kind of barbarous valour served instead of regulated courage. It was necessary to alter the manner of the operations, and to try the effects of carrying fire and sword into the country of those intrepid savages. The king in person, at the head of a
hundred

hundred thousand men, penetrated to the very heart of Russia, and laid siege to the fortress of Ula; but constant experience had by this time improved the enemy in the art of war: the garrison made a brave and skilful defence; a reinforcement was thrown in, and Sigismund compelled to raise the siege: however, the grand-mareschal of Lithuania soon wiped off this disgrace, defeated the Russian army, and surprised the gallant garrison, which had foiled all the king's attempts; after which success he levelled the fortress with the ground, and stained the glory of his victories by putting to death, in cool blood, a handful of brave men, who merited the highest honours ^d.

These cruel inroads and barbarous excursions equally exhausted and fatigued both nations. Each began to feel the effects of the immense consumption of blood and treasure; and famine pressed hard, in consequence of the neglected harvests, and the scarcity of husbandmen. Necessity first suggested the thoughts of a truce to the czar, who had hitherto disdainfully rejected all the proposals which had been made by the Polish monarch. Accordingly a convention for an armistice of three years was signed, during which interval Sigismund yielded up his last breath at Knyffen in Lithuania; and his body was deposited in the same vault with that of his father, in the great cathedral of Cracow. This prince merited the utmost esteem and affection of his subjects, on account of the interest which he took in their happiness. Every part of his conduct was directed to this object; and the measures he pursued were so prudent, that he generally obtained his purpose. He governed a kingdom with the same ease and œconomy which appeared in the conduct of his own family: all his directions were implicitly obeyed, because he founded his authority upon the idea impressed on the minds of his people, of his sagacity, virtue, and valour. Nothing could be more amiable than the whole series of his domestic administration, nor more glorious than his foreign policy, which aimed not at conquest and oppression, but the security of his own frontier. In his wars with the Russians his valour was confessed; and, though he once proved unsuccessful, every one acknowledged that his courage and conduct deserved to be rewarded with victory. In one word, Sigismund was meek, affable, liberal, brave, and sagacious; an hero, who possessed all the essential, but not the brilliant qualities of princes who are generally honour-

*His death
and character.*

^d Neugebaver, lib. viii. Sarnit. lib. viii. Flor. Polon. lib. iii. Cromer, tom. ii. lib. v. apud Pistor.

*The Jagello
family ex-
tinct.*

ed with that appellation. Such was his character for a series of years; though old age, infirmity, and the influence of a favourite mistress, occasioned his deviating from the paths of virtue and true policy for some time before his death. This frailty obscured the lustre of his reputation; but could not obliterate from the minds of the Poles the many blessings they had deduced from his wisdom and piety. With Sigismund Augustus the male line of the family of Jagello, which had governed Poland for near two hundred years, became extinct, and the republic was left a prey to intestine divisions ^b (A).

S E C T.

^b Heidenstein. Polon. p. 21. col. 2. Flor. Polon. lib. iii. cap. vii. Bar. Hist. Allem. tom. ix. p. 147.

(A) Sigismund died without issue, leaving, of the Jagello family, only two sisters; Catherine, first married to John, duke of Finland, and secondly, to John, king of Sweden, and mother of Sigismund III. afterwards king of Poland and Sweden; Anne, afterwards raised to the crown of Poland, and married to Batori, prince of Transylvania.

We must not omit a society founded in this monarch's reign, which was ludicrously called the commonwealth of Babina. It had its rise, like most other societies, in trivial and accidental circumstances. A set of gentlemen, inhabitants of Lublin, had agreed to meet at stated periods at Babina, merely for the purposes of mirth and jollity. In time their numbers increased, and they formed themselves into a regular government, under the presidency of a king, senate, and chief magistrates. This was truly the court of Comus, where nothing but wit, pleasantry, and good humour reigned. Magistrates were elected from something which appeared ridiculous in the character or

conduct of any of the members. For instance, when any of the society proved meddling and officious, he was immediately created an archbishop; intimating, possibly, that the clergy chose to make themselves busy in matters which did not concern their function. A blundering, or disputatious member, was promoted to the speaker's chair; a boaster of his own courage, and vain-glorious Thraio, was honoured with the commission of generalissimo, which was presented to him with great solemnity by the subordinate bravoës. Those who declined the office for which they were declared qualified, were persecuted with hissings, and abandoned by the society. Thus every vice, and every foible, was attacked with ridicule; and Babina became in a short time the terror, the admiration, and the reformer of the Polish nation. Genius flourished under the protection of the society; wit was cultivated, even in this northern clime; and the abuses which had crept into government and society, were corrected by the judicious application of good-humoured satire.

S E C T. V.

Containing the Election and Abdication of Henry Valois, Duke of Anjou; together with the Reigns of Stephen Batori, and Sigismund III. King of Poland and Sweden.

THE old age and decrepitude of Sigismund Augustus, together with the extinction of the house of Jagello, had given birth to a variety of intrigues at the courts of Vienna, France, and Saxony, each of which aimed at raising a prince of their own nation to the throne of Poland. Nor were the courts of Sweden and Brandenburg idle; it would seem to be a contention between protestants and papists who should acquire the regal diadem; though policy, in fact, weighed against religion, and determined each of the candidates to push his own private interest, without regard to the principles of his adversaries. The emperor, by means of the pope's legate, had acquired great influence, and bid fair for placing the archduke of Austria on the throne, in despite of the utmost efforts of the other princes. In Poland, however, such as were actuated by any other motives than those of corruption, rendered the dispute purely religious. The protestants had begun to raise their heads in the kingdom, and they only wanted a prince of their own persuasion to raise themselves to an equality with the catholics. Though their number was smaller, yet they compensated that disadvantage by their unity, and made such efforts as astonished their opponents, who, at first, treated their design as chimerical, and the vain expectation of a few visionaries. When Maximilian perceived they were determined to unite their interests in favour of the prince of Sweden, the elector of Saxony, or the marquis

Intrigues with respect to the ensuing election.

fatire. Never did any institution of this nature become so general, or so useful; but it at length degenerated into a set of buffoons, and banterers of every thing sacred and profane. For several years it was patronized by the kings of Poland; and Sigismund became a member, the starosta of Babina telling him, with a sarcastic air, that

his majesty had certain qualities which intitled him to the first dignity in the commonwealth. At present not the least vestige of the society remains, though it was honoured with extraordinary privileges by kings and emperors. The reader may consult Sarnitii Hist. Polon. p. 397, for a more minute account of this extraordinary institution.

of Anspach, he exerted his utmost influence with the pontiff in behalf of his son Ernestus of Austria. In consequence of this application a legate was sent to Poland; but his instructions regarded only the general interest of the catholic religion, without any particular view to the interest of the house of Austria. His arrival was soon succeeded by the death of Sigismund; and then the ferment became violent among the Poles, each party declaring openly in favour of one or other of the candidates. The provincial diets of Poland and Lithuania assembled, and presents from the several competitors were liberally distributed, in order to secure such deputies as might promote their interest at the general ensuing diet. The whole kingdom was one universal scene of corruption, faction, and confusion. At last the deputies were chosen, and the diet of election met at Warsaw.

It was now the contest became violent; smaller factions were united into greater parties, and the shock was proportioned to the weight of the encountering bodies. The legate formed a kind of treaty with the bishop of Cujavia and Albert Laski, a palatine of vast influence. They agreed mutually to support each other, and to consent to no election that was not favourable to the catholic religion; to enter upon no measures but by mutual consent; and to give their votes for no person that was not reciprocally agreeable to the leaguers. The vigilant legate next turned his views to unite all the catholics of the kingdom in the same interest, without declaring, however, in favour of any individual; that being a matter of future consideration, to be determined just as interest might happen to preponderate in the conclave, from whence he received his weekly instructions.

Lithuania was in the same agitation as Poland. The practices of Radzivil and Cotcheviz had acquired the greatest influence in that duchy on account of their wealth, the dignities they held, and the great number of their dependents. They had long been rivals in splendor and power; and now it was imagined that the heads of both houses would come to an open rupture, as they seemed to espouse different candidates for the crown. However, some of their mutual friends, aware of the dreadful consequences of a rupture, amidst the general confusion of the duchy, proposed a compromise, which was soon brought to a happy issue, under the mediation of the legate. Some writers allege, that this prelate first proposed to them the election of Ernestus of Austria; be this as it may, certain it is, that the Radzivils were the first who declared

declared for the house of Austria; and the legate had then the address to engage the house of Cocheviz in the same interest, by threatening to declare for the czar of Muscovy, their inveterate enemy. This whole negotiation he conducted with the utmost subtlety and address. He had an interview with the two chiefs in the middle of a vast forest, and there they agreed that a prince of the house of Austria should be elected duke of Lithuania; not doubting but Poland would follow the example to prevent a breach of the union, so salutary to both countries. According to certain German writers, these transactions passed in Lithuania during the life of Sigismund: Polish writers are silent with respect to the period. The breath had scarce quitted the body of the old king, when the legate dispatched a courier to Vienna with a copy of the articles, signed by the two Lithuanian chiefs. After having sketched out the situation of the parties in Poland and the duchy, he desired his imperial majesty would immediately send an ambassador to Moscow; endeavour to secure the palatine Laski in his interest; and remit sums of money, and quantities of Hungarian wines, to be distributed among the members of the diet. It was, at the same time, recommended to his imperial majesty to keep a body of forces in readiness, and to send the archduke Ernest, with all convenient expedition, to Poland, to encourage, by his presence, those who favoured his interest. In a word, he enjoined celerity, which alone would secure the crown to his son, before the other candidates could have time to concert the means of frustrating his election. The legate was certainly right in his counsels; but he was not aware of the tedious manner of deliberating at the court of Vienna, and of the low estate of the emperor's treasures, which alone was sufficient to break all his projects for the elevation of the archduke.

Besides the emperor's necessities, there were other circumstances which disappointed all the legate's hopes, and ruined the negotiation which he had conducted with so much address. Maximilian required certain sacrifices to his pride, equally unseasonable and ridiculous. Puffed up with the breath of adulation, that prince imagined it beneath the dignity of the imperial diadem to solicit votes for his son's election, and thought it more becoming his rank, and the high birth of the young prince, to be invited to the throne of Poland. From the powerful faction which the legate had formed, he doubted not but an embassy for this purpose would soon arrive, and while he was consoling himself with the vain expectation the opportunity escaped. The Polish gentry were disgusted with the arrogance of
the

the house of Austria ; and when the bishop of Plosko recommended a prince of that family, they all put their hands to their swords, and threatened to punish with death whoever should again insult Poland with such a proposal. Not content with this declaration, they seized upon several persons whom they believed attached to the emperor ; and were on the point of declaring in favour of the elector of Saxony, when a solemn embassy at last arrived from Vienna, which in some measure appeased their resentment. No nation upon earth is more taken with shew, pageantry, and respect, than the Poles. Rosemberg and Pernerstein, equally illustrious by their merit and the dignities which they bore, entered the frontiers with a magnificent train ; but they were way-laid by the palatine of Sandomir, and arrested^c.

A.D. 1573. Upon this it was that the enemies of the house of Austria took courage, and with their utmost vigour supported the princes in the opposition. They were, however, strenuously resisted by the legate, Laski, and the bishop of Cujavia ; though this confederacy could not prevent the parties from coming to an agreement, that no difference in religious opinions should create any contention among the subjects of the kingdom ; and that all Poles, without discrimination, should be capable of holding public offices and trusts under the government. In this convocation it was farther stipulated, that the future king should be obliged to swear expressly that he would establish the internal tranquillity of the realm, and cherish, without distinction, his subjects of all persuasions. Accordingly we find that Henry de Valois, and Stephen Batori, were both sworn to the observation of this new law.

The candidates for the crown.

Hitherto the emissaries of the several candidates acted privately, and by intrigue, endeavouring to gain a majority at the electoral diet ; not doubting but the minority would be forced at last to embrace their sentiments. The first prince publicly proposed at the general assembly of the states was the czar of Muscovy ; but the Poles dreaded the savage disposition of the czar, who had always been accustomed to govern with the most despotic sway. The next person proposed was the young prince of Sweden, nephew to the late king Sigismund : the election of this prince, it was obvious, would be attended with a singular advantage, as Sweden and Poland united would be in a condition to resist all foreign enemies, and check the aspiring ambition of the czar of Muscovy ; besides, he had a natural claim

^c Barre, tom. ix. an. 1573.

to the crown, as he was by the mother descended from the Jagello family, which had furnished Poland with such a number of illustrious monarchs; but the doctrines of Luther, which he professed, rendered him odious to the catholics; and many of the protestants were apprehensive lest a Swede by birth might shew too great a partiality for his native country. The young duke of Prussia was supported by a considerable party; and the intrigues of Firlei would probably have determined the election in his favour, had not the infirm state of his health, and his incapacity for governing, proved insurmountable objections. The protestants, who had espoused the claim of this prince, finding all their expectations frustrated, cast their eyes on the elector of Saxony, the vaivode of Transylvania, and the marquis of Anspach. With respect to the elector, they insisted on his merit, the proofs he had given of his equitable government, his love of freedom, and detestation of tyranny. All these qualities were acknowledged, and his address and the treasures of Saxony had gained him a very powerful interest; but still he was a German and protestant. The first circumstance was disagreeable to the Poles in general, the second odious to the catholics in particular. Some of the bishops and great lords ventured to propose Rosemberg, the imperial ambassador, whose merit was universally acknowledged, and whose birth, employments, and possessions were very considerable^d. Some writers allege, that Rosemberg might have carried away the prize from all his competitors, had he possessed courage to support his faction; while others attribute his conduct to a principle of fidelity and attachment to the emperor. In our opinion it was chance that entirely directed the assembly, and disappointed the hopes of all the candidates.

John Crasofki, a Polish gentleman of extraordinary merit, but diminutive stature, had just returned from France, whither he had travelled for improvement. His ability, humour, wit, and diverting size, had rendered him extremely agreeable at the court of France, and in a particular manner engaged the esteem of Catherine of Medicis, which the little Pole had the address to convert to his own purposes. He owed a variety of obligations to the favour of the duke of Anjou, and Crasofki did not fail to exaggerate the virtues of that prince from mere motives of gratitude, without a thought of serving him on the present occasion. Persons at all tinctured with curiosity flocked

^d Heidenstein, *Res. Polon.* lib. i. p. 29. col. 3. Vit. *Commend.* lib. iv. cap. vi.

round the traveller, and greedily swallowed his relations of the magnificence of the French court, and the achievements of the duke of Anjou, whom he represented as a young hero, who had crushed the hydra-head of faction, distinguished his valour in the field, and become the glory and the bulwark of his country. The Poles were struck with the character, and immediately conceived the notion of healing the civil divisions of the kingdom, by making offer of the crown to the duke of Anjou. These sentiments were cherished and confirmed by Crasofki, who returned into France by order of several of the leading men in Poland, and acquainted the king and queen Catherine that nothing was wanting besides the formality of an embassy to procure the crown for the duke of Anjou. It is alleged by some writers, that the first proposals came from the court of France, which made use of the diminutive Crasofki as an emissary, and for some time conducted a series of very dark and mysterious intrigues. Charles IX. was jealous of Henry's reputation. He regarded with envy the laurels gathered by that prince in a variety of battles, and hated his brother on account of the partiality shewn him by the queen-mother. This aversion gave birth to the resolution of removing him at a distance, and a fairer opportunity could not happen than the present vacancy in the throne of Poland. The pretext was so plausible, that even the queen and Henry were deceived, with respect to the king's real designs; and imagined he intended nothing more than to augment the glory of France, and promote the interest of his brother^e. They entered heartily into the project, and seconded Crasofki's proposal, that a splendid embassy might be sent into Poland. Accordingly Montluc, bishop of Valence, Gille de Noailles, abbot of Lisle, and several other persons of rank and ability, were dispatched to Cracow, where they met with such a reception as had been promised by Crasofki. The affability, eloquence, and liberality of Montluc operated powerfully on the minds of the Poles, and confirmed their favourable sentiments of the duke of Anjou. Sums of money too, which were judiciously distributed, made them entirely forget the promises they had made to the house of Austria. Even the league formed by the legate was neglected; and the chiefs of Lithuania joined with the principal personages in Poland to elevate the duke of Anjou to the throne^f.

The duke of Anjou proposed as a candidate.

^e Fontaines, p. 274.

^f Natalis Comes, lib. vi. p. 590.

This opposition roused the spirit of the emperor Maximilian, who determined, after he had lost all chance of succeeding, to make the most vigorous efforts in favour of Ernestus. He now earnestly solicited the states of the empire to assist him in pursuit of a crown, which he had lost entirely by his pride and inactivity. He laboured to form a league among the German princes; and solicited the elector of Saxony, who had now abandoned all hopes of succeeding in his own person, to furnish him with ten thousand horse for one campaign, promising that, should his son be elected king of Poland, he would restore Dantzic and the Prussian cities to the empire, together with that part of Livonia which had lately been seized by the Poles. To the elector, in particular, he promised restitution of all the frontier of Lusatia towards Saxony. Maximilian's negotiations could not be long concealed from Gaspard de Schomberg, the French ambassador at the court of Saxony. This minister possessed all the talents of a consummate politician, and had gained the confidence of Catherine de Medicis by his address and ability. He no sooner had intimation of the designs of the court of Vienna than he dispatched an account to Montluc, and set out in person for Cassel, to solicit the landgrave and the protestants of the empire to assist the pretensions of the duke of Anjou. He gained the princess Sophia, widow of the duke of Brunswick, a rigid protestant, and the strenuous enemy of the house of Austria. Thence he repaired to the courts of Wolfenbuttle and Saxony; and was on the brink of forming a powerful alliance, when all his endeavours were rendered useless by the forwardness of the Poles themselves, who were now proceeding to the election of Henry de Valois. The diet was composed of thirty-five thousand Polish gentlemen, of whom five hundred only opposed the French interest; and these were so ashamed of the despicable figure they made, that they embraced, without solicitation, the opinion of the majority; but the ambassadors were first obliged to take an oath, that their master would maintain the laws, liberties, and customs of the kingdom of Poland and the grand duchy of Lithuania. The following articles were besides stipulated: that Henry should transport all his effects, and annual revenues in France, into Poland: that the French monarch should pay the late king Sigismund's debts: that he should maintain a hundred young Polish gentlemen at his court, and fifty in other places: that he should send a fleet to the Baltick to assist Poland against the Russians: and lastly, that Henry should marry the princess Anne, sister to the late king Sigismund; which article Henry refused to ratify until his arrival in Poland.

A.D. 1574.

As soon as the ambassadors had acceded to the conditions proposed, Henry was proclaimed, the act of election prepared, and a splendid embassy, composed of thirteen of the chief personages in the kingdom, appointed to wait on the young king in France. Passports were demanded from the emperor; but Maximilian, who was dissatisfied with the election, replied, that he could not grant the safeguard required, without consulting the Germanic body; and they again pretended that the emperor's consent was absolutely necessary. Montluc, however, advised that the embassy might proceed, fully convinced that the emperor would not presume to violate the treaties subsisting with France and Poland. He set out in person for Leipsic to prepare the way, and the embassy followed a few days after. The elector had given orders for their reception, at the same time that he expressed his astonishment they should not wait for the passport which they had solicited; and gave them to understand, that, if they proceeded farther, they might find cause to repent their temerity. In a word, an order was given to prohibit their quitting the electorate; but it was soon revoked, and the ambassadors were permitted to proceed on their journey². Their reception at the court of France was magnificent, nothing being omitted which could inspire them with a high idea of the riches, power, and grandeur of that monarchy. Their arrival too afforded a seasonable salvo to Henry's honour, as he was thereby at liberty to break up the siege of Rochelle, without diminution of his glory. Preparations were immediately made for the young king's departure, who quitted France, attended by a splendid retinue, and accompanied by the queen-mother as far as Lorrain. The Poles received him on the frontiers, and conducted him to Cracow, where in a few days he was crowned with the usual solemnity.

*Henry de
Valois
crowned
king of
Poland.*

Henry soon engaged the affections of the Poles, who were captivated by his majestic air, and blooming vigorous youth. They were delighted with his graceful manner and persuasive eloquence, as well as with the fluency and purity with which he expressed himself in the Latin tongue, which at that time came to be deemed an essential accomplishment in Poland. But scarcely was Henry confirmed on the throne, when he became heir to the crown and dominions of his brother. Queen Catherine had dispatched repeated couriers to acquaint him with the death of Charles, and the necessity of his immediate return. Henry could not think of relinquishing his pretensions to the crown

² Barre, Hist. Allem. tom. ix. p. 156.

of France for the sake of that of Poland, and he was aware of the impossibility of retaining both. He determined, therefore, to abdicate the latter; but, sensible that the Poles would oppose his departure, he kept his intentions secret, and watched the opportunity of stealing out by night, in disguise, from his palace. He rode post to Vienna, and then passed into France by the way of Italy, leaving the Poles in despair at the sudden flight of a prince, from whose administration they had expected the return of the golden age. Parties were detached after him by different roads, and he was overtaken by Zamoski, some leagues distant from Cracow; but could not be prevailed on to return, by all the prayers, tears, and entreaties of that nobleman, who too much revered the monarch to use violence. Some allege, however, that Henry made him an absolute promise to return, as soon as he should have placed the affairs of France upon a proper footing. The populace were so enraged, that, unless the magistrates of Cracow had posted guards in the streets, all the French then in the city would have been sacrificed as perfidious wretches, whose blood only could wash away the indignity put on the Polish nation.

A.D. 1575.

He abdicates the crown.

Henry had foreseen the consequences of his flight, and had taken his measures for appeasing the people. Danzai was left to make his apology to the republic, which he did in full senate, unfolding, with the utmost eloquence, the motives for the king's abrupt departure. He wrote likewise with his own hand to the chief nobility and clergy; but nothing could satisfy the Poles, who thought themselves slighted by their monarch, for whom they had testified the strongest esteem. They now acquainted Henry, that the necessities of the state, and the dangers which surrounded the republic, prevailed over their attachment to his person; and that, if he did not immediately return, they would formally proceed to depose him, and elect another sovereign. The king excused himself by the wars in which he was engaged, that rendered his presence necessary in France; but, however, he gave the Poles room to hope that he would resume the reins of government as soon as his circumstances would permit. He likewise offered to send such ministers to govern Poland in his absence, as the republic could not but approve; as their integrity was irreproachable, and their abilities universally acknowledged. Accordingly he dispatched Guy de Pibrac to that kingdom, a person who had formed numerous friendships, strong connections, and gained the affections of the Poles, during his residence among them: however, the nation

15 July.

was too much irritated to listen to expedients; and faction began again to rear her head, and excite a ferment in the commonwealth. Two parties at that time divided Poland, and agreed only in the resolution of deposing Henry, against which measure all the eloquence and address of Pibrac proved ineffectual. Accordingly the diet assembled at Steczicza, where Henry was solemnly divested of the regal dignity, and the throne declared vacant ^z.

Maximilian now thought that a fair opportunity offered for recovering what he had lost the preceding year, by his indolence and haughty carriage. He accordingly dispatched Henry Dudith, a Hungarian of deep penetration and impenetrable cunning, to form a party in favour of his son Ernestus. The minister exerted his utmost endeavours, and formed a considerable interest among the palatines. The primate, archbishop of Gnesna, promised him his vote; and several of the nobility entered into a resolution to support the house of Austria at the ensuing election, which was appointed at Warsaw in the month of December. At first there appeared something extremely enigmatical in the conduct of this party. Before they ventured to divulge their sentiments to each other, they talked mysteriously, gave significant hints, and thoroughly sounded the dispositions of the persons whom they proposed drawing into their faction. At last they all agreed, that it was better to confer the crown upon the emperor himself, than upon his son, as the dignity of the imperial diadem would give a sanction to their election, and destroy the hopes of any competitor. The senate embraced this opinion, and accordingly Maximilian was proclaimed in the diet king of Poland, and great duke of Lithuania ^b.

All this while another faction had been forming by the Piastes, or those who declared in favour of a prince a native of the country. The palatines of Cracow and Sandomir were at the head of this party: it was their intention to elect the princess Anne, and marry her to Batori, prince of Transylvania, who, by virtue of that marriage, should be elevated to the throne. They were, however, confounded with the sudden blow struck by Maximilian's party; and that prince was on the point of being established on the throne of Poland, when the spirit of one gentleman overthrew all their designs, and revived the hope of the Piastes. In imitation of the tribunes of Rome, who had the power of opposing the decrees of the senate, this Polish

^z Struv. part. x. lib. vi. Heiderst. lib. i p. 62.

^b Sleidan.

gentleman protested against the proclamation, and with great intrepidity declared it was violent and illegal. He was supported by the two palatines, the French interest, and count Tenczin, who proceeded to the election of the princess Anne and Stephen Batori, whom they accordingly proclaimed¹.

A.D. 1576.

STEPHEN BATORI.

IT was now obvious, that strength and celerity must determine which election was legitimate: both parties wrote to the princes for whom they had declared, intreating them to come with all possible expedition to take possession of the throne. Batori proved the more alert: while Maximilian was disputing about certain conditions, which the Poles required for the security of their privileges, his competitor entered Poland, married the princess, and was crowned by the first day of May following. He appeared to possess such qualities as soon increased the number of his friends, and proportionably lessened the interest of Maximilian, who had not yet abandoned his claim, but was, on the contrary, preparing to treat Batori as an usurper. All acknowledged that the new king was a warrior and politician; that he was affable, generous, and virtuous. Besides, they knew the respect which the grand seignor entertained for this prince, and were sensible that the whole force of the Othoman empire would be employed to support his election. However, Maximilian was busied in promoting his design when death surprisid him, and happily extinguished all apprehensions of a civil war^k.

Stephen Batori elected king of Poland.

Batori began his reign in circumstances the most prosperous that could be wished. All the provinces yielded immediate obedience, while the people in general testified the strongest attachment to his person (A). The city of Dantzic

¹ Barre, *ibid.* tom. ix.

^k Flor. Polon. lib. iv.

(A) It is sufficient proof of Batori's abilities, that he raised himself from a private station in Transylvania to the sovereignty of that country, and to the crown of Poland, by the fairest means, and universally acknowledged merit. His first education was in the camp, as he had in his earliest youth

shewn an inclination to arms. His courage, capacity, and prudence, soon acquired him the esteem of the soldiers, and great authority among the people, who pitched upon him to transact some difficult negotiations at the imperial court, which he had the good fortune to accomplish, to the mutual

The Dantzickers revolt.

Dantzick adhered to the house of Austria; and, though Maximilian was now dead, refused, under various pretexts, to acknowledge Batori's sovereignty. The inhabitants had even the presumption to demand an oath from the king, in acknowledgement of their absolute freedom and independence. Batori referred them to the senate, declaring, that he had no power to give up the rights of the republic; and admonished the Dantzickers to avoid all occasion of a civil war, which must necessarily terminate to their own prejudice: but the obstinate citizens, construing the king's lenity into fear, shut their gates against the ambassador, seized upon the fortress of Grebin, and published a manifesto equivalent to a libel on the prince and the republic. Incensed at these proceedings, the king marched against Grebin, retook the castle, and ravaged certain territories belonging to the magistrates of Dantzick; who retaliated on the see of Uladislaw, and the monastery of Oliva, which they burnt to the ground, to prevent the Poles from taking possession of so important a situation¹.

Notwithstanding these outrages, Batori renewed his overtures for an accommodation, considering the Dantzickers still as his subjects, whom he resolved, if possible, to reclaim with reason; but they turning a deaf ear to all his proposals, he found himself obliged to declare them rebels, and enemies to the state. Zborowski was accordingly sent with a body of troops, to lay siege to the city; but as his numbers were not considerable, the Dantzickers ventured to quit their walls, and march into the field to give him battle. They were assisted by a corps of Germans, and the resolution was formed of attacking the Poles in their camp by surprize; but the project was disconcerted by a sudden storm, accompanied with dreadful thunder and lightning, which spread a panic through the army, as if it had been a judgment from heaven, and obliged John de Collen, who commanded them, to return to the city.

¹ Hartnoch, lib. i.

satisfaction of the parties concerned. When the supreme dignity became vacant, by the death of John Sigismund, nephew of Sigismund II. king of Poland, Batori was nominated successor by the universal voice, without his once soliciting the honour, or even entertaining

thoughts of raising himself so high above his countrymen. This circumstance laid the foundation of his future good fortune, which may entirely be ascribed to the early proofs he had exhibited of distinguished merit (1).

(1) Flor. Polon. lib. iv.

As soon as they had recovered their spirits, they sailed under the conduct of the same officer up the Vistula, and were proceeding to Warsaw, when they were attacked by the Polish army, who defeated them, after an obstinate conflict, in which eight thousand of them were slain, and a great number of them made prisoners. This defeat, instead of abating the courage, animated the Dantzickers to a more vigorous exertion of their strength, and incensed them against Collen, to whose misconduct they attributed the late disgrace. Collen at last appeased the multitude, by assurances that he would take ample vengeance on their enemies, and defend the privileges of the city with the last drop of his blood^m.

Mean while Poland was pressed on another quarter. The czar of Muscovy, thinking the present opportunity was favourable for extending his dominions, and revenging the preference given to Henry de Valois in the preceding election, sent a powerful army against Revel, and besieged that city with great fury and obstinacy: however, all his efforts proved ineffectual against the courage of the garrison. He was forced to relinquish the siege, and content himself with the plunder of Livonia, which he ravaged with the utmost inhumanity. Yet could not this unprovoked irruption draw Batori from his resolution of laying siege in person to Dantzic, and pursuing his measures with the utmost vigour. The city was invested, and battered with great fury: but the besieged made the most animated efforts in their own defence, defeated the Poles in a variety of sallies, and obliged the king to abandon certain approaches which he had made quite to the wall, and to encamp at a greater distance. Collen recovered his reputation among his countrymen, by the most gallant actions: he headed every attack upon the royal camp, and was become terrible to the besiegers, when he perished in a sally where prodigious slaughter was made on both sides. He was no sooner dead, than the spirit of the besieged subsided, and rendered it evident, that on Collen's capacity and courage they had founded their chief hope of resistance. He had not been two days slain, when they sustained a variety of attacks, which determined them to have recourse to the clemency of Batori, after they had obtained a promise from the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, in conjunction with the landgrave of Hesse, to interpose their mediation. The king was not difficult in the terms he demanded. His main design was to establish repose, and

*Irruptions
of the
Russians.*

*Peace with
the Dant-
zickers.*

^m Flor. Polon. lib. iv. p. 306.

reclaim the Dantzickers: accordingly he signed a peace, whereby it was stipulated they should ask his pardon, acknowledge his sovereignty, disband their forces, and repair the monastery of Oliva; while his majesty, on the other hand, confirmed all their privileges, and promised to grant them full liberty of adhering to the confession of Augsburg, of which they had for some time been strenuous advocatesⁿ.

*War with
Russia.*

Batori had no sooner reduced Dantzick to obedience than he convoked a diet at Warsaw, to deliberate on the means of revenging the ravages committed by the czar in Livonia, as well as for supporting the dignity of the crown, and retrieving the honour of the nation, that was sullied by the unpunished and unresented violation of treaties. The Muscovite had made himself master of the chief towns in the province: an insidious air of clemency which he assumed, inclined many cities to open their gates to him, rather than by resistance incur the displeasure of a prince whose power they could not withstand. Motives of policy directed the czar to perform his promises to some, in order to glut the more securely his bloody disposition, by sacrificing the credulous inhabitants of others. Among the latter was the city of Ascherod, where a great number of the Livonian nobility then resided. As soon as the burghers had opened their gates, the Russians began the most barbarous massacre recorded in the annals of time, slaughtering all without distinction who were capable of bearing arms, and abandoning the women and children to the shocking brutality and the most savage violations of the Tartars. Such was the horror inspired by the perfidy and cruelty of their conduct, that the inhabitants of Wender chose rather to bury themselves in the ruins of an untenable town, than surrender to so inhuman an enemy. They sunk mines under their houses, and, when they could no longer resist the attacks of the enemy, buried themselves and their families in the ruins of their town. However, all Livonia, except Riga and Revel, bled under the severe scourge of this insulting conqueror, before the Poles had entered upon measures to check the progress of his arms. At last a body of forces was detached into the province; Wender and Dunneburg were surprised, and an army which the czar had sent to retake the former, was defeated^o.

A. D. 1578.

Mean time Batori was making great preparations to take the field in person, large sums of money were borrowed for

ⁿ Id. *ibid.* etiam Fontaines, p. 221.
Polon. lib. ix.

^o Heideften. *Rep.*

the support of the war; and Christopher, prince of Transylvania, had orders to join his majesty with all the standing forces of that country. Levies were likewise made in Germany; a corps of Prussians and Hungarians joined the Poles; and the royal army was immediately after augmented by ten thousand Lithuanians. With these forces the king laid siege to Polocz on the Dwina, one of the strongest cities on the frontier, and a place of great consequence, as it opened a communication between Lithuania and the province of Livonia. It was one of the towns which had been seduced by the czar's specious promises to surrender its liberties, and now the inhabitants suffered the punishment of their credulity. As soon as the Russians received advice of the approach of the Polish army, they resolved to put all the citizens to death, thinking by that execution to strike terror into the king's troops. The most shocking spectacle which fancy can imagine was presented to Batori as he advanced: a prodigious number of mangled bodies, fastened to planks, and panting in the last agonies, were seen floating on the river. This shocking barbarity, instead of terrifying, animated the Poles with the most ardent spirit of revenge. Finding their cannon made scarce any impression on the walls, they mounted to the assault with burning torches in their hands, set fire to the wooden fortifications, and would have reduced the city, and consumed the garrison to ashes, had not a deluge of rain baffled their endeavours. At last the Hungarians, incensed at the resistance of the besieged, and encouraged with the king's promise of distributing the whole booty among the soldiers, advanced to the walls amidst the furious discharge of artillery from the ramparts, applied their torches, and soon set the whole in a blaze; upon which the Muscovites surrendered at discretion. It reflects the highest honour on Batori, that he did not retaliate upon the garrison, though he had scenes before his eyes sufficient to authorize the keenest revenge. A variety of Germans were found in the city, some expiring under the most dreadful tortures, and others dead of pains, which human nature could not support. Several officers had been plunged in cauldrons of boiling oil, with a cord drawn under the skin of the umbelical region, which fastened their hands behind; in this wretched situation their eyes were torn out from the sockets, or burnt with red hot irons, and their faces otherwise cruelly mangled. The disfigured carcases evidently declared the barbarous treatment with which they had met, and the dreadful tale was confirmed by the testimony of the few

*Cruelty of
the Russians.*

who survived. The Polish soldiers were wrought up to a degree of madness: they even sought to lay violent hands on the bloody authors of this tragedy, and all Batori's authority could scarce prevent the whole Muscovite garrison from falling a sacrifice to their resentment.

The reduction of Polocz led the way to other advantages. Two detachments from the army penetrated into the enemy's country by different roads, wasted all before them to the gates of Smolensko, and returned with the spoils of two thousand towns and villages, which they had pillaged and destroyed: such was the cruel method of carrying on war in the northern kingdoms.

*State of
Poland and
Sweden.*

It is remarkable, that the Swedes waged war at the same time in Livonia, and were deemed equally the enemies of the Poles and Muscovites. Revel had, since the last reign, put itself under the protection of this crown, and was maintained, according to the Swedish writers, by a garrison placed there by duke John; a circumstance about which the Polish historians are entirely silent. They acknowledge, indeed, that the Poles were at war with the Swedes and Muscovites, the Swedes with the Poles and Muscovites, and the latter with the Poles and Swedes, each striving to gain possession of the province of Livonia, and committing the most cruel ravages on the territories of the others. The reader has seen the particulars of this irregular triple war in the History of Sweden (A). Sufficient it is to observe, that the Poles and Swedes at last determined to compromise their differences, and fall with united forces on the savage Russians, whose numbers seemed to increase under the most bloody and seemingly decisive victories. At the time when this accommodation was set on foot, Pontus de la Gardie, a French gentleman in the Swedish service, to whom king John had given his natural daughter in marriage, was besieging Oesel, after having made great progress in the reduction of the country. Now the religious contentions which arose in Sweden, prevented that monarch from bearing his share in the Muscovite war, which Batori was left to prosecute singly, without any other assistance than what arose from his own courage and the affection of his subjects. However, he thought it sufficient that he was at liberty to employ the whole strength of Poland against the czar; and accord-

A. D. 1579.

(A) The reader will perceive that we have purposely omitted, for the sake of brevity, a variety of disputes between Sweden and Poland, that have already been recited in the Swedish History; it being our intention only to relate such circumstances as are differently told by the historians of each country.

ingly

ingly made the most vigorous preparations for opening another campaign, which he doubted not would bring the war to a fortunate issue. Early in the season John Sariow-zamoski, who had distinguished himself against the Swedes, was appointed general, and sent with a powerful army to invest Pleskow, one of the strongest cities in possession of the Russians. The strong castle of Ostrow, situated in an island which covered the city, was first attacked, in order to open the way for regular approaches, and carried, after an obstinate defence; in which the Russians had shewn, that they were not destitute of either courage or military genius. Upon the reduction of the castle, trenches were opened before Pleskow, and the king arrived in the camp to direct in person the operations of the siege. The garrison consisted of seven thousand men; the walls were extensive and strong; and the enterprize required not only a numerous army, but the utmost vigilance and conduct. The city was supplied with all kinds of provision, and was watered by numerous streams, that not only supplied the garrison with water and fish, but greatly disturbed the besiegers, by filling their trenches, and frequently, upon a flood of rain, destroying their works. It stood in the midst of a fertile plain, and was bounded by rugged hills, which confined the Polish camp, at the same time that they were at too great a distance for their batteries. Forty monasteries surrounded Pleskow, and not only added greatly to the beauty, but to the strength of the city, serving for the purpose of strong bastions joined by the walls. A strong citadel rose in the center, which was maintained by a separate garrison of two thousand Muscovites, and seemed in a manner impregnable. So formidable an appearance struck terror into some of the Polish officers, who advised Batori to relinquish an enterprize which might prove fatal to his reputation, and lay siege to Novogrod; but he rejected their advice, and seemed to be animated by the difficulties, in surmounting which he hoped to acquire more glory. At first the garrison made vigorous sallies, and relying upon their own strength, fought a number of pitched battles, in which they were almost always defeated. Assisted by the townsmen, who were extremely numerous and warlike, they poured forth like a torrent, and called for the exertion of all Batori's courage and conduct: at last the Muscovites, perceiving they were weakened by repeated defeats, without having retarded the operations of the Poles, resolved to keep within their walls, and content themselves with defensive measures only. The Poles confined their attacks to one quarter of the town, while the Germans and Hungarians were battering

another. The moment the latter effected a breach, they determined to storm it; but their commander being slain, the troops were dispirited, and would have been wholly routed, had not the Poles come to their relief, entered the breach, and planted the Polish standard on the tower of Porchow. Their valour was imitated by the Hungarians: a lodgment was effected, and the garrison on the point of submitting, when the brave Swisky, who commanded in the place, mounted his horse, though covered with blood and wounds, re-animated the Muscovites by his example, led them back to the breach, and checked the progress of the assailants on the brink of the last ditch which had been sunk for the defence of the tower. The clergy themselves came to the attack, and inspired their troops, by their moving discourse, with all the fury and ardour that religion was capable of imparting: the Poles first gave way, and were followed by the Hungarians, after they had maintained their ground for the whole day, exposed to a galling fire from the artillery of the tower, and the musketry and arrows of the numerous garrison.

But the Poles did not confine themselves to the siege of Pleskow: detachments entered the enemy's country in different quarters, and reduced a great number of cities, towns, and fortresses. These irruptions, together with the necessity to which the brave garrison of Pleskow was reduced, humbled the pride of the czar, and obliged him to propose an accommodation by means of the pope, whose interest he gained by a solemn promise, that he would effect an union of the Greek and Latin churches, and acknowledge the supremacy of the holy see. A splendid embassy was sent to Rome, magnificent presents were made, and the nuncio Possevinus accordingly was appointed to begin negotiations for restoring the tranquillity of the North. What made the czar more earnest in suing for peace was the entrance of a Swedish army into Livonia, under Pontus de la Gardie, who drove the Russians out of Wikke, Wefenberg, Totzburg, and was laying siege to Narva, after having surprised Iwanogrod on the opposite bank of the river. Nor was Batori, on the other hand, averse to a pacification. He saw that all his advantages served only to ruin the enemy's country, without producing any advantage to his own: he had lost forty thousand men by the rigour of the season, the fatigue of sieges and marches, and the desperate valour of the garrison of Pleskow. The severity of the winter obliged the Poles to convert the siege of this place into a blockade, which harrassed the troops as much as they would have been by more vigorous operations, as they were perpetually.

petually in arms, to prevent being surpris'd by the spirited Swisky, who was endeavouring to assemble all the neighbouring garrisons, in order to give battle to the Polish general Zamoski. Diseases now appeared in the camp, in consequence of the extremity of the cold, and the scarcity of provisions. The huts and tents of the soldiers were become solid masses of snow; and the centinels, though relieved every hour, were frequently found dead upon their posts, or so chilled, that, when they recovered their natural heat, they were seized with ardent fevers. It is true that Swisky fell into an ambuscade, while he was endeavouring to surprize the Polish camp; but the advantage gained by Zamoski was inconsiderable, though it was purchased with the lives of a thousand of his best soldiers. In a word, every circumstance occurred to render the king of Poland tired of a war, in which he acquired nothing besides the reputation of a skilful general, and an active able monarch. He listened therefore to the persuasions of the nuncio, and at last signed a peace at Zapolia; whereby the czar yielded up Livonia, the very province which had occasioned the rupture; while, on the other hand, the king of Poland withdrew his forces from Pleskow, and restored all the places he had taken from the Muscovites. Upon the whole, Batori gained no other advantage from this war, besides that of disabling a powerful turbulent neighbour from again disturbing his government. He had sustained great losses; but they bore no proportion to the sufferings of his enemy, who sacrificed the lives of four hundred thousand of his subjects to the desire of reducing a province which did not contain so many inhabitants. Besides, all the provinces composing the Russian frontier were entirely desolated, and converted into a desert; the Russians were cut off from all communication with the Baltic; shut up in their forests, excluded from all commerce with other nations; and deprived of every outlet, except what the frozen sea afforded for a few months in the year^m.

*Peace with
Russia.*

Batori, having established the public repose, applied his attention to the civil government of his kingdom, the administration of justice, forming laws, correcting the abuses which had crept into government, during the late tumult and confusion, and putting his cavalry, in which the chief strength of Poland consisted, upon the best footing. From him the Polish cavalry received those regulations which rendered them so formidable to the Russians, Turks, and

▪ Flor. Polon. lib. iv. p. 347.

other neighbours^a. This is the military establishment to which the Poles have given the appellation of *Quartienne*, because a fourth of the revenue is assigned for its maintenance. Batori sent this body of cavalry towards the frontiers of Tartary, to check the incursions of those barbarians; by which means the Ukraine, a vast track of desert country, was filled with flourishing towns and villages, and formed into a strong barrier against the Turks, Tartars, and Muscovites.

Batori attaches the Cossacks to Poland.

But the measure that reflects the greatest glory on the memory of Batori, was the politic method he took of disciplining the Cossacks, and attaching them to the Polish crown^b. This people derive their name, according to Alberto Vimiria; from the Slavonic word *Coza*, which signifies *a goat*, either because they clothed themselves with the skins of those animals, or lived like them in woods, mountains, and forests. Others affirm, that the word *Cossac* signifies *robber* in the Slavonian language; and that the people who now bear this name, deduce their origin from a set of banditti, who fled from the neighbouring countries, and settled in the islands formed in the outlet of the Boristhenes. They lived by plunder, and made incursions through Tartary and Turkey even to the gates of Constantinople. They also committed piracies on the Black Sea, and promised fair for becoming able navigators. They soon extended their country above a hundred leagues in length, and became a formidable powerful people; masters of a territory so fruitful, that half the corn is yearly wasted, for want of the means of transporting it to other countries. The Cossacks were esteemed strong, robust, gallant, and so strongly attached to liberty, as to be impatient under the mildest restriction. They professed the Greek religion in general, though many followed the tenets of the church of Rome, and some embraced the doctrines of Luther. Their language is a dialect of the Slavonic, extremely soft and musical, as it abounds in diminutives. They generally fight on horseback, though the Cossacks occasionally dismount since the days of Batori. No troops in the world can better endure the extremities of cold and hunger. They live whole campaigns on a kind of coarse black biscuit, which they eat with garlic. They never intrench themselves, their waggons being their only fortification, within which they defend themselves with great obstinacy. Such were the men whom Batori resolved to render serviceable to Poland, to civilize and instruct in

^a Heidensten. lib. ix.

^b Guer. civil. de Polon. lib. i. p. 7.

the arts of war and peace. His first endeavour was to gain their affection by his liberality; for which purpose he presented them with the city Techtemeravia, situated on the Boristhenes, which they formed into a magazine, and the residence of their chieftains. He gave them officers of all degrees, established discipline among them, altered their arms, and formed them into a regular militia, which afterwards performed eminent services to Poland. All kinds of trades and manufactures, then known in Poland, were erected among the Cossacks. The women were employed in spinning and weaving woollen and linen cloths, while the men were cultivating the earth, and learning the art of brewing, malting, and baking^c.

In this manner was Batori employed when the Swedes broke the convention respecting Livonia, and were on the point of gaining possession of Riga, in contempt of the solemn treaty subsisting between the two crowns. Batori had promised the inhabitants entire liberty of conscience; but was unfortunately prevailed on to send a mission of Jesuits thither, in order to convert the people to the catholic faith; a measure which so irritated them that they revolted; and their syndic, Gottard Wellinger, was practising the means of introducing a Swedish garrison into the city. As soon as the king received advice of the conspiracy he mounted the *pospolite*, advanced an army to Riga, and built a fortress on the opposite bank of the Dwina, to keep the enemy within bounds, and prevent their making incursions. These vigorous steps soon convinced the rebellious citizens of the necessity of imploring pardon; for which purpose they solicited the mediation of the duke of Courland; but Batori would listen to no excuses, being resolved to punish their disaffection with the utmost severity. However, before he could execute his vengeance, it pleased Providence to carry him off, as some allege, in a violent epileptic fit, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and tenth of his reign.

*Death of
Ba. ori.*

A few months before his death Batori endeavoured to prevail on the diet to fix the succession, with a view, as was imagined, of retaining the crown in his own family, and transmitting it to his own brother, as he had no issue himself. All his attempts however proved fruitless: the states were resolved to exclude their monarchs from all influence in elections, and to preserve their own rights inviolate; a resolution which gave great offence to Batori, who had never in any other particular deviated from the constitu-

^c Cheval. Hist. de Cossac.

tion. Except in this single instance his conduct was irreproachable. Prudent, gallant, active, and just even to rigour, he equally commanded the respect, and won the affections of his people. His vigour and high reputation won him the crown; his wisdom and vigilance preserved it untarnished by the smallest blemish, and transmitted it in its full lustre to his successors. Yet with all his good sense, there was a violence in his temper, which sometimes transported him to an excess bordering upon madness; to this disposition one writer ascribes the fit which occasioned his death. The sight of the envoys from Riga threw him into a rage, that ended in an universal spasm of the nervous system ^d (A).

A.D. 1586.

The death of Batori soon involved Poland in fresh scenes of confusion, notwithstanding the prudent regulations made to preserve unanimity among the electors. As soon as the diet was assembled, a decree passed that the monarch should be elected by the universal consent of the deputies, whether Polish or Lithuanian; and that whoever entered into cabals, or factions, to disturb the public tranquillity, should be regarded as an enemy to the state, and declared a traitor. It was also decreed, that corruption should be

^d Flor. Polon. Heidenstein, *ibid.*

(A) To this day the Poles following epitaph, composed revere the memory of Batori, with intention it should be inscribed on his tomb. and ascribe to him literally all the virtues enumerated in the

In templo plus quam sacerdos.

In republicâ plus quam rex.

In sententia dicenda plus quam juris consultus.

In exercitu plus quam imperator.

In acie plus quam miles.

In adversis preferendis injuriisque condonandis, plus quam vir

In publicâ libertate tuendâ, plus quam civis.

In amicitia colenda, plus quam amicus.

In convicâ plus quam familiaris.

In venatione ferisque domandis, plus quam Leo.

In totâ reliqua vitâ plus quam philosophus.

His passion for hunting was so great, that he removed his residence to Grodno in Lithuania, for the greater conveniency of pursuing that diversion; though it has been imagined that he was actuated by other motives, and particularly by the desire of living at a distance from his queen, who was above sixty years of age, when policy induced him to marry her (1).

(1) Flor. Polon. lib. iv. p. 349. Font. lib. iv.

capital; that the confederation made upon the election of Henry de Valois, respecting religion, should be observed; and that the new king should promise to recall the decree of attainder issued out against Christopher Zborowski. The occasion of this decree is not specified in any of the Polish writers that have come to our hands. It is probable that he too warmly pleaded the cause of the inhabitants of Riga, as he was supposed to be a follower of the Lutheran doctrine; and this conduct afforded a handle to his great rival Zamoski to procure his disgrace and banishment. The diet now took part with the fugitive Zborowski, and deprived Zamoski, of his commission, which was bestowed on Nicholas Herbert, who then commanded the troops in Volhinia. Zamoski opposed the resolution of the states, and both the chiefs came to the diet, attended by numerous armies of their friends and dependents. Thus all the endeavours of the archbishop of Gnesna, and the more prudent personages in the government, were rendered abortive by the private animosity of two ambitious noblemen, neither of whom could bear an equal in the administration, nor a rival in the king's favour.

The Lithuanians increased the public disturbances by insisting that Podolia, Volhinia, and Livonia, which they said had been dismembered from their duchy, should be reunited to it; and that the Poles should be stripped of all those rights which they had usurped from the duchy. It was alleged, that the republic had elected the two last kings without the participation of the duchy; that she had sent an embassy to Rome, without so much as acquainting the Lithuanians with the intention of the embassy: besides, in the present instance, it looked, they said, as if they had a design of abolishing the freedom of elections, by introducing an armed force to overawe and intimidate the electors. To complete the scene of discord, the Prussians sent in a long bill of grievances, of which they demanded immediate redress. They complained they were oppressed with taxes; that all preferments, either honourable or lucrative in their country, were bestowed on foreigners; that several Dantzic merchantmen were detained in Denmark, for debts owing by the republic and crown of Poland; with a variety of other particulars, which it would be tedious to specify: but the diet gave no ear to complaints raised merely to make an advantage of the present state of affairs. They were therefore remitted for examination to a more seasonable opportunity; and in the mean time the states proceeded to give audience to the foreign ministers.

The candidates for the crown.

The competitors for the crown were the princes Ernest, Matthias, and Maximilian, of the house of Austria; Sigismund prince of Sweden, nephew of king Sigismund Augustus, the predecessor of Henry de Valois; and Theodore czar of Muscovy. Each of these had a separate party, and were equally opposed by the Piasles faction, which declared in favour of a native of Poland, and the grand seignor, who espoused the nephews of the late king Batori. The princes of Austria had gained to their interest the powerful family of Zborowski, the head of which had taken refuge at Vienna during his banishment, and the count de Gorka, a nobleman of considerable influence. His birth rendered the prince of Sweden extremely agreeable to the Poles, who considered him as the descendant of the royal house of Jagello, under which they had been happily governed for a series of years. Theodore, grand-duke of Russia, was chiefly supported by the Lithuanians. He had rendered his pretensions tolerably popular, by a scheme which he offered of incorporating his vast empire with the republic, and thereby cutting off all occasion for those bloody contentions which had depopulated both countries. Though this proposal was liable to suspicion in point of sincerity, and to numberless other objections, yet it was embraced with avidity by the Lithuanians, who were the most exposed to the incursions and ravages of the Muscovites. The Lutherans seized the opportunity of recovering certain privileges which had been wrested from them in the last reign, and formed so powerful an interest, that more was granted than even the constitution admitted. They not only obtained a perpetual liberty of conscience, but certain political immunities, which gave so much offence to the primate that he quitted the assembly. What was very extraordinary, they joined with the Austrian faction, espoused by the pope's nuncio, Zborowski, count de Gorka, palatine of Posnania, and the cardinal Radzivil. They were by much the more numerous party; but Sigismund was supported by the senate and the flower of the Polish army under Zamoski, together with the affections of the people. Of this party were likewise the primate, the bishops in general, and the chancellor, all of whom retired from Warsaw, and held a separate assembly in the neighbourhood. Here Zamoski, by his vigilance, prudence, and superior policy, broke all the measures of the opposite faction; upon which the Lutherans, perceiving they could not obtain the crown for a prince of the house of Austria, joined the Lithuanians, and espoused the cause of the czar of Muscovy. Here too they

they were unsuccessful; the Lithuanians had confined themselves for forty days within their camp, which they strongly entrenched; but the Count de Gorka, having been gained by the Swedish party, disconcerted their projects, and effected a majority in favour of prince Sigismund. For some time the Lutherans and Lithuanians stood out; but being intimidated by Zamoski with his regulars, and perceiving that the nation in general was inclined to a prince of the house of Jagello, they at last consented that the prince of Sweden should be proclaimed king on the 9th day of August. The queen-dowager indeed, who was sister to the queen of Sweden, was chiefly instrumental in putting the crown on the head of her nephew, although no notice is taken of this circumstance by the Polish writers^c. We have already mentioned the opposition that was made by the states of Sweden to the election of Sigismund, and the restrictions which they laid on the young prince, as absolutely necessary to the security of the kingdom, and the preservation of the Lutheran religion, Sigismund having been bred in catholic principles. It is time to see what measures the friends of the house of Austria took to support the interest of Maximilian, who alone of the three candidates of that family persisted in his claim.

The nuncio and Zborowski faction were no sooner acquainted with the election of Sigismund than they proclaimed Maximilian, and sent an embassy to that prince, requesting his immediate presence in Poland, as the surest method of completing what they had begun; while, on the other hand, Zamoski and his party demanded of the prince of Sweden, that he would unite Livonia to Poland; maintain a fleet at his own expence, for the protection of the Polish commerce; provide a supply of arms and ammunition for carrying on the Muscovite war, as the czar seemed disposed to break the late treaty; remit the sums due to Sweden on account of the money borrowed by Sigismund Augustus; relinquish all the claims of Sweden upon Poland; and, lastly, swear to observe all the articles proposed to Henry de Valois. Esthonia was the great bone of contention between the two kingdoms; besides, the Poles and Swedes were mutually jealous that the young king would act partially in favour of one or other of the nations; the former dreaded his being a Swede, the latter was no less apprehensive of his being a catholic, and consequently of the same principles with his new subjects. Martin Linowolski was appointed to compliment him in Sweden, and

A.D 1587.

*Sigismund
prince of
Sweden,
and Max-
imilian of
Austria,
both
elected.*

^c Puffend. tom. iv. lib. iv. cap. vi. Flor. Polon. lib. iv.

the bishop of Uladislaw, with several lords, had directions to receive him in the road of Dantzic, and to tender the oaths upon the *pacta conventa*, before he should enter the kingdom. Some of the articles were scrupled at both by king John and his son; both feared giving offence to the Swedes, and they had been obliged to promise to the diet of that kingdom, that Sigismund would rather abdicate the throne of Poland than cede any of the rights or territories of his native country. At last, letters from the Swedish ambassador at Cracow removed all scruples, as they assured the prince that nothing more than his presence was wanted to secure the crown upon the most equitable and honourable conditions. In consequence of this intimation, he embarked, and arrived safe with a large fleet at Dantzic, where he took all the oaths required, except what respected Livonia. Nothing more was wanting to secure the affections of the greatest part of the Polish nation; accordingly Zamoski, entering the capital, had manifestos printed and dispersed through the kingdom, declaring the legality of Sigismund's election, and his assent to the *pacta conventa*. He likewise signified to the nuncio, the imperial ambassador, and the ministers of foreign princes, that Sigismund was elected by a majority of the Poles, while his competitor was only nominated by outlaws, who hoped to repair their shattered fortunes, by the civil wars they were endeavouring to excite, or under a monarch whom they expected to govern, because they alone had espoused his interest.

These declarations were answered by similar writings published by the opposite party, to support which, Maximilian was already advanced to the frontiers of Poland, and had taken the oaths required by the constitution. He was attended by a body of forces, which were joined by a number of troops levied by Zborowski, and approached within five miles of the capital, with intention to besiege it; but all his schemes were disconcerted by the active Zamoski, who gave him battle, defeated his army, killed two thousand Germans, and obliged Maximilian to retire precipitately with the remainder to Silesia (A). This victory was soon

(A) Some writers allege, that Maximilian had actually laid siege to the capital before Sigismund had taken the oaths proposed to him at Oliva, in the neighbourhood of Dantzic. He hoped to gain possession by means of a secret correspon-

dence which he carried on with some Germans who inhabited the suburbs, and had undertaken to lodge two regiments privately in their houses. Zamoski had intelligence of their design, suffered the two regiments to enter the suburbs, then

set

soon followed by another still more decisive, as it proved fatal to the liberty of Maximilian. Zamoski, having paid his compliments to Sigismund on his arrival at Cracow; set out in pursuit of Maximilian, who had been joined by a body of Hungarians on the frontiers, where he was collecting his scattered troops, and augmenting his army with new levies brought by Zborowki. The archduke retreated as the Polish general advanced, and deferred coming to action until he had assembled a superior force. He was pursued from Willun to Witzen, and from thence to Biczycna, where at last he made a stand, was attacked, and defeated with great slaughter. At first the Cossacks were put in confusion by the Hungarians; but Zamoski coming up with the Polish cavalry, soon repulsed them, made terrible carnage, and forced the archduke to take shelter in Biczycna, where he surrendered prisoner at discretion after a short resistance. So complete a victory fixed the crown on the head of Sigismund, and raised Zamoski's glory to the highest pitch, though his clemency to the prisoners likewise increased its lustre. He treated Maximilian with all the respect due to his quality, as the son and brother of an emperor; and displayed so much moderation to such of the Zborowski family (his inveterate enemies) as fell into his hands, that they could not but equally admire his valour, magnanimity, and policy. Great numbers immediately swore allegiance to Sigismund, and believed that justice must be on that side which was graced with every other virtue. Cracow blazed with rejoicings, and the whole kingdom was a scene of tumultuous mirth, except the few places possessed by Zborowski, who never abandoned the hope of placing the unfortunate archduke on the throne, and thereby recovering his own losses, and procuring a revocation of the sentence of banishment which had been passed upon him through the interest of his rival ^b.

A. D. 1588.

Maximilian twice defeated, and taken prisoner.

^b Fontaines, lib. v. Hartnoch, lib. i. cap. ii.

set fire to the houses, which he consumed, together with the archduke's soldiers. Upon this the siege was raised, as our author relates, and Maximilian drew up his army in the plain, with intention to give battle. Zamoski, who was equally eager

to come to a decisive action, advanced, attacked the enemy, and after a sharp conflict, which lasted for two hours, obtained a complete victory, obliging the archduke to retire to Cestochow, whither he did not think it necessary to pursue him (1).

(1) Hart. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 103.

With respect to the imperial court, every face was covered with sadness, shame, and confusion. They considered the defeat and captivity of Maximilian as a dishonour to the whole empire. The princes talked of taking up arms for his release, and placing him by mere force on the Polish throne; but neither the disposition of the emperor, nor the conjuncture, were favourable to so vigorous a measure. Rodolphus was timid, weak, and pusillanimous, equally afraid of the threatened invasion of the Turks on the one hand, and the united efforts of Poland and Sweden to support Sigismund on the other. He preferred pacific means, and accordingly solicited the pontiff's mediation, who, in compliance with his request, sent the political cardinal Adobrandini to Poland, to accommodate matters, and endeavour to procure the archduke's release. The court of Vienna was extremely desirous that Maximilian might be allowed to preserve the regal title, though he should renounce all claim to the crown of Poland. This point was particularly recommended to the arful prelate, and he exerted his utmost address in bringing it to effect, though to no purpose. Sigismund, indeed, displayed great dignity and moderation upon this occasion: he was advised by his friends to demand a large pecuniary ransom for the archduke; and the example of Charles V. with respect to the French king, was set before him. The cardinal even offered a considerable sum, provided Maximilian might be permitted to bear the title of royalty; but Sigismund replied with true magnanimity: "The crown of Poland I will not divide; it shall either be the archduke's or mine; but as for a ransom, I do not imagine that any authority is sufficient excuse for a mean action. Charles V. released Francis for a sum of money, and thereby brought disgrace on his imperial diadem; for my own part, I am satisfied with the advantages which Providence hath given me over my competitor, and shall not add insult to misfortune. I shall give Maximilian his liberty, and not oblige him to buy it." He imposed no other conditions than, that he should renounce his claim to the crown of Poland, promise never to resume it upon any pretence whatsoever during his reign; that he should lay aside the title and arms of Poland, restore certain territories to count Cepus, which had been violently seized, and use his utmost influence to maintain all the treaties between Poland, and the princes of the house of Austria. Maximilian was on the point of accepting the conditions, when some flattering prospects laid

*Sigismund's
generosity.*

before him by Zborowski made him alter his sentiments; but he soon grew tired of confinement, found all his hopes were delusive, and signed the articles; upon which he was immediately released. The agreement was ratified by the emperor, and Maximilian was conducted under a Polish guard to the frontiers of the empire, where he soon discovered his inclinations to break through all his engagements, and shewed that malevolence which little minds ever express towards those by whom they are excelled in virtue and accomplishments. He detested Sigismund for the obligations which he owed him, and could hardly refrain from ordering violent hands to be laid on the guard; but the emperor paid a more religious regard to his faith, and the duties of religion and gratitude. He even apologized for his brother's conduct, which he ascribed to his disappointment and the rage of an unsuccessful ambition: he obliged Maximilian to make the renunciation he promised, and to fulfil every part of the treaty which the emperor and Germanic body had not only ratified but guaranteed^d.

A D. 1589.

SIGISMUND III. surnamed DE VASA.

SIGISMUND, surnamed De Vasa, was now firmly established on the throne, as far as regarded competitors, though it was plain that a vacancy in the throne of Sweden, would again disturb the public tranquillity. On his accession he had been bound down to such restrictions, by the diets of each kingdom, as rendered it next to impossible for him to retain both crowns. It was this prince's maxim, however, not to anticipate evil: he now resolved to govern Poland in the same manner as if he had a certainty of always wearing the diadem of this kingdom. Accordingly he began his administration with recommending it to the diet to deliberate on effectual means for stemming the torrent of corruption which had over-run the kingdom, and which had like to have been attended with such fatal consequences at the last election; for to the corruption of the members he ascribed those civil divisions which had almost terminated in the destruction of liberty. While the nation was divided against itself, some prince would one day, he said, find his way to the throne by the sword, and cut down all those barriers which they had for so many years been erecting in defence of their privileges. A speech to this purpose from the throne could not but inspire the people with a favourable opinion of the royal justice, and intention to promote the good of his subjects; it produced

A.D. 1590.

His policy.

^d Barre, tom ix.

that effect, and sunk deep in the heart of the Poles, who assured his majesty, that they hoped the present age would never be exposed to the consequences of another election; yet, out of respect to his majesty's recommendation, they would do all that lay in their power to destroy that venal spirit which too generally prevailed among all orders in the republic. At this diet it was likewise ordained, that the part of Livonia belonging to Poland, should be governed successively by a Polish and Lithuanian palatine; and means were thought of for restraining the unbounded licences and barbarous incursions of the Cossacks into Turkey and Tartary, which was apprehended might involve the republic in a war with the Porte; but these deliberations were now too late; the Tartars, to the number of seventy thousand men, had crossed the Boristhenes, with a view of retaliating on the Cossacks, who had surprised certain vessels upon the coasts of the Black Sea, and plundered Cossovia. They were encamped between the lake Amadoka and Leopold in Prussia, from whence they sallied out in large detachments, and laid waste all the adjacent country. It was necessary to give an immediate check to such ruinous irruptions, and for this purpose Zamoski, the hero of the state, was sent against them with an army, to prevent their penetrating into Poland. A Turkish army, encamped in Wallachia, watched the success of the Tartar irruption, determining to fall upon Caminieć if an opportunity should offer, by the Tartars gaining any considerable advantage. Zamoski penetrated into their design, and therefore strongly fortified this bulwark of Poland against the Othoman power; after which precaution he put himself at the head of the Cossacks, and went in pursuit of the Tartarian army, though double the number of his own forces. The Cossacks had sustained two defeats before his arrival; they were now animated by the presence of a general who had always been victorious, and fired not only with a desire of wiping off the late disgraces, but of signaling themselves under the eye of so excellent a judge of valour and conduct. Their ardour drew them into a snare, in despite of the remonstrances of Zamoski, who had foreseen all the consequences of their blind impetuosity; but they extricated themselves by their courage, and the valour and capacity of the Polish general. The cham had joined the Tartars with a reinforcement, which augmented that army to a hundred thousand men; but even with this prodigious force the cham would not venture to give battle in the open plain to Zamoski. But he drew on the Cossacks by skirmishes into a defile, which he had surrounded with a triple line of

*War with
the Tar-
tars.*

his troops. The Pole used his utmost influence with the Cossacks to check their ardour; but they pushed on, and were soon hedged in on every side by an almost impenetrable rampart of armed Tartars. In this situation they offered to capitulate; but the cham would listen to no other terms than their surrendering at discretion; a circumstance which drove them to despair, and produced the resolution of selling their liberty at the highest price. They encouraged each other never to surrender, but to fight it out to the last drop of blood; they began a furious attack, and soon made terrible carnage. The cham saw his son killed before his face, and was himself dangerously wounded. His people lay slaughtered in heaps, yet he could not think of yielding the victory to a handful of men, who fought under the greatest disadvantages. This obstinacy tended only to the destruction of his people; after the field was entirely covered with carnage, the soldiers at last deserted their prince, who must have fallen into the hands of the Cossacks, but for the extraordinary efforts of a few of his faithful attendants. The scattered remains had taken shelter in an adjacent wood, from whence they were soon forced by famine, and barbarously massacred by the Cossacks as they appeared. In a word, of this whole formidable army, only the cham and a few of his officers reached their own country: all the rest were either slain in the field, butchered after the battle, or starved to death in their retreats and lurking-places. So complete a victory encouraged the Cossacks to make an irruption into Tartary, from which all the authority of Zamoski could not dissuade them. Regardless of his threats and admonitions they pushed on, destroyed every thing with fire and sword, and had well nigh produced a rupture between the republic and the Porte, too wide to admit of any remedy^b.

Not content with the ravages committed during the winter, the Cossacks began another expedition early in the spring, and plundered several Turkish vessels, who, relying upon the faith of treaties, were lying at anchor on the coast of the Black Sea. Next they entered the Chersonesus, and with their success rose in their barbarity. Neither age nor sex was spared; they first pillaged, and then massacred the inhabitants. Such enormities at last kindled the wrath of Amurath, the Turkish emperor: he attributed the whole to the Polish republic, which he imagined might have checked the incursions of the Cossacks. He therefore pointed his vengeance against Poland. He directed the

A.D. 1598.

^b Hartnoch, lib. i. cap. ii. Fontaines, cap. v.

Tartars to make an irruption into that kingdom; and issued orders to his bashaws to raise forces, and sustain the Tartarian irruption with a powerful army. The Tartars cheerfully obeyed an order so agreeable to their inclinations; they thirsted for revenge, entered the Polish frontier, and marked their way with blood and horror. Even the Cossacks themselves were outdone in barbarity. Loaded with spoils they were returning to their own country, when they were surpris'd by the Cossacks, defeated, dispers'd, and totally ruined. Zamofki too was advancing to oppose the Turkish army, now intimidated by the fate of the Tartars: he was too prudent, however, wantonly to bring on a war with the Ottoman empire, by justifying the conduct of a set of freebooters, who paid no regard to treaties, or the law of nations. On his approaching the Turkish camp, he sent a trumpet to the bashaw, acquainting him that the republic intended nothing more than to defend her own territories, and repulse any attacks upon her dominions. He likewise desired to know in what manner he was to regard so powerful an army as was then encamped on the frontiers of Walachia, and gave the Turkish general to understand, that an explicit declaration was absolutely necessary to prevent bloodshed. To this message the bashaw replied, that he would offer no hostilities, provided the Cossacks should be punished for their unprovoked ravages. This answer brought on a negociation, which terminated in a treaty and entire reconciliation, under the auspices of the English ambassador.

*Peace
with the
Turks.*

It was about this time that Sigismund had a conference with his father the king of Sweden, at Revel, where he spent a month, and withstood all the solicitations of his parent to abdicate the crown of Poland, from an apprehension it might occasion the loss of the crown of Sweden. We have already seen the event of this interview; shortly after which John died, and thereby opened the way for Sigismund to ascend his throne. It was impossible for the Polish diet to refuse the king leave to visit Sweden upon so important an occasion; yet they gave their consent with reluctance. Remembering the conduct of Henry de Valois, they loaded the monarch with a variety of restrictions, and exacted the most solemn oaths and protestations that he would soon return, and transact nothing during his residence in Sweden to the prejudice of the republic. Sigismund kept his word: he even expressed a partiality towards Poland, and by this incurred the resentment and jealousy of the Swedes. His religious principles rendered him more attached to the Poles, and the unseasonable prejudices

*He succeeds
to the
crown of
Sweden.*

A.D. 1594.

judices in this way which he had displayed, still widened the breach between him and the Swedish nation. Superstition had so far blinded his understanding, that he insisted on being crowned by Malaspina, the pope's legate, contrary to the constitution of the kingdom, and was opposed by the primate, the senate, and particularly by his uncle dukè Charles, who had himself a design upon the crown. The whole kingdom supposing he harboured a design to introduce popery, took the alarm, and Sigismund was forced to rest satisfied with being crowned by a protestant bishop, to swear to all the ordonnances made in favour of Lutheranism, and to the perpetual exclusion of the catholic religion. He was, in a word, tied up by the strongest engagements from indulging in his religious tenets at the expense of the Swedish nation, and even obliged to have recourse to the solicitations of the Polish lords who attended him, for leave to keep a priest and confessor, as well as for the celebration of mass at his court. Such beginnings boded no great emolument either to Sigismund or his Swedish subjects, from the new government. His politic ambitious uncle converted every circumstance to his own purposes, and, under the insidious air of a patriot and strenuous defender of the constitution of the church and state, he paved the way for his own elevation.

Sigismund's return to Poland afforded Charles the fairest opportunity for undermining his nephew, and rendering him odious to his Swedish subjects, as a prince attached to Poland, and bigotted to the doctrines of the church of Rome. Before the king's departure he appointed the duke regent of the kingdom, by the advice of the senate; and though he was sensible of the consequences, he could not avoid this measure without anticipating the evils he was desirous of avoiding, by coming to an open rupture with the senate and his uncle. What he foresaw soon happened; Charles committed divers violences, under pretence of defending the Lutheran establishment against the encroachments of the Roman catholics. As if the king had already broke through all his engagements, he shewed an inclination to excite a general disaffection in the kingdom, cavilled at his nephew's residence in Poland, and attributed it to his superior love for that people, though it was nothing more than the execution of those engagements into which he had entered at his coronation. It would be repeating what we have already related from the Swedish writers, to enlarge upon the particulars of this prince's conduct; sufficient it is to observe, that the Polish writers deny the excesses attributed by the Swedes to Sigismund,

Duke Charles forms designs on the crown of Sweden.

and throw the whole blame upon the ambition of his uncle. In both accounts there is probably some truth. Sigismund's insisting upon being crowned by the pope's nuncio was sufficient to render the Swedes suspicious of his conduct; and the duke's strenuous defence of the Augsburg confession was sufficient to expose him to the resentment of his nephew and the Polish nation. It was indeed next to impossible that two kingdoms, divided in interest, religion, and manners, which had of late years been engaged in constant war about certain territories claimed by each, should remain in harmony under the same monarch. These particulars, without the assistance of the duke to blow up the sparks of contention, were foundation enough for the revolution which afterwards happened. As it would be impossible to reconcile the different relations of the historians of each country, we shall here follow the accounts of the Polish writers, as we formerly did those of Sweden in the history of that kingdom.

*Relation of
the Polish
historians.*

The first step taken by the duke, which drew forth remonstrances from Sigismund, was his procuring from the senate an establishment of the authority and dignity of regent, independent of the king's appointment. By this he intimated his design of governing Sweden without the participation of Sigismund, who was regarded only as a nominal sovereign. He next, in direct contradiction to the king's orders, assembled a diet, from which he was indulged with a commission to take every measure which he thought necessary for the security of the Swedish constitution. Here likewise several decrees were passed, contrary to the treaty of union with Poland, and those conditions upon which both nations allowed Sigismund to wear the double diadem; all those were besides declared traitors, who did not, in the space of six months, subscribe to the declarations of the diet and regent. He turned out the magistrates appointed by the king, and filled all public posts and offices with his own creatures. Several of the senators who espoused Sigismund's cause, were removed, others were attainted; and Charles, under the name of regent, exercised all the prerogatives of despotic sovereignty. Eric Sparre, chancellor of Sweden, was removed from the government of the province assigned him by the king: the Finlanders refusing to acknowledge the regent's authority independent of the king, Charles entered their country in a hostile manner, ravaged the towns and villages, and threw the principal nobility into loathsome prisons, where some of them perished of cold and hunger ^b.

^b Hartnoch. lib. i. cap. ii.

A.D. 1598.

Such gross enormities, and violations of the royal prerogative, called for the presence of the monarch. Accordingly Sigismund assembled the diet, reported the state of affairs in Sweden, and obtained their consent to pass into that kingdom, upon his promise to return by the feast of St. Bartholomew, in the succeeding year. Before his departure, however, from Poland, the duke gained possession of Stockholm, and some other considerable places, having, as the Polish writers allege, bid defiance to the king, and broke out into open rebellion. They assign no cause, besides his own ambition; but the reader will find, on perusing our account of Sweden, that Sigismund had made divers infractions on the constitution of that kingdom. Be this as it may, the king determined to punish the duke's insolence; and with that view embarked at Dantzic with five thousand men, intending to effect a landing in the neighbourhood of Calmar; but contrary winds, his own dilatoriness, and a variety of accidents, rendered his voyage so tedious, that Charles had assembled a numerous army before his arrival. At last he was obliged to make land near Stekeburgh, where, instead of marching directly to the capital, he loitered several days in fruitless conferences with his sister. Reason, indeed, dictated that Sigismund should have marched by land to Sweden, by the route of Finland, a province strongly attached to his person; but there seemed to be a fatality in all his measures, most of which miscarried, though sagely projected, and proved odious, notwithstanding they were well intended. It was certainly unpopular to enter Sweden at the head of foreign troops; but Sigismund believed they were necessary to the safety of his person. It was equally impolitic to use force, when gentle means might have produced an accommodation; but this conduct may also be excused by alleging, that the royal honour was engaged to punish the treacherous carriage of the regent. Certain it is, that often in disputes of this nature, resentment carries men into excesses beyond their original design. That this was really the case, both with Sigismund and Charles, appears from the posterior reflections of the former, and the conduct of the latter, on the approach of the two armies on the plains of Lincoping. Here he dispatched certain lords to the king, with proposals for an agreement; but Sigismund for a long time refused giving them audience, and behaved with great haughtiness. Besides, an accident happened in the mean time, which widened the breach, and brought matters to extremities. At the very time the duke's ambassadors were negotiating a peace with Sigismund, the Hungarian troops

*Sigismund
returns to
Sweden.*A D. 1604.

in the royal service fell suddenly upon the Swedes with so much fury, that all the duke's forces must have been defeated and slaughtered, had not the king in person gone into the field, and checked their impetuosity by loud menaces; though all his authority could not prevent their savagely mangling the dead bodies which overspread the plain. Nothing could be more unjust than attributing this action to Sigismund; yet certain it is, that it strangely alienated the minds of the Swedes from him, and disgusted the sincerest of his friends in that nation, who considered him as guilty, because he did not punish the perpetrators, without reflecting on his delicate situation, and the necessity he was under of preserving the affection of his troops. Several lords deserted his interest, and went over to the duke: in a word, his influence in Sweden was quite lost; he retired to Poland, and duke Charles was raised to the throne, in the manner we have related in the history of that kingdom.

*Sigismund
is deposed.*

Feb. 6.

Sigismund, however, did not tamely resign his crown: a war ensued between Poland and Sweden; Stockholm and Calmar, which, in despite of the duke's garrisons, had declared for Sigismund, were conquered by Charles, who held a diet, and prescribed a day for the king's appearance in Sweden, to answer to the charge of high crimes and misdemeanors drawn up against him; on failure of which, he was to be formally deposed. The war was carried into Livonia; and all that province, except a few fortresses, yielded to the superiority of the Swedish arms. At last Zamoski, the most renowned general of the republic, was sent with an army to stem the torrent of disgrace; and he soon turned the scale of fortune, retaking, with the utmost rapidity, all the Swedish conquests: after which success, he returned to Poland covered with glory, leaving the army under the conduct of the spirited and experienced Chotkiewitz. The new general approved himself a worthy successor of the famous Zamoski: the same tide of prosperity attended his arms, and he seemed to possess every quality which natural talents, tutored under so great a master in the art of war as Zamoski, could impart. The Swedes increased their army in Livonia with twelve thousand men, and laid siege to Riga, the harbour of which they blocked up with a numerous fleet. The besiegers were to have been joined by a Swedish corps of four thousand men from Revel. Lundersen, the commanding officer, began his march; but the Polish general, having intelligence of his motions, way-laid and defeated him with very great slaughter, scarce a single man being left to join the enemy before.

before Riga. Chotkiewitz afterwards seized upon certain eminences in the neighbourhood of the Swedish camp. Here he possessed every advantage of being secure, of harassing the enemy with impunity, and overlooking all their operations. The Swedes made frequent attempts to dislodge him, but in vain. They made equally fruitless efforts to draw him into a general engagement: Charles encamped on an eminence directly opposite to the Poles, separated from their camp only by a spacious valley. The opportunity, he imagined, would prove too strong a temptation for the Polish nobility, who sometimes forced their general to battle, contrary to his inclinations, and to prudence. Chotkiewitz, however, had too much authority, and the Poles were made sensible of the rectitude of the measures he was pursuing. He foresaw that the irksome situation in which he kept the enemy, would at last oblige them either to raise the siege, or come to an engagement upon unequal terms. With this view he kept firm in his post, and the event fell out as he had conjectured. Charles, fretted with continual alarms, grew impatient of a battle, from which he expected relief, as the superiority of the Swedes would necessarily, he imagined, secure victory. He descended to the plain, and began an attack upon the outposts of the enemy; which being perceived by Chotkiewitz, he determined to seize the opportunity, and compensate the inequality of his numbers, by the advantages of ground and situation. Accordingly he poured down like a torrent from the bills, and pointed his whole force against the centre of the enemy, which he broke after an obstinate conflict. Charles rallied his troops, and detached the cavalry in the wings to attack the Poles in flank, and surround them, if possible; but the motion was foreseen and anticipated by prince Sapieha, who faced about with a strong corps, received the Swedes with vigour, and at last obliged them to retire in confusion. Yet these successes could not oblige victory to declare for the Poles: the enemy's numbers and courage prolonged the battle: they rallied repeatedly, and made prodigious efforts; but were always repulsed by the gallantry and conduct of Chotkiewitz. Prodigies of valour were performed on both sides; but the Swedes were in the end defeated, and pursued with terrible slaughter. Eight thousand men perished in the field; great numbers lost their lives in the morasses; and near two thousand of the fugitives were massacred by the peasants and parties of the garrison of Riga. In a word, the siege was raised, the army of the besiegers

*The Swedes
defeated
in Livonia.*

A D. 1605.

ruined,

ruined, and Livonia remained the reward of victory to the conquerors ^a (A).

Revolutions in Russia, in which Sigismund takes part.

Sigismund, being now at rest on the side of Livonia and Finland, by the uninterrupted flow of success which attended the Polish arms, applied his attention to the affairs of the Russian empire, which he hoped to turn to his own advantage. He saw it would be vain to prosecute the war against Sweden, with a view of dethroning Charles, who was now firmly established. Attacks on the frontier provinces could never work this effect; and to invade Sweden, or attack it in its vital parts without a fleet, or a more powerful army than the republic could maintain in her present condition, was impossible. He therefore prudently resolved to suffer the Swedes to be the aggressors, and endeavoured to deduce something for the interest of Poland from the civil divisions which distracted Russia, the most formidable enemy of the republic. The late czar Fœder had raised Boris, his brother-in-law, to the highest offices of the state. He was artful, insinuating, perfidious, and ambitious: his unmerited promotion served only to excite Boris to attempt greater matters, and grasp at sovereignty. Obligations never impressed him with a sense of gratitude: he saw Fœder without issue, the crown ready to devolve on prince Demetrius, the czar's younger brother; and he ventured, even in the life-time of his sovereign and benefactor, to stain his hands with the blood of the royal family, and pave the way to his own elevation, by the murder of Demetrius. His cunning found means to conceal this base action from the czar. Some of the court, indeed, entertained suspicions; but the high credit of Boris, supported by the favour of the prince, and the interest of his sister, who was wife to the czar, locked up their tongues, and prevented their communicating to the czar suspicions not grounded on circumstantial evidence, or the strongest presumptions. Besides, the artful Boris had contrived to

^a Bizardiere, p. 76. Hartnoch, lib. i.

(A) The Swedish writers, besides calling the Polish general Codekewitz, differ in numberless other particulars from the account we have given above. According to them, the Swedish monarch, after a fatiguing march, attacked the enemy, without refreshing his troops: however, they acknowledge that he was entirely defeated; and that he must infallibly have fallen into the hands of the Poles, but for the fleetness of a horse furnished him by one of his officers (1).

(1) Puff. tom. vi. p. 193.

render himself equally the minion of the sovereign, and the darling of the people. He diminished the taxes, redressed private grievances, listened to the complaints of the cities, and pursued every other measure which could render him popular. In 1593, the czar died, leaving the administration in the hands of his wife. The people offered to take the oaths of allegiance to the empress; but that princess, either influenced by her brother, or yielding to an excess of grief for the death of her husband, declined the honour proposed, renounced the world, and retired to a monastery. This retreat paved the way for the elevation of Boris: he was a favourite, and the Russians demanded with one voice that he might be raised to the honours due to his sister, which would be no more than the just reward of his own merit. Nothing could be more politic than the conduct of Boris on this occasion: he pretended an unwillingness to accept so weighty a charge, and enflamed the ardour of the people by his scruples, which they construed into a proof of his superior merit and modesty. At last he yielded to their entreaties; but only on express condition, that the boiars, or lords, would divide with him the cares of so painful an employment. Soon after an offer was made of the crown, to avoid which, he retired to the same convent where his sister had taken up her residence; and suffered himself to be supplicated for several days, before he yielded to his own inclinations. Having at last secured the supreme authority, he wielded the sceptre with more power than any of his predecessors had ever possessed, because his empire was founded in the hearts of his people. Whether it was that he abused this power in the sequel, or that some of the nobility envied his prosperity, history does not clearly specify: certain it is, that a stranger appeared by the name of Demetrius, called himself the brother of the late czar, alleged he had escaped from the snares laid by Boris, and now demanded the throne of his ancestors. The plausibility of his story, the resemblance of his person to prince Demetrius, and a thousand other circumstances, conspired to give credit to the tale. The pope, from views of policy, seconded his design, and engaged the king of Poland in his interest. He came to Sandomir, made secret promises of marriage to the daughter of the palatine, and was presented by that nobleman to Sigismund, who was persuaded, from the dignity of his manner, that he must have been born a prince. The truth was, Sigismund willingly believed what he perceived might turn out to his interest. He suffered the impostor to raise ten thousand men in Poland, furnished him with arms and money, persuaded

the

the Cossacks to take part in his quarrel, and enabled him to pass the Boristhenes, and surprise Zerniga ^b.

The assistance afforded to Demetrius produced expostulations from the court of Moscow: Boris remonstrated, supplicated, and menaced: he attempted the senators by bribes, and endeavoured to move Sigismund by threatening him with the vengeance of the whole empire of Russia; but the king was resolute in his measures, as he foresaw that a considerable party would declare for Demetrius, in the very heart of the Russian dominions. Boris, therefore, raised an army, and marched against his rival with a hundred thousand men; while the palatine of Sandomir, who commanded the Poles, sought the opportunity of coming to an engagement, on the supposition that most of the czar's forces would desert their prince, and join Demetrius. Animated by this hope, he met the enemy, gave them battle, and was defeated, Demetrius escaping with difficulty into a castle, where, with a handful of men, he defended himself gallantly, extricated himself from his distressed circumstances, soon appeared at the head of a fresh army, came a second time to action with greatly inferior forces, and by dint of conduct and valour obtained a complete victory over the Russians. After this success, he over-ran divers provinces, gained possession of several cities and fortresses, assembled a train of artillery composed of one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, augmented his army almost to an equality with that of the enemy, and at last obliged Boris to have recourse to the thunders of the church, and the still baser weapons of assassination. The patriarch published a decree, whereby he excommunicated all the followers of Demetrius, and Boris employed emissaries to murder his rival. The assassins were discovered, seized, and pardoned by the clemency of Demetrius; who at the same time admonished the patriarch to confine himself to the care of his flock, and relinquish politics, which did not by any means belong to his function. It was soon after this that he sent a spirited remonstrance to Boris, reproaching him with the perfidious measures by which he usurped the imperial throne; which is said to have operated so powerfully on the violent temper of that prince, that, in the transport of passion, he was seized with an apoplexy, of which he suddenly died.

This event did not, however, produce the consequences which Demetrius might have reasonably expected. He was now supported by a powerful interest among the Rus-

^b Id. *ibid.* Bizard. p. 84. Le Comb. Revol. de Russ.

rians, and a numerous Polish army; yet the son of Boris was raised to the supreme dignity by the nobility of the empire, and the same measures were pursued for crushing the pretended Demetrius; but they proved unfortunate: the young prince was hurled headlong from the throne, and Demetrius placed in his room, only to shew the power and caprice of fortune. He had, by dint of merit, raised himself to the imperial diadem: a victory obtained over the Russian army, by the Polish general Zaposki, had opened the way to the capital, which Demetrius entered in triumph; the ceremony of his coronation was solemnly performed; he was backed by an army of Poles, and thought himself fixed in the affections of the Russians: but the partiality which gratitude induced him to exert in favour of the former, gave birth to a new revolution, and effected the fall of this prosperous impostor; for such he is really considered by the most authentic historians. He had imprudently attainted seventy lords, who had been attached to the late czar, and distributed their estates among the Polish nobility who had been instrumental in his elevation. So open a declaration in favour of a people whom the Russians always regarded as inveterate enemies, could not fail of exciting murmurings; which served only to increase the insolence of the Poles, who saw themselves patronized by the monarch. They boasted of having given a sovereign to Muscovy, and very imprudently arrogated to themselves the glory of having conquered this vast empire. In fact, the consequences of Zaposki's victory was little less than a conquest; and what particularly flattered the pride of the Poles, was its being obtained with very unequal forces, by dint of superior conduct and valour. With this event they occasionally upbraided the Russians; and assisted to blow up the sparks of sedition, and spread the discontents, which already became too general. Basilus Suski, or Swiski, a nobleman descended from the ancient czars, was, however, the only person who ventured to declare his sentiments. Swiski was bold and impetuous: he not only attacked the czar's government, but declaimed against him in public, as an impostor and usurper. He remonstrated, with the utmost vehemence and spirit, against the Poles; and encouraged the people to rise in arms, and drive both them and the false Demetrius out of the kingdom: but perceiving that his invectives produced no effect, and that the people wanted courage to pursue the dictates of their resentment, he entered upon secret intrigues, endeavoured to form a conspiracy against the person of Demetrius, was discovered, carried prisoner before
the

the czar, and pardoned by an act of clemency, which proved fatal to the generous Demetrius.

Swiski, though he admired the character of the sovereign, could not brook the servitude in which the nation was kept by a set of proud foreigners, who engrossed all the lucrative and honourable employments, fleeced the Muscovites at pleasure, and basked alone in the radiance of the imperial power, to support which they contributed not the smallest proportion. He took the opportunity, when the czar was busied in solemnizing his nuptials with the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir, who had been sent with great magnificence from Poland, to set on foot new intrigues. He represented, in the most pathetic terms, that the knot of union between the czar and the Poles would be drawn harder by this alliance, and of consequence the chains of the Russians would become still more galling. He inveighed with such bitterness against this nation, and represented the state of Russia in so deplorable a situation, that pity, pride, and the ancient animosity, began to exert themselves; the first effects of which were seen at a public entertainment, where the Polish ambassador insisted upon a seat at the czar's table, contrary to the established custom of the country. The Russian nobility resented the insolence of this minister; Swiski fomented the quarrel; and the parties were hardly restrained from coming to blows in the czar's presence ^c.

This was the signal to a general revolt. - In a few days, Swiski, at the head of the conspirators appeared in arms: he was joined by great numbers of the nobility, and the people followed the example of the boiards. The Poles were but few in number, and Demetrius had no guards besides the disaffected Russians, having some time before dismissed the Germans that were in his pay. There was nothing to oppose to the general tumult, and he saw his favourite Poles massacred, without having the power of affording them protection. The Russians attacked that quarter of the city assigned for their residence, and put all to the sword without distinction. They next advanced to the palace, and obliged Demetrius to leap out of the window with his sword in his hand. The violence of the fall stunned him; he was taken prisoner, brought before Swiski, and immediately put to death (A). His body was exposed for

^c La Comb. Hist. des Revol. de Russ. p. 61.

(A) We refer the reader for our account of Russia, as we the particulars of this extraordinary series of revolutions to cannot in this place recite more than is absolutely inseparable from

for several days, and treated by the populace with the utmost indignity. Near two thousand Poles were massacred in cold blood; and a few only of the number retained by Demetrius, at his court, ever returned to Poland. The czarina, wife of Demetrius, and daughter of the palatine of Sandomir, was thrown down from the pinnacle of good fortune, and doomed to languish in a loathsome dungeon. As soon as the fury of this barbarous people was satiated, they proceeded to the election of a new sovereign; and the choice fell upon Swiski, the hero who had so boldly vindicated the rights of his country, and broke the chains of servitude.

Though this prince had taken the utmost pains to publish the particulars of the birth and death of the late Demetrius, yet he was scarce seated upon the throne before another impostor appeared, maintaining that he was the very Demetrius supposed to have been slain; and affirming, that he had escaped with a small party of his guards, who remained attached to his person. Nothing could be more impudent than this impostor, as crowds of people had been witnesses to the death of the prince whom he personated; yet the tale obtained some degree of credit. The Poles, for political reasons, countenanced the impostor; and the Cossacks openly espoused the false Demetrius, because they foresaw that the struggle for the imperial diadem would furnish manifold opportunities of plundering with impunity. Demetrius was acknowledged by the widow of the late prince as her identical husband, and some progress was made in the design of seating him on the throne; but fortune did not prove so propitious as it had done to his predecessor.

While Russia was labouring with the throws of civil faction, Sigismund entered the frontiers of the empire at the head of a numerous army, and made rapid conquests. His pretext was revenge for the late horrible massacre of

A. D. 1600.

Sigismund in person enters Russia, and places his son on the throne.

from the Polish history. It may be necessary, however, to mention, that Demetrius maintained his courage to the last; and even when he was expiring, supported the dignity of his rank, and the justice of his claim. Some writers indeed allege, that the

dowager czarina disowned him for her son, when she found he was no longer able to support her with royal splendour: but even this circumstance we cannot regard as a proof that he was an impostor (1).

(1) La Combe de Revol. d'Empire de Russie, p. 52.

his subjects, and supporting the legitimate prince; but his real aim was the extension of his own dominions, and the conquest of all Russia. A fairer opportunity could not have offered; Sigismund, having defeated an army of thirty thousand Russians, advanced against Smolensko, a strong city formerly belonging to Poland. By the way, a detachment from the main army reduced Zarova; and now, all obstructions being removed, the city was invested, and the siege prosecuted with the utmost ardour. For the space of two years the Russian garrison defended themselves valiantly, and frequent battles were fought under the walls. Several armies had been sent to force the Polish works, and raise the siege; but they were always repulsed, and above two hundred thousand Russians perished by the sword of the conqueror. At last the brave garrison, spent with sickness, fatigue, and famine, surrendered at discretion: whole provinces followed their example; and the Poles were directing their march to the capital, when, to avoid the disgrace of being conquered, the Russians deposed Swiski, sent him prisoner to Sigismund, and raised to the imperial throne Uladislaus, prince of Poland^d.

*Uladislaus
is deposed.*

The young prince had not yet taken possession of the throne when the whole Russian empire again revolted, notwithstanding the usual oath of allegiance had been taken to Uladislaus; and he could not possibly have given offence, as he had not yet assumed the reins of government. Some attribute this event to the terror they were under of becoming slaves to Poland: others ascribe it to the natural inconstancy of the people; while a few seem to think, with more reason, that the people had been seduced by the address of Miceslaus, governor of Moscow, to elect the prince of Poland; a measure of which they presently afterwards repented, regarding it not only as an indignity to the whole empire, but the greatest injury to themselves, to become the voluntary subjects of a prince whom they ought to consider as a natural enemy. Whatever might be the motives, certain it is, that Uladislaus was no sooner elected than he was deposed. Zachary Lippanow raised an army, marched to Moscow, drove out the Poles, and reversed the election, raising Michael Fœderowitz Romanow to the imperial throne. Before this prince could establish himself in the sovereignty, the Poles regained possession of the capital, in which they were soon besieged by the new czar; and finding it incapable of defence, they evacuated it, after having laid an hundred thousand houses

A.D. 1618.

^d Fontaines, cap. v. Connor, tom. i. lib. iii.

in ashes, and consumed immense riches. The Poles then, to the number of seven thousand, retired to the citadel, where they made so obstinate a resistance as would have foiled all the power of Russia, had they been seconded by Sigismund; but though his glory and interest dictated that he should succour this garrison, he was so chagrined with the disappointment of Uladislaus, that he suffered them to waste and languish under the pressure of a tedious siege, and at last to capitulate, after having suffered the last extremities, and been reduced to a third of their original number^e.

To the same inactivity on the side of Poland we may ascribe the resolution taken by the czar Fœderowitz, of regaining the provinces and cities which had been conquered by the Poles during the late civil dissensions. Having provided for the defence of Moscow, he advanced with a numerous army to Smolensko, which was defended only by a slight, dispirited garrison. The first attack carried the city; the garrison was unable to withstand the fury of an assault made with such superior numbers, and every living soul was put to the sword, without distinction of age or sex. Every thing yielded before the weight of this powerful empire, now unanimous in redeeming past errors, in revenging past insults, and the blood of above two hundred thousand Muscovites, which streamed in every quarter, and cried aloud for vengeance. All Sigismund's endeavours to retrieve his affairs proved fruitless; the critical moment had escaped when he either might have subdued the divided Russians by his power, or united them in his interest by his policy; the same circumstances never again returned, and thus, after having seen himself in possession of the whole empire, and his son called to the throne by the voice of the people, he was glad to sit down satisfied that he had preserved the duchies of Severia and Novogrod of all his conquests, and these too purchased at the expence of a multitude of lives and immense treasures. In this manner ended a war which proved almost fatal to Russia, and had once raised Poland to be the most formidable state in Europe. The indolence of Sigismund is blamed on all hands as the cause of the last revolution; though we must confess we do not conceive how it was possible for him to avoid the consequences of so general and sudden a change in the sentiments of the people, which seemed to be effected by means invisible and inscrutable to the human eye: besides, it is highly probable that his attention was necessarily di-

*Sigismund's
conduct
vindicated.*

^e Bizardiere, p. 36. La Comb. *ibid.*

verted from the affairs of Russia, by the revolution in Transylvania, which threatened Europe with a dreadful storm on the side of the Othoman empire. It would be difficult otherwise to rescue the character of Sigismund from the imputation of inconsistency. He was allowed to be a wise and a politic prince; he had for several years given the closest application to the revolutions in Russia, and narrowly watched every change; he had lavished great sums of money, and shed rivers of blood in pursuing the conquest of that country: it would be absurd, therefore, to ascribe to indolence his now dropping a scheme which he had so long and so eagerly prosecuted; let us rather impute it to the necessity of the times, and the alteration in circumstances, which required a change in his measures.

A. D. 1620.

A variety of circumstances concurred to disturb the peace of all the countries bordering upon Poland; and in this situation it was not possible that Sigismund could remain a tame spectator. Bethlem Gabor, a nobleman of Transylvania, aspiring at the sovereignty of that country, had defeated and deposed Gabriel Batori, and made himself master of the principality. The unsettled situation of Bohemia furnished him with the means of extending his conquests. Gabor had ambition, and he resolved to gratify it at the expence of Hungary, which kingdom he attacked with great vigour, and reduced several important towns and fortresses. At last he seized upon Presburg, the capital; and assumed the title of prince of Hungary. The Bohemians applied for his assistance against the emperor, and Gabor, sure of being supported by the Othoman court, promised all they desired. The Poles, on the other hand, dreading the power of the usurper Gabor, and compassionating the situation of Batori, who was a descendant of the family of their beloved monarch, took part with the emperor. Sigismund detached a body of Poles and Cossacks to join the imperialists in Bohemia, and by their assistance Frederic, elector Palatine, chosen king of Bohemia, was driven out of that country^f.

*War with
the Turks.*

This was only the prelude to a bloody war. Hitherto the Turks had remained neutral; now they resented the part which Poland took in the affairs of provinces, over which the sultan claimed a sovereignty. Transylvania had repeatedly passed from the hands of the imperialists to those of the infidels; at this juncture Gabor was protected by the grand seignor, and the interposition of the Poles was deemed an infraction of the treaty subsisting between

^f Barre Hist. sub ann. Fontaines, cap. v.

the Porte and king Sigismund. The intrigues of Gabor likewise accelerated the rupture; for this prince accused Gratiani, vaivode of Moldavia, of adhering to the Poles, though he was protected by the sultan. In consequence of this charge, a Turkish army was ordered to pass into that province, and seize upon the person of the vaivode. The honour of Sigismund was interested in the defence of this ally, who was now on the brink of falling a sacrifice to his attachment to Poland. Accordingly Zolkiewiski, general of the crown, was detached with eight thousand Poles, and a body of Cossacks, to his assistance. The vaivode promised to join him with fourteen thousand Moldavians; but the sudden irruption of the Turks had disconcerted his measures, and obliged him to seek shelter in the Polish army with no more than six hundred followers. In this situation the Polish general was forced to place his whole confidence in his own abilities and the valour of his troops. His entire force did not exceed twenty thousand men; and most of these were irregular Cossacks, upon whom he could have no dependence, because they embraced every opportunity of going in quest of plunder. The Turkish army amounted to seventy thousand men, among whom was a large body of janissaries, the flower of the whole Othoman empire. Zolkiewiski, however, perceiving the impossibility of retreating with honour, formed the brave resolution either of conquering this vast multitude, or of perishing in the attempt. He omitted nothing that prudence could dictate to support valour: he seized upon the most advantageous posts, and by his address and superior skill in chusing his ground and encampments, drew the Turks into a situation where they could not possibly put forth their whole strength. Having gained this point, he harrassed their out-parties, cut off their convoys, and reduced them to the necessity of attacking him in a situation almost impregnable, to avoid perishing by famine. Never was any action brought on with more conduct, or maintained with greater valour: for a whole day he sustained the most furious attacks from the janissaries in front, and the Tartars, who had found means to penetrate the woods and climb vast mountains, in his rear and flank. After prodigious carnage of their troops, the Tartars were forced to sound a retreat, and leave the glory of the day to the Poles, though they proposed renewing the attempt in the morning. Had Zolkiewiski been supported by his officers, it is probable he must have entirely ruined the Turkish army; but either the bashaw's money, or their own fears, prevailed upon them to forsake

The memorable victory and retreat of Zolkiewiski the Polish general.

their gallant general, and to quit the camp at this critical juncture with half the Polish army.

There now remained no hopes of being able to resist so powerful an enemy, reduced to despair by necessity. Zolkiewski was forced to think of a retreat, and the great difficulty was how to effect it and regain Poland, by cutting his way through the swarms of Turks and Tartars, which occupied all the passes in Moldavia. Imagination cannot form a more beautiful plan than he had laid for this purpose; and though it was frustrated by accident, the name of Zolkiewski will be transmitted to posterity among the first of heroes who have done honour to the republic of Poland. He was no sooner informed of the perfidy of his officers, and the desertion of half his troops, than he formed the remainder into a square battalion, inclosed by a kind of moveable entrenchment composed of the waggons and carriages that accompanied the army. In this order he began his march for the Neister, and had reached within three days journey of the Polish frontiers, in despite of the utmost endeavours of the whole Turkish and Tartarian forces, who were making continual attacks upon him during his march, blocking up the passes, breaking the roads, and cutting off his provision and means of subsistence. All the day was employed in repulsing the enemy, foraging and bringing provisions to his flying camp; at night he made forced marches, and by break of day advanced so far, that sometimes the enemy were uncertain what route he had taken. History affords no instance of so extraordinary a retreat, performed with success for the space of eight days by five thousand men, in the face of eighty thousand incensed enemies. Even the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks under Xenophon would appear less memorable than this exploit of the Polish general, had it not been recorded by the inimitable pen of the same person who had conducted the enterprize.

Zolkiewski had now reached within two leagues of the Neister, the passage of which river would have placed him in perfect security, and eternized his glory. He was on the point of accomplishing his last wish, and his little troop were preparing the bridges, when a panic, which seized the attendants of the camp, sent upon a foraging party, spread through the whole army, and sacrificed to imaginary dangers a corps that had resisted so many real ones, and surmounted difficulties hardly credible. All fell into confusion; the endeavours of the general, the exhortations, menaces, and example of Zolkiewski, were vain. They fled

fled about the country without a possibility of escaping, and were cut in pieces or made slaves by the Tartars. Zolkiewski was almost the only person of the whole army who ventured to dispute his life: his courage and presence of mind never forsook him; but now he was abandoned by all his forces, they were exerted to no purpose. He made the noblest efforts, but was at last overpowered with numbers, slain, decapitated, and his head sent to Constantinople, as the most valuable present that could be offered to the sultan. In this unfortunate manner ended the glorious achievements of the Polish hero, while the enemy ravaged Podolia, the only important consequence they derived from their triumph over the Poles.

The destruction of Zolkiewski and his little corps only whetted the ardour of the Porte for greater advantages; and perhaps the policy of that court required that the army should be kept employed to prevent intestine commotions. Osman was at the head of the empire in the room of the deposed Mustapha. He was young, fierce, ambitious, and warlike: he beheld with indignation the check given to an army of eighty thousand Turks by a handful of Poles, and was not satisfied with the blood of the hero who had thus set the Othoman empire at defiance. As if Poland could not produce another Zolkiewski, he meditated the entire destruction of the republic, and made sure of success. Indeed, his vast preparations threatened very fatal consequences to Poland. All Turkey was in motion, and the emperor appeared early in the spring upon the frontiers of Moldavia, at the head of three hundred thousand men. Poland stood singly against this formidable power, which seemed capable of crushing the republic at one blow. The emperor, apprehending that this torrent would fall upon his own dominions, deserted Poland, though Sigismund had brought this danger upon himself, by affording him assistance against the king of Bohemia and the usurper of Transylvania. In this critical juncture, Cholkiewitz, who had gained such reputation against the Swedes and Muscovites, was detached towards the frontiers with an army of no more than twenty thousand men, to oppose the progress of the enemy. He encamped on the banks of the Neister, in an advantageous situation, where he was attacked with great impetuosity by the whole Turkish army. Osman despised the weakness of the Poles; encouraged by the presence of their emperor, the Turks made frequent attempts to force the lines, and were constantly repulsed with great slaughter. *He is foiled.*

A.D. 1622.

The sultan takes the field.

While the two armies lay facing each other, and in continual action, the brave Cholkiewitz died of a malady contracted by the perpetual care, vigilance, and activity which he exerted, leaving the command of the Poles to Stanislaus Lubomirski, an officer who had exhibited signal proofs of his courage and ability. This event threw a considerable damp upon the spirits of the Polish soldiers; but the vigorous measures taken by the new general revived their courage, and the junction of the Cossacks augmented their numbers, and enabled them to fight upon more equal terms, though still inferior to half the number of the enemy. The Cossacks had fought their way through a superior army of Tartars who were sent to oppose their joining the Poles. For the space of eight hours a pass had been disputed, and at last carried sword in hand by the Cossacks, who must be allowed to have contributed greatly to the happy issue of this war, in which they eminently distinguished their valour.

Osman forced to make peace.

Osman, perceiving that the Christian army was increasing daily, proposed a general attack on their lines, and on the 28th of September led his troops in person. The janissaries began the action by break of day, and fought with the most desperate fury for the space of twelve hours, fresh troops constantly supplying the place of the fatigued, wounded, and slain. Ten times were the Turks repulsed, and as often were they led back to the attack by their bashaws, who charged under the immediate eye of the sultan. All their efforts were fruitless; the Poles were impenetrable; and the infidels were at last forced to sound a retreat, after having left near thirty thousand slain before the intrenchments. From the time the two armies had first faced each other, the different attacks cost the sultan upwards of threescore thousand lives, the bulk of whom consisted of janissaries, the flower of the army, and the bulwark of the Othoman empire. Disease and famine co-operated with the sword, and the Turkish army was diminished to half the forces they had brought into the field. The country was incapable of supplying either provision or forage; the horses on both sides perished by thousands of hunger; the stench of dead carcases in the neighbourhood of the camps became intolerable; even at this season of the year a pestilence was dreaded from the putrid exhalations which had impregnated and poisoned the atmosphere: the sultan relinquished all hopes of penetrating into Poland; and Lubomirski grew tired of contending with so vehement, obstinate, and potent an enemy: a conference was proposed by the Turk, and accepted by the Pole; in consequence of which

which a truce was concluded, extremely honourable to the republic. By this treaty it was stipulated, that although the sultan should have the nomination of the vaivode of Moldavia, that prince should always be a Christian, and all infidels should be excluded from the sovereignty of the principality: this was gaining a barrier against the future incursions of the Turks. That the Poles should restore Choczyn to the Porte; and that the Tartars and Cossacks, who should henceforward commit ravages, and occasion a rupture between the sultan and the king of Poland, should be mutually punished by these monarchs with the utmost severity. These were the principal articles of a treaty which restored tranquillity to Poland, and diverted that gathering storm which threatened to overwhelm all Europe^k.

The state of repose now restored to Poland was but of short duration. The active, ambitious, and heroic Gustavus Adolphus now filled the throne of Sweden, and, among other projects for extending his dominions, laid a scheme for the recovery of Livonia, which had been repeatedly attempted in the late reign, while Poland was engaged in wars with the Turks and Muscovites. As far back as the year 1607, king Charles had endeavoured to retrieve his disgrace before Revel, and for that purpose sent the count de Mansfeld with an army into this province. At first the Swedes met with some success; he laid siege to Wissenstein, and reduced it: the same fortune attended him before other fortresses, which he took by assault; after which successes, he made a fruitless attack on Wolmar, and was defeated by the garrison of Derpt. Next year a suspension of arms was agreed upon by the generals; but the Swedish monarch refusing to ratify it, ordered Mansfeld to lay siege to Dunnamunde and Rockenhausen, both which he reduced. To the campaign succeeded negotiations, which were rendered abortive by the obstinacy of the parties. The Poles insisted upon the restitution of the places which had been perfidiously attacked by the enemy, while a truce subsisted between the armies; and the Swedes rejected this demand, under pretence that their king had not ratified the armistice. Thus the conferences broke up, because the deputies could not agree upon preliminaries. Mean while the Swedish fleet was cruising off Dunnamunde, to intercept the Riga shipping, and ruin the commerce of the Poles. The inhabitants of Riga had their revenge, by seizing upon a favourable opportunity of sending several fireships in the night into the

*War with
Sweden in
Livonia.*

^k Loccen. lib. viii. Heiden. lib. xi. Puffend. tom. vi. lib. vi.

middle of the Swedish fleet, by which three men of war and two frigates were destroyed, and the admiral forced to quit his station. In the year 1613 the republic of Poland, being deeply engaged in the affairs of Muscovy, was desirous of compromising the differences with Sweden about Livonia. It was with this view that an armistice was signed by the generals of both sides; but as it had not received the sanction of either government, Sigismund was sensible that the Swedes might profit by it as they had done in the late reign. He therefore sought to establish a solid peace, under the mediation of the elector of Brandenburg. To gain more weight the elector solicited the king of Great Britain, and the states general of the United Provinces, to join in the mediation, and exert their influence with the court of Sweden: and they were both the more readily induced to interpose their good offices, because they hoped, by ridding Gustavus of the Polish war, to engage him in the defence of the Protestants of the empire. Gustavus Adolphus expressed his inclination to yield to the terms offered by the mediators, provided that Sigismund would acknowledge his right to the crown of Sweden, and make a formal renunciation of his own pretensions. The result was, that the truce concluded between the generals should be confirmed in its full intention and extent by the monarchs; that each should retain what he then possessed; but that the Swedish troops should not be required to act in conjunction with the Poles against the Russians. Afterwards the truce was prolonged by authority for two years, and repeated armistices were made by the commanders of both sides, as soon as the truce between the nations was expired; but in the year 1616, Gustavus sent Jerom Gylderstern with a squadron, and Nils Sternchild with a body of forces to Livonia, by which means he surpris'd fort Dunnamunde, which had been restored by the late truce to Poland, and thereby struck such terror into Riga; that if the Swedish general had pursued the blow, and improved his advantage, that valuable city must have submitted. Nothing besides slight skirmishes pass'd until the year 1620, when Gustavus resolv'd to carry on the war in person in Livonia, and to make an entire conquest of that province. The Polish troops were now employed in Moldavia, and the conjuncture appeared in every respect favourable. With a numerous fleet of men of war and transports, on board which was an army of twenty-five thousand men, he steer'd his course to Riga, made a descent, and laid siege to that important city, which had long been the cause of diffension between the republic
and

*Gustavus
lays siege
to Riga.*

and Sweden. Sigismund had no army to oppose to the young king, and he was forced to rest his whole confidence in the valour of the besieged and the strength of the fortifications. Radzivil, general of the Lithuanians, endeavoured to throw in succours; but he was too weak to keep the field against the Swedish out-parties. For six weeks the inhabitants defended the city with all possible gallantry and conduct; but it was not possible to resist the united pressure of fatigue, disease, famine, and an active powerful enemy; despairing of relief they at length capitulated, and obtained conditions worthy of the valour they had exerted. Gustavus not only granted a confirmation of all the former privileges of the city, but endowed it with new and valuable immunities, which he promised to extend farther, should the people prove equally faithful to him as they had shewn themselves to the king of Poland. The only change he introduced was the banishment of the Jesuits; and this measure was absolutely necessary to the repose of the city, as those meddling ecclesiastics were perpetually at the bottom of some intrigues, dictated by ambition and a restless spirit.

*Riga taken
by the
Swedes.*

Nor could Sigismund prevent the Swedish monarch from carrying his conquests into Courland, where he reduced Mitau; a place of which he made restitution at the ensuing truce. A negotiation for this purpose had been set on foot immediately after the surrender of Riga, and was now at last concluded for the space of one year; by which time Sigismund hoped to clear his hands of the Turkish war that had given full employment to all the forces of the republic. However, before this Polish army could be withdrawn from Wallachia, the truce was expired, and Gustavus renewed hostilities, extending his conquests to the gates of Dantzick, which city he likewise blocked up with a squadron. Several towns in Prussia submitted to the Swedes; and Sigismund perceiving that even his presence and utmost endeavours could not stem the torrent of disgrace, solicited a prolongation of the armistice, and obtained it on condition that he would contribute all in his power towards accomplishing a solid and durable pacification^b.

*Truce be-
tween the
two na-
tions.*

During this cessation of hostilities, a variety of expedients were proposed for terminating the differences between the two monarchs. The Swedish writers blame the obliquity of Sigismund; while the Poles recriminate by ascribing the continuation of the war to the ambition and unreasonable demands of Gustavus, who was desirous of treat-

^b Mem. Succ. Gent. p 61. 62.

A.D. 1625.

*War re-
newed.*

ing with the high hand of a conqueror. Among other schemes of accommodation it was proposed, that Gustavus should cede Livonia to the Poles, and Sigismund renounce all claims to Esthonia and Finland; that, in case Gustavus died without male issue, one of Sigismund's sons should succeed to the throne of Sweden; that Sigismund might in the mean time quarter the Swedish arms; but that he should bind himself by the most solemn engagements not to disturb the government of Gustavus, or make any attempts for the recovery of the Swedish crown in the life-time of that prince. If we may credit Loccenius and Puffendorff, this proposal was strongly supported by Radzivil, general of the Lithuanians, by which means he incurred Sigismund's displeasure. Certain it is, that the republic differed widely in opinion from the king, who was almost single in rejecting the terms offered by Sweden. Sigismund sought only the opportunity of taking the Swedes at a disadvantage, when the projecting head of Gustavus should have involved him in other affairs. For this reason he would only consent to short cessations, which were from time to time prolonged, while the states were desirous of a permanent peace, and persisted so strenuously in these sentiments, that they refused contributing to the support of the war. This contention between the king and people furnished Gustavus with the fairest opportunity of extending his dominions, and forcing Poland into such terms as he should chuse to prescribe. Immediately on the expiration of the last truce he took the field, and made himself master of all that remained to Sigismund of Livonia. In vain did prince Sapielha, with three thousand Lithuanians, make several vigorous efforts to check his progress; his force was unequal, and his talents greatly inferior to those of Gustavus. In Derpt, Rokenhausen, and a variety of other places were reduced, and garrisoned by Swedish forces. Nothing indeed could withstand this young conqueror, who was now justly styled the Lion of the North; and it proceeded from ignorance of his true character, that Sigismund had so long persevered in a resolution which was like to have proved fatal to Poland. The fire, courage, genius, and ambition of Gustavus, had not yet blazed forth in its meridian lustre; however his talents had sufficiently appeared, to convince the states of Poland, that their wisest conduct would be to steer clear of all disputes with a monarch so well acquainted with his own rights, so jealous of the honour of his crown, and so able and ready to do himself justice.

A.D. 1626.

The fluctuating counsels of Poland, and the advantages already obtained, encouraged Gustavus to penetrate into
Lithuania,

Lithuania, where he reduced Birsen, and spread consternation over the whole duchy. This town he despoiled of sixty pieces of fine cannon, which he sent to Riga, a port that he cherished with the most tender care, in hopes of attaching the inhabitants to his interest. The reduction of Birsen was succeeded by the entire defeat of prince Sapieha with a body of Lithuanians, which was cut in pieces near Wolsen by the Swedish generals Horn and Thurn. Yet did not these successes prevent Gustavus from making overtures of peace, in order that he might pursue unmolested some other schemes which he had planned. He made now the same proposals that had been rejected the preceding year, offering to divide with Sigismund the title of king of Sweden; to declare his son presumptive heir of his crown; and to restore Livonia upon no other conditions than that Finland and Esthonia should be confirmed to Sweden; but Sigismund, grown peevish with old age, infirmity, and disappointment, carried his pretensions beyond his power, and indiscreetly refused offers which in a little time he could not expect. It is thought that he relied greatly on the emperor's assistance, whose arms were at this time triumphant in Germany; a delusive hope that soon vanished before the vigour and good fortune of Gustavus. It was on the refusal of these second overtures, that Gustavus made a descent on Pillau with a numerous squadron, and an army of twenty-six thousand well-disciplined soldiers. Elbing, Marienburg, Dirschau, Christburg, Great and Little Werden, with a variety of other towns, cities, and fortresses in Prussia, yielding to the conqueror, and Sigismund scarce found time to throw a body of three thousand men into Dantzick. The ability however of Koniectkspolki, and the return of Gustavus to Sweden, turned for a while the scale of fortune, and produced some advantages to Sigismund. The Poles laid siege to Marienburg and Merve, fought two obstinate battles with the Swedish generals who attempted the relief of the garrisons, and though worsted upon both occasions, found means to reduce the latter place to surrender at discretion. The same general likewise prevented the Swedes from succouring Pautzke, took that place, and defeated on the frontiers of Pomerania a body of Germans who were on their march to join the enemy; but the return of Gustavus again changed the face of affairs. He defeated the Poles at Kasanmarek, with the slaughter of three thousand of their men; after which action he laid siege to Dantzick, now almost the only sea-port belonging to the republic. Koniectkspolki exerted his utmost diligence and ability for the relief of a city so im-

portant :

*Progress of
the Swedish
arms.*

portant: he assembled his troops, attacked the Swedish intrenchments, was seconded by a vigorous sally of the besieged, and proved so fortunate as to oblige the king to break up his camp, in consequence of a dangerous wound which he received (A). It must be confessed indeed that the relations of the Polish and Swedish historians of the principal actions of these two campaigns differ widely in material circumstances, which it would be impossible to clear up at this distance of time, as each speak positively to facts, which the other deny. For this reason we now give only a superficial review of transactions which we have already explicitly related upon the best authorities, merely to preserve the thread of the Polish narrative. It will be sufficient to mention in this place, that at this period, ambassadors from the states general arrived in Prussia to mediate an accommodation, with a view that Gustavus might be at liberty to turn his arms to the succour of the protestants in Germany.

While the conferences were carried on, both sides endeavoured to gain better conditions, by some fortunate stroke and successful act of hostility. In the neighbourhood of Dirschau, Koniectspolski was attacked by the Swedes, with such impetuosity, that, his army being defeated, he escaped with great difficulty. In this action Gustavus was a second time wounded, as he was forcing the Polish entrenchments. The Polish general, however, retrieved this disgrace, by an advantage obtained before Marienwerder, which might have proved fatal to the glory of Gustavus, had the Poles been sufficiently strong to pursue the blow. It was the inferiority of his troops that induced Koniectspolski to press Sigismund to listen to the terms of accommodation proposed by the Hollanders. The king of Sweden consented to restore all his conquests, except Riga, which he insisted should be sequestered for thirty years in his hands. He renewed the proposal for a partition of the title and arms of Sweden, which might be retained by both monarchs, and was supported in this offer by the Polish senate, which made the warmest remonstrances to Sigismund. However, all the fruits of Gustavus's moderation, and of the prudence of the senate, were blasted by the intrigues of the house of Austria. Both the

(A) The account given of this transaction by the Swedish writers is very different; they allege, that no attack was made on the king's intrenchments; but that, having effected a breach in the walls, he ordered it to be stormed, was warmly received, and wounded by a musket ball in the belly.

emperor and king of Spain were aware of the advantages they might derive from keeping up the flames of war in the North; and they gave Sigismund the most flattering hopes that he should not only recover, with their assistance, the provinces of Livonia, Finland, and Prussia, but even the crown of Sweden. For this purpose a splendid embassy was sent to Poland by the court of Madrid^e; Gabriel de Roi was at the head of this embassy, and authorized to assure the king, that his catholic majesty would immediately send a fleet of twenty-four men of war to the Baltic, and twelve thousand men, under the conduct of the celebrated Wallenstein, in order to carry fire and sword into the bowels of the Swedish dominions. Promises were likewise made, that Spain would support the whole expence of this armament, and a large sum was already advanced by bills of exchange. Sigismund was the dupe of these flattering protestations; even the senate gave credit to the solemn asseverations of the minister, and consented to the king's breaking off the conferences, to which resolution the troops sent by the imperial court, under Adolphus of Holstein, greatly contributed. Hostilities were immediately resumed, and Gustavus, by dint of activity, made himself master of Worndit before the Poles were in motion. But the circumstances most pernicious and irksome to the republic were, that the Lithuanians concluded a separate truce with Gustavus; and that the Swedes carried on the war in Prussia without any expence, by means of the heavy contributions which they levied on the province. To these may be added, the vain expectation of the Spanish squadron, which had for months cheered the hopes of the king and republic. Sigismund had collected nine ships of war to reinforce this auxiliary fleet; but he now found that the court of Spain relied on her influence with the Hanse Towns to perform her engagements; and that for this purpose the ambassador was gone to solicit the regencies of Rostock and Lubeck, who, dreading the establishment of the Spanish power in the Baltic, refused to furnish a single vessel. Besides these disappointments, Sigismund was let in more clearly into the designs of the house of Austria by another incident. When he applied to the ambassador to advance him the remittance sent by Spain, that he might hire ships in Denmark for transporting his army to Sweden, he was answered, that the court of Madrid had given no instructions upon that head. Yet did the artful ambassador still continue to flatter the repub-

*Sigismund
is made the
dupe of the
house of
Austria.*

lic with the hopes of the speedy arrival of the promised squadron, and contrive means to prevail on Sigismund to send the little fleet he had collected to Wismar, in order to raise a spirit among the Hanse Towns, which he affirmed would declare themselves as soon as they found sufficient protection. In consequence of these insinuations the Polish squadron set sail, and by the way encountered a small squadron of Swedish ships, which they attacked, defeated, and destroyed; though, before the end of the campaign, the Poles themselves were either taken, run aground, burnt, or dispersed by the fleets of Sweden and Denmark, both these powers being equally jealous of their acquiring a maritime force^f.

During the next campaign the Poles were generally worsted in Prussia, because the states, finding they were deceived by the court of Madrid, strongly insisted upon peace; and to drive the king into their measures, refused contributing the supplies necessary for the continuance of the war. On some occasions, however, the Poles were successful; Gustavus had sent a detachment from his army to seize one of the out-forts of the city of Dantzick; this party was attacked with great vigour by the Poles, and defeated; but the advantage was more than compensated by the event of another more general engagement, in which the Poles sustained a complete overthrow, by which Gustavus opened a way to lay siege to Dantzick a second time. He had stationed a squadron of nine ships to block up the harbour, and was advancing with his army on the other side, when the Dantzickers ventured to give battle to the Swedish admiral. The Dantzick squadron consisted of ten ships of war; it bore down with a favourable gale on the enemy, began an engagement, and maintained it with skill and obstinacy for several hours. Nils Sternchild, the Swedish admiral, was slain by a cannon-ball, his ship taken, and his vice-admiral blown up; while the Dantzickers, on their side, lost their admiral and four hundred seamen, together with two of their best ships, one of which was sunk and the other set on fire. The Swedes claimed the victory, though, from the consequences, we may fairly ascribe the advantage to the Dantzickers, who, by this action, opened a free passage to their harbour, and obliged Gustavus to relinquish the design of besieging the city. At the same time the Poles frustrated a design which Gustavus had formed of seizing upon certain magazines they had established in the neighbourhood of Newburg, where likewise a sum of

*Sea-fight
between the
Poles and
Swedes.*

^f Bizar. p. 72. Puffen. lib. vi.

fix hundred thousand crowns was lodged for the support of the army. On this occasion the Swedish detachment was cut in pieces, and the military chest, with all the provision and ammunition, transported safe to a place of greater security. Retribution was made by the Swedes, who not only reduced Strasburg, but concluded the campaign with gaining possession of Broderitz. Upon the whole, the fortune of the contending powers was pretty equal for the whole season, and the Poles more successful in general than could be expected, when we consider the inferiority of their troops, the divided state of the republic, the vigour of Gustavus, and the excellency of the Swedish soldiers.

The winter was spent as usual in fruitless negotiations, and early in the spring the Poles attempted to regain possession of Broderitz: an enterprize that terminated unfortunately. There they were attacked in their lines by the Swedish general Wrangel, and defeated with the loss of three thousand men, some pieces of cannon, and near two thousand waggons loaded with provision, ammunition, and baggage. This victory would have put them in possession of Thorn, had not general Dorckoff provided seasonably for the security of that city, by augmenting the garrison with a chosen body of troops, and assuming the command in person, by which means the burghers were encouraged to take arms in their own defence. Yet, after all, Wrangel's victory would have compelled Sigismund to sue for peace, had not his hopes been once more revived by the arrival of Arnheim, who joined the Polish general with five thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry; a reinforcement which enabled him again to take the field and face the enemy. In point of numbers the Poles were now greatly superior; but the auxiliary Germans consisted of new levies, and the national troops had never seen action before the present campaign, all the old troops being so much fatigued and worn out, that it was necessary to put them in garrison. A battle ensued at Quidzin, and the Poles were defeated with great slaughter, after a very obstinate conflict, in which Konielspolski displayed talents that merited better fortune. Even after his losses he found means to lay siege to Steim; an enterprize which proved more fatal to the Polish affairs than the overthrow at Quidzin, though no blame could be laid upon the general. In a sally of the besieged four thousand men were slain; a misfortune, with great probability of truth, charged upon the perfidious Arnheim, who communicated all that passed in the Polish

Poles defeated by land.

councils to the elector of Brandenburg, by which means it became known to the Swedish monarch.

In this manner was Sigismund betrayed by the imperial general, and deluded by the Spanish ambassador. The courts of Vienna and Madrid had no other aim than to suppress the protestant interest in Germany and the Netherlands, before Gustavus could disengage himself from the war with the republic. He now, at length, perceived how little confidence he ought to place in allies who had so repeatedly deceived him. He highly resented the perfidy of Arnheim, attributed it to the instructions of his court, and filled Europe with his complaints. The mediators embraced the favourable opportunity, confirmed the king in his suspicions, and renewed the conferences for an accommodation, to which Sigismund made no objection, because he was sensible of his inability to cope singly, and against the inclinations of the republic, with so powerful an enemy as Gustavus. Famine, pestilence, and the desertion which prevailed in the Polish camp, together with the eagerness of the Swedish monarch to enter upon the German expedition, which he had so long projected, greatly facilitated the measures of the mediators. Accordingly a truce for six years was concluded, upon terms more favourable than Poland, after so many losses, could reasonably expect. The particulars we have already seen in the Swedish history; yet did Sigismund sign it with reluctance, because it was stipulated that certain places should be ceded to Sweden, in the defence of which he had lavished so much blood and treasure. However, he yielded to the importunity of his subjects and to necessity; fell into a melancholy state of mind, which brought on a lingering disorder that ended only with his life, in about two years after he had restored tranquillity to a people who had scarce tasted the sweets of repose since his accession. Unfortunate as the last years of Sigismund's reign were, he certainly possessed a virtuous mind, and considerable talents both for the field and cabinet. His reputation suffered by the loss of the crown of Sweden, and the imperial diadem of Russia; but if we consider that his attachment to the doctrines of the church of Rome rendered his authority unpopular in the former kingdom, and reflect impartially on the concurrence of extraordinary circumstances which wrought a revolution in the latter, we find less reason to censure the conduct of Sigismund, than to admire the power and wisdom of that being who effects the greatest purposes by means the most trivial and incomprehensible to human understanding. Yet it must be confessed,

Truce with Sweden for six years.

A.D. 1629.

Death and character of Sigismund.

essed, that bigotry, obstinacy, and self-sufficiency, led him into some irretrievable blunders, and that he frequently persisted in error, not from want of penetration to discover his mistake, but from shame to acknowledge that he ever was in the wrong †.

S E C T. VI.

Containing the Reigns of Uladislaws, and John Casimir.

PRINCE Uladislaws was considered as heir to the crown of Poland, though the constitution required that a diet should meet to determine the succession. When John-Sigismund was in his last agonies, he placed the Swedish crown on the head of the prince; but was so tender of the liberties of the republic. that he left the Polish diadem to be given at the pleasure of the diet. At first it was imagined, that Gustavus-Adolphus, covered with the laurels he had reaped in Germany, and now become the admiration of mankind, in consequence of thirty victories obtained over the most celebrated generals of Europe, would have demanded the crown of Poland as the reward of superior merit. This was earnestly wished by all the protestant members of the republic, who were now extremely numerous; but Gustavus was too deeply engaged in war to apply his attention to canvassing at an election. It is remarkable indeed, that the Lutherans in Great Poland declared openly against the king of Sweden, the moment his name was mentioned as a candidate, and marked all those as enemies to their country who should presume to nominate a prince so bold, ambitious, and dangerous to republican liberty: yet if Gustavus had declared his resolution of appearing a candidate, it is probable they must have altered their measures, and yielded to the satisfaction of seeing the throne filled by a prince of their own persuasion, under whom they might have reasonably expected extraordinary privileges.

It was with more truth that prince John Casimir was supposed to entertain hopes of being raised to the sovereign dignity. The queen his mother, who was second wife to Sigismund, made some attempts in his favour, to the prejudice of Uladislaws, whom she had always regarded with the indifference of a step-mother. She had set on foot certain intrigues in the king her husband's life-time to have Casimir declared heir to the crown, and propagated reports injurious to the character of Uladislaws; but the generosity of her son,

A.D. 1637.

† Font. cap. v. Bizar. p. 81. Con. tom. i. lib. iii.

his paternal affection and regard for the Polish constitution, broke all the measures of this ambitious prince's. Casimir despised the thoughts of supplanting a brother by acts of calumny, and put himself at the head of the nobility who declared for Uladisslaus. The diet of election was fixed for the twenty-seventh of September; but though there appeared no competitor, the session was spun out to considerable length. Casimir proposed his brother Uladisslaus, and was supported by the bishop of Premislaw, who enforced the nomination with all the powers of oratory. He soothed the diet with the most flattering encomiums on their independency, but artfully insinuated the particular regard which had been always shewn for the offspring of good princes: he reminded the assembly of the obligations which Poland owed to the excellent administration of the house of Jagello; of the affinity which Uladisslaus had to that family, who, he said, might be considered as a lineal descendant; he pleaded the merit of his father, the late king, and the promising genius of the prince, which afforded the most pleasing hopes of a happy reign: and he concluded with observing, that there was scarce room for opposition or deliberation, when every motive of reason, interest, and passion, united in determining their choice in favour of prince Uladisslaus. Next the pope's nuncio, and the ambassadors from the emperor and king of Sweden were admitted. The two first warmly recommended Uladisslaus, and the latter made no objection to his election, provided he would renounce all pretensions to the crown of Sweden; a proposal that was resented by the diet as unseasonable and foreign to the intention of the embassy. Thus no competitor appearing, and the votes being unanimous in favour of Uladisslaus, he was declared king of Poland on the 13th day of November, and crowned in the succeeding year with the usual formality.

ULADISLAUS VII.

BEFORE Uladisslaus was firmly established on the throne, an occasion offered for the utmost exertion of his ability. The Russians, hoping to profit by the unsettled state of the government under a young monarch, determined to recover the provinces which had been lost during the late troubles. With this view they advanced with a great army towards Smolensko, from whence they made irruptions into Poland, desolating the countries through which they passed. They laid siege to Smolensko, pushed their operations with great fury, and were bravely resisted by the Polish garrison, who were animated by advice they had

had received that Uladislaus was advancing with the flower of his troops, to give battle to the besiegers. The king was greatly inferior in point of numbers to the enemy; but relying on the attachment of the Poles, and convinced of their courage, and the ability of his generals, he ventured to attack the Russian lines. The battle was obstinate, but their intrenchments were at last forced, and the Russians driven into a narrow defile, surrounded with impervious woods, where they were obliged to submit to the terms imposed by the victorious Uladislaus. These imported, that they should lay down their arms, return quietly to their own country, and not molest the tranquillity of Poland for the space of six years. The king added another article; namely, that the czar should renounce all pretensions to the duchies of Smolensko and Zernikow. The Turks displeas'd with the last treaty into which they had been compelled, thought to retrieve the credit of the Ottoman arms at this juncture, when the chief strength of Poland was engaged in stopping the progress of Russia. They made several irruptions into the Polish dominions; but after the defeat of the Russian army, they were surpris'd by Uladislaus, defeated with great slaughter, obliged to indemnify Poland for her losses and the expences of the war^a, and to conclude a truce for several years. The Grand Signor was even under the necessity of apologizing to the republic for the infraction of the treaty concluded with Sigismund, by capitally punishing the bashaw who commanded the Turkish army, as if he had acted without orders from the divan. In a word, the Turks and Muscovites were soon convinced of the vigour that reigned in the Polish councils, and the spirit of the monarch; which determined them to become more religious observers of their treaties with the republic.

A. D. 1634.

*He obliges
the Rus-
sians and
Turks to
solicit
peace,*

But as if the glory of Poland could not be complete before Sweden was humbled, Uladislaus turned his attention to that side, and took advantage of the unhappy state in which that kingdom was involved, in consequence of the death of the great Gustavus, who had been slain in the arms of victory at the famous battle of Lutzen. Sweden was governed by an infant princess and a regency. The generals who served under Gustavus had, for some time after his death, sustained the glory of his arms; but the unfortunate issue of the battle of Nordlingen, gave a turn to affairs which was favourable to the designs formed by Uladislaus. It was impossible for the regency to extricate

A. D. 1635.

^a Puffend. lib. iv. tom. iv. p. 326.

themselves from the affairs of Germany, and their enemies daily were multiplying in every quarter. The truce with Poland being now expired, it was necessary to send an army for the defence of Prussia, an aim which could not be accomplished without leaving some other quarter of the Swedish dominions exposed. In this situation it appeared expedient to prolong the truce with the republic at any rate, to prevent Uladisslaus from joining his victorious arms to the enemy. La Gardie marched, indeed, a body of forces into Prussia; but this motion was intended only to give weight to the negotiations they were labouring to enforce. On the other hand, Uladislaus was rather averse to a war with Sweden, though he resolved not to neglect the opportunity of reclaiming a valuable province, which he considered as the undoubted right of the republic. As the Swedes now proposed a method by which he might attain the same end, without involving his people in fresh scenes of blood and horror, he consented to the conferences proposed, and reaped the fruits of his policy. Deputies met at Stumfsdorf, where, without much difficulty it was agreed, that the truce between the two nations should be prolonged for twenty-nine years, on condition that Sweden should evacuate all the towns they possessed in Prussia, and make formal renunciation of that province, which was all that Uladislaus could have expected in consequence of a successful war. It was necessary, likewise, to avoid a rupture with Sweden, at a time when the domestic concerns of the kingdom required his utmost attention¹.

and Sweden to restore Prussia, and prolong the truce.

For a series of years the Cossacks had acknowledged the sovereignty of the republic, though they were governed by their own laws, and acted in most respects as an independent people. They were regarded as a strong bulwark against the Turks and Muscovites. In many instances however their irregularity and love of plunder had involved the republic in wars with her neighbours; yet this inconvenience was winked at on account of the services performed by the Cossacks to Poland, and from a dread of giving offence to a warlike powerful people tenacious of their privileges. Batori, who foresaw the utility which this body of militia might produce to the state, had indulged the Cossacks with lands and a variety of immunities. This indulgence proved an inducement to the Polish peasants, who were oppressed by their masters, to take refuge in the Ukraine, where they could enjoy more liberty, and possess their property without fear of being despoiled by their ra-

¹ *Id. tom. vi. lib. vi.*

pacious landlords. Multitudes of people retired with their families to the Ukraine to live under the free government of the Cossacks, who received them joyfully, as this accession strengthened the community, and rendered the country more populous. These migrations proved not only an injury to the republic in general, but were particularly detrimental to many of the gentry, whose estates were left without sufficient hands to cultivate the lands. They applied to the government, and demanded back their vassals; but the Cossacks refused to surrender unhappy wretches who threw themselves upon their protection. This refusal produced altercation, and stimulated the nobility of Poland to project a scheme of revenge, which might at the same time turn out to their own emolument. Some of them possessed large estates in the Ukraine, but by a different tenure from that on which they held their lands in Poland. In the Cossack country the inhabitants of the lands were free, subject only to a moderate annual rent to the landholder. The Poles now required, that they should be put upon the footing of the peasants of the republic, which would not only enrich the nobility, but likewise very considerably encrease the revenue. It was this motive which swayed with the king and senate, who imprudently embraced the project, not only for the above reasons, but because they imagined it would be the occasion of civilizing this barbarous people, and uniting them still more closely to the republic. They never reflected upon the difficulty of reducing to a state of slavery, a bold warlike people, strongly attached to liberty, who were the allies of Poland merely out of gratitude and policy; nor that the accomplishment of their scheme, would be destroying the very intention of this militia, by emasculating and breaking the spirit of men, who ought to be regarded as the strength and barrier of the republic against the ambitious designs of the czar of Muscovy and the Grand Signor. The senate was composed of persons who found their interest in this ruinous project; the king was directed by the senate, and thus, without deliberating seriously on the consequences, Koniekspolski was sent with an armed force to the Ukraine, where he erected the fortress of Hudac, at the confluence of the Zwamer and Boristhenes, as a check on the Cossacks, and the first step towards the destruction of their liberty.

As it could not be imagined that the Cossacks would sit
A.D. 1637.
tame spectators of this infringement of their liberties, and
breach of the conditions on which they acknowledged the
sovereignty of the republic, measures were taken for sup-
The Cos-
sacks re-
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porting the first violation. The Cossacks armed in defence of liberty, and exerted their utmost endeavours to frustrate the designs of the Polish general; but all their efforts were baffled by the vigilance, activity, and valour of that commander. They were defeated in divers encounters, and obliged to submit, to deliver up their general Bauluski, and several persons of the first quality among them, who were beheaded contrary to the treaty, and in defiance of the pardon granted and signed by the hand of the sovereign. This is an indelible stain on the character of Uladislaus, and proves either that he paid no regard to his word, or that he had no authority in the government. In the treaty with the Cossacks not only a general amnesty was agreed upon, but the republic solemnly promised to withdraw her forces; instead of which she augmented the army in the Ukraine, and assembled a diet, wherein it was decreed, that all the privileges bestowed on the Cossacks by Batori should be revoked and extinguished; that they should be deprived of the fortrefs of Tschtemeravia, and reduced to the same state of subjection as that of the Polish peasants.

Measures so extravagant can hardly be attributed to Uladislaus, as they appear totally inconsistent with all his former conduct; but he cannot be excused for not opposing, with his whole authority, a project that favoured strongly of insanity, and that rage of despotism which has ever distinguished the nobility of Poland. A more numerous army was sent to the Ukraine, to enforce the decrees of the diet; and the Polish general advanced to lay siege to that fortrefs which the Cossacks regarded as the bulwark of their liberty. They assembled to oppose the Poles, and, by dint of stratagem and valour, defeated all their designs, reduced the Polish army to great extremity, and forced the general to relinquish the enterprize. Notwithstanding this advantage, they solemnly protested that they were far from any design of revolting from the obedience they owed the republic; they declared that their sole view was to preserve the immunities which had been conferred on them by the illustrious Batori, and confirmed by all his successors. These they boldly affirmed they would assert with the last drop of their blood; but, as a proof of their attachment to the republic, they were willing, though conquerors, to lay down their arms, upon the same conditions stipulated in the late treaty, and a renewal of the amnesty then granted. The king and senate assented to all that was proposed, because they were in no condition to withstand the power of the victorious Cossacks; but they resolved to break through their engagements as soon as an opportunity should

should offer. The Cossacks had scarce returned to their houses and disbanded their forces, when the Polish lords committed a variety of outrages, which rekindled the flames of war with redoubled vehemence. They sent detachments thither to seize upon the peasants who had taken shelter with the Cossacks; they suppressed the Greek religion, which that nation professed, and deprived them of their churches; they tyrannized over a people who were really their conquerors, and whom they ought to have soothed and cajoled, had they paid the least regard to the true interest of the republic: in a word, they drove to extremity this warlike body of militia, and lighted up a fire which was scarce extinguished but with the destruction of Poland. The particular cause of the revolt is thus related:

Kzmielniski, originally a Lithuanian, had acquired great influence and credit among the Cossacks. In his youth he had been carried off by the Tartars; but, redeemed by his mother, he returned to the Ukraine, and cultivated an estate bequeated to him by his father, in the neighbourhood of the Polish fortress of Czerin. He added a piece of waste ground to his patrimony, which lay contiguous to the fort; but after he had cleared and cultivated it, the Polish governor claimed it as his right, and enforced his pretensions by a violent seizure of the ground. The Cossack appealed to Uladisslaus, and lost his suit, the land being adjudged to the Polish governor, whose interest prevailed at court; nor was any acknowledgement made for the expence he had incurred in the cultivation. Fired with the injury, the Cossack complained to his countrymen, exclaimed against the partiality of the court, and behaved with great haughtiness to the governor, whom he treated as a tyrant. The dispute became more and more vehement. The governor, in contempt of Kzmielniski, carried off his wife by violence, ravished, and then put her to death. Not content with this barbarity, he set fire to the house of the Cossack, in which perished his infant-son in the cradle. Some writers vindicate the Pole by asserting, that he committed these cruelties in revenge of Kzmielniski's having caused him to be publicly and ignominiously scourged^a. Be this as it may, certain it is, that these transactions, together with a number of other violences, gave birth to the revolt which now suddenly broke out. The Cossack chief deserted his habitation in a rage, took sanctuary in the islands of the Boristhenes, where he stirred up the whole

^a Heiden. lib. xi. p. 327. Font. lib. v. Conn. tom. i. lib. iii. Bizard. p. 89.

nation to a resolution of renouncing the sovereignty of the republic, revenging the injuries they had sustained, assembling an army, and either conquering or perishing in the cause of liberty. Kzmielniski was elected chief, and the most vigorous measures were pursued for executing the dictates of the most signal vengeance.

*Death of
Uladiſlaus:
May 1648.*

Such was the situation of Poland, on the eve of a dangerous war, when the sovereign was seized with a malignant fever, of which he died in a few days at Merick in Lithuania, in the sixteenth year of his reign. This was a terrible blow to the republic, which, besides the troubles to be apprehended from an election, had lost in Uladiſlaus the best general in Poland, at a period when she most wanted the exertion of his valour and abilities. His death removed the barrier which had restrained the Cossacks from breaking out some years before into open rebellion; and they now seized the opportunity of giving vent to their fury during the inter-regnum. Their general, though brought from the plough to command an army, displayed such courage and capacity as would have reflected honour on the most consummate officer and politician. By his address and eloquence he subdued that invincible hatred which had always rendered the Tartars and Cossacks declared enemies, and united both nations by the closest ties of union and amity against Poland. The confusion in Poland, consequent on the divisions of the nobility, who declared in favour of different competitors for the crown, facilitated his projects; he marched with an army of Tartars and Cossacks, gave battle to the Polish general Potoski, and obtained a complete victory in the neighbourhood of Korſen. This success was followed by another victory gained over the Poles in Volhinia, and by an irruption into the provinces of Podolia and Russia, which he desolated with all the fury of an enraged barbarian. All the gentry were put to death, and the peasants were pillaged, stripped, and turned out naked into the fields to starve with cold and hunger, if they refused to enlist under his banners. Leopold escaped being plundered by paying a large contribution, and Cracow was threatened with such imminent danger, that the crown-jewels were removed to a place of greater security. In a word, the ravages of the Cossacks were so dreadful, that whole provinces were rendered desert, and the Polish frontiers, towards Muscovy and Tartary, which before were so populous, turned to a solitude, in which situation it remains to this day. Every town in Poland was overwhelmed with consternation; and the diet at Warsaw entertained some thoughts of translating

*The Cof-
sacks de-
feat the
Poles.*

ing the assembly to Dantzic as the only place of safety; but this expedient was rendered unnecessary by some fortunate circumstances, to which, and not to the manly endeavours of the Poles, we are to ascribe their escape from the most imminent peril that ever threatened the republic.

The Cossack general, pursuing his advantage, advanced with his army to Pilavi, where he defeated a third army of Poles; and found in their camp an immense booty. Though the victory was obtained without the assistance of the Tartars, yet as these free-booters joined the army next day, they demanded a share in the spoils, and were refused by the Cossacks; who, fearing they would attempt violent means, returned with the utmost dispatch to the Ukraine, relieving the diet from the most terrible apprehensions. To this booty may we attribute the safety of Poland, which otherwise must have fallen inevitably under the power of the conquering Kzmielniski. Now the diet was at liberty to enter upon measures for checking the progress of the rebels, and for restoring the usual vigour of the government, by terminating an inter-regnum which had almost proved fatal to the kingdom. A spirit began to display itself among all degrees of men; even the clergy contributed half their revenues towards levying and maintaining an army. The example was followed by the gentry, and recruits were raised in such abundance, that an army, more than sufficient to crush the Cossacks might have been assembled, had not the divisions about a prince rendered abortive their laudable efforts for the defence of the state. Some of the candidates were formidable, and threatened to assist either in succouring or destroying Poland with powerful armies, according as they succeeded in their election. Among these were Ragotski, prince of Transylvania, and the czar of Muscovy; the former appearing at the head of thirty thousand men to serve against the Cossacks, if he was chosen, or to join with them if his proposals should be rejected; the latter expressing himself in a still more imperious manner, and determining to seize by force a crown which always depended on the free gift of the people. Such menaces could not fail of increasing the disquiets of the nation at so critical a juncture; the diet however had the courage not to be influenced by them so far as to relinquish their own rights. A majority of voices appeared in favour of John Casimir, though assailed by no troops, recommended by no powerful foreign interest, and labouring under the disadvantage of ecclesiastical engagements, which at the same time disqualified him as a candidate, and seemed to preface his incapacity of supporting the

*Disputes
about the
election of
a successor.*

the weight of sovereignty. He had been educated a Jesuit ; but, to absolve him from the vows made to that society, the pontiff bestowed on him a cardinal's hat. The Jesuits had occasioned great disturbances in the last reign ; and the hatred which the nobility bore to the whole society, fell heavy upon a prince who had once been a member of the community of Jesus. Accordingly Charles Ferdinand, bishop of Ploskow, the younger brother of the late monarch, was opposed to Casimir his brother, and warmly supported by the bishop of Kiow, whose ambition flattered him with the primacy and diocese of Gnesna, if he could succeed in appointing the sovereign. Christina queen of Sweden likewise supported this prelate strenuously from motives of policy, and merely because she knew his want of capacity. It was her interest to see Poland governed by a weak prince ; she therefore exerted her utmost influence against Casimir, because she dreaded his talents, and the popularity he was likely to acquire. The protestants of the kingdom too unanimously closed in with the designs of the prelate of Kiow, because they apprehended Casimir's education among the Jesuits would necessarily influence all his future conduct ; but the Roman catholics promoted his election with the utmost zeal, from the notions they entertained of his ability and piety. But what operated most powerfully on the minds of the electors was a manly speech made by the bishop of Samogitia, in which, by the force of his eloquence, he overturned all the arguments advanced against Casimir's elevation by the opposite party, and unanimously determined the diet in his favour. Even the Swedish ambassador yielded to this prelate's irresistible persuasion ; and queen Christina, informed of the engagements which Charles Ferdinand had contracted with the house of Austria, became a strong advocate for the prince she had lately opposed *. The pope's nuncio, and the French ambassador likewise, contributed to bring over some of the more obstinate among the deputies to his interest. Thus prince John Casimir was proclaimed on the 20th day of November.

John Casimir elected.

J O H N C A S I M I R.

CASIMIR was no sooner established on the throne, than he expressed his disapprobation of the measures which had given birth to the Cossack rebellion. He knew the true interest of the kingdom, and persisted in accommodating matters, in opposition to the whole body of nobi-

* Heid. lib. xi. Puffend. lib. iv. tom. iv.

lity. No advantage, he was sensible, could arise even from a successful war, except to a few individuals, whose avarice and tyrannical dispositions might possibly be gratified by imposing servitude on this warlike race, and thereby augmenting the number of their own dependents, and enlarging the sphere of their despotism. They exhorted Casimir to take the field, and received for answer, that they ought not to have set Kzmielniski's house on fire. In these sentiments he proved so inflexible, that the nobility resolved to act without his consent; and accordingly raised an army, and marched into the Ukraine. The relations given of the first operations of the campaign, are extremely imperfect. One writer alleges, that the nobility, raising fifty thousand men, were defeated on their first appearance by ten thousand Cossacks, who, in consequence of the victory, reduced and plundered Kiow; and that, resolving to repair their loss, and wipe off their disgrace, they raised every seventh man in the kingdom without the king's consent, came to action a second time, and were defeated with still greater slaughter and ignominy^b. Other historians, on the contrary, allege, that the Polish army did not exceed nine thousand men^c, who were attacked by the Cossack chief and the cham of Tartary, at the head of three hundred and forty thousand men: that this handful, shut up in Zbarro, courageously defended themselves, and resisted the united pressure of famine, fatigue, and a powerful enemy, until Casimir, taking compassion on their deplorable circumstances, pardoned their errors out of admiration of their valour, and marched with the utmost rapidity with the crown army to their relief. The king's forces amounted only to twenty thousand men; but they were composed of veterans, and the flower of the Polish dominions. On his approach, the cham and Kzmielniski marched out of their lines with a hundred and ten thousand chosen men to give him battle; the remainder of their army being employed in blocking up all the passes, and resisting the sallies of the besieged. Casimir prudently entrenched himself, the better to withstand this unequal force; his camp was attacked, and he gave so warm a reception to the combined chiefs, that they soon became tractable, and voluntarily made overtures of pacification, which the king gladly embraced. A treaty was accordingly concluded, whereby the king promised to renew the tribute paid to the cham by the republic, and abolished in the last reign; to pass an act of indemnity; to confirm the Cof-

A.D. 1649.

He concludes peace with the Cossacks.

^b Id. ib.^c Font. cap. v.

sacks in all their privileges; to grant them the free exercise of the Greek religion; and to augment the number of their militia. On their side, the chiefs engaged to defend the frontiers of the republic, and to preserve inviolate the allegiance which they owed to the king and commonwealth of Poland.

Ambition had now taken possession of the mind of Kzmielniski, who at first was actuated only by the desire of obtaining justice, gratifying his private revenge, and securing the liberty of his country. His successes had inspired him with the thoughts of entirely throwing off his dependence on the republic, and of forming a community under the protection of the Othoman empire, with which he could stipulate his own terms, as the submission was voluntary, and equally advantageous to the Grand Signor and to the Cossack chief. To this circumstance, and to the refusal of the peasants in the Ukraine to submit to the Polish lords, the bulk of writers ascribe the infraction of the late treaty, and the fresh rupture which ensued. Puffendorff^c, however, lays the blame on the Polish nobility, who, he alleges, attacked Kiow at the time Kzmielniski was celebrating his son's nuptials with a daughter of the vaivode of Walachia, plundered the town, and carried off the Greek patriarch. The Cossacks sent deputies to the king to complain of the injury, to know if he had authorised it, and to demand redress. Casimir replied, that it was an act of the Polish nobility, which he had no power to punish, though he greatly disapproved of the outrage. The Cossacks immediately assembled, and in revenge made an irruption into Poland, in conjunction with the Tartars. To which ever of these causes we ascribe the war, certain it is, that the preservation of the state obliged the king to take the field, to oppose the ruinous depredations of the united barbarians, who laid every province desolate through which they passed. He levied an army of one hundred thousand men, advanced against the enemy, and in a pitched battle defeated, with great slaughter, a Tartarian army of thrice his number. This victory was obtained in the neighbourhood of Bereteskow, before the Cossacks could come up to the relief of their allies; and the very report of it was sufficient to put those rebels in confusion. Kzmielniski's lieutenant marching out with a detachment to attack an outpost of the Poles, a panic seized the whole Tabor: it was thought their general had deserted them; the whole fled with precipitation, and reached the Ukraine, before they

War renewed.

Casimir defeats the enemy.

^c Lib. iv. tom. iv. p. 329.

had discovered their mistake, or recollected their spirits. Here cool reflection took place of their resentment: proposals of peace were sent to the king, and accepted, on condition that the Zaporavian militia should be reduced to twenty thousand men; that the Cossacks should express their penitence, and engage to adhere to the articles of the late treaty. The nobility murmured at this treaty, as too favourable to the enemy; and the Cossack chief determined to maintain it no longer than until he could retrieve his affairs, and raise sufficient forces to vindicate his perfidy.

In this situation was the republic, when the Russians determined to make their advantage of the disposition of the Cossacks, and the divisions that subsisted between Casimir and the Polish nobility. They entered Lithuania by the way of Smolensko, with a prodigious army, and were immediately joined by a strong detachment of Cossacks sent by Kzmielniski; while the main bodies of the Cossack and Tartarian armies ravaged Poland on the other side. The Russians laid siege to Smolensko, and reduced it, after a tedious siege, and gallant defence made by the Polish garrison. They afterwards ravaged the great duchy of Lithuania, reduced Wilna and other cities, which they pillaged, treating the inhabitants with the utmost barbarity. But, as if the republic had not been sufficiently embarrassed by such a variety of powerful enemies, Charles Gustavus, who succeeded to the crown of Sweden on the abdication of Christina, determined to assist in completing her misfortunes. The opportunity was seasonable for retrieving the losses consequent on the battle at Nordlingen, and breaking the treaty of Stumsdorf, by which Prussia was entirely evacuated. The ambitious Charles carried his designs to the entire conquest of Poland; and as he was assisted not only by the numerous forces of the barbarians, but likewise by certain discontented lords, who resented Casimir's lenity to the Cossacks, his project had all the appearance of being attended with success. In vain did the court of France interpose her good offices, and endeavour to divert a storm which threatened Poland with inevitable destruction. The king of Sweden was too earnest in the pursuit of his schemes, and too sanguine in his hopes of success, to listen to any reasonable conditions. What chiefly incensed Charles, was the protest entered by the Polish minister at Stockholm against Christina's resignation. This first excited him to revenge, and made him deaf to all the proposals made by Casimir, by the several ambassadors whom he dispatched to Sweden. Charles refused

A.D. 1653.

The Russians break with Poland.

fused giving audience to some of these; and in particular ordered the Polish minister Merstein to quit his court, with an air the most insolent and contemptuous.

The king of Sweden invades and conquers Poland.

Immediately after the departure of the ambassador, he ordered part of his army to advance into Poland, by the Lower Pomerania and the New Marche, under the conduct of general Wittemberg, whose first appearance dispersed a body of fifteen thousand Poles, sent by the king to oppose his progress. In consequence of this action, several discontented palatines submitted, and took an oath of allegiance to Charles Gustavus. At the same time the king, at the head of the main army, penetrated into Great Poland. There, reducing the province of Mazovia, and all Little Poland, he laid siege to Cracow, and carried that capital, after a feeble resistance. The conqueror entered the city in triumph, and obliged the unfortunate Casimir, now destitute of money and troops, deserted by the nobility and army, to seek an asylum in Silesia.

Though necessity, and the timidity or perfidy of the nobility, had occasioned Casimir's flight; yet the provinces and militia considered his retreat as an abdication, took an oath to the conqueror, and acknowledged themselves subject to the crown of Sweden. The governors of Great and Little Poland, of Mazovia, of Red Russia, Podolia, and Volhinia, all sent deputations to the Swedish monarch, meanly complimenting him on his arrival in the dominions of the republic; and it was even deliberated whether an offer should not be made of the crown. Lithuania, in particular, through the intrigues of the discontented Radzivil, appeared extremely forward in this proposal; but the spirited conduct of the city of Dantzic soon altered the sentiments of the Polish nation, and animated the people with fresh courage, as soon as their first terrors were effaced. Charles Gustavus having, as he thought, entirely subdued Poland, turned his arms to the conquest of Prussia, where all the cities and fortresses yielded, almost without resistance, except Dantzic. Here the burghers at first appeared disposed to copy the pusillanimous example of the rest of the nation; but their resolution was suddenly changed by the address and spirited harangues of the clergy, who animated them with their exhortations and example, and by dint of eloquence, of public spirit, and of valour, attached them more strongly than ever to the crown of Poland. The king of Sweden's own conduct likewise assisted their designs. He had ordered a fleet to cruise before the harbour, and to levy exorbitant duties upon all merchandize: the clergy turned this circumstance to their advantage, representing

The spirit of the Dantzickers.

representing

senting it as a specimen of what they were to expect under the government of the Swedish tyrant. All now flew to arms; and the example of the Dantzickers operated powerfully on all the other cities, that were oppressed with heavy contributions and grievous exactions; although the people were in general treated with great lenity. The imposition of fifteen timphes upon every hearth excited a general disaffection in a free people, ever averse to servitude and despotism. They could not consent to become tributary to Sweden, a kingdom upon which their sovereigns had legal claims; and they took the noble resolution of repairing their errors, and breaking the chains in which they saw themselves held by the conquerors. To accomplish their schemes with the greater facility, such conditions were offered to the Tartars as not only established a peace, but an alliance with that people, which proved of the utmost utility to Poland. Casimir was privately invited to return to his dominions, and he immediately put himself at the head of a considerable army, which was assembled by the nobility. In conjunction with the Tartars, Czarneski surprised a corps of Swedes in the neighbourhood of Jarislaw, defeated them, and became master of their baggage. The effects of this victory were of still more consequence, as it raised an emulation through the whole Polish dominions, who should best distinguish their loyalty, and by acts of gallantry efface the stains of perfidy towards an excellent prince. The Lithuanians, who had lately been strong advocates for the Swedish monarch, now of a sudden altered their sentiments, attacked and massacred the Swedish soldiers, who were dispersed in quarters, before they could unite or form themselves into a body. Besides these advantages, the Poles reduced Warsaw, where they made general Wittemberg and a numerous garrison prisoners, contrary to the express condition of the capitulation.

*The Swedes
defeated.*

This treacherous action soon met with the punishment it merited, and proved almost fatal to Poland. Charles Gustavus had about this time formed an alliance with the elector of Brandenburg, whereby it was stipulated, that the elector should enjoy an absolute dominion in Ducal Prussia, on condition that he would assist in retaking Warsaw, punishing the perfidy of the Poles, and conquering the republic. Reinforced by the electoral troops, the king advanced to Warsaw, and laid siege to the city. The Poles exerted their utmost endeavours to preserve it: a battle was fought before the walls, and victory was obstinately disputed for three days, when it at last it declared in favour of the Swedes and Brandenburgers. The city was taken,

A. D. 1656.

and the slaughter was the more dreadful, as the conquest was so violently disputed; scarce a soul escaped the sword, the town was pillaged, and the republic now reduced to a more deplorable state than ever, because Charles considered the people as traitors.

While Poland was bleeding under this severe blow, another enemy appeared. Ragotski, prince of Transylvania, seized this opportunity of resenting his exclusion from the throne at the last general election. He now thought he might effect his purposes with the assistance of the king of Sweden, and, by acknowledging Poland tributary, obtain the crown from that monarch. Elated by the delusive promises of an astrologer, who had flattered him with the hope of a diadem, his imagination even carried him not only to renounce the tribute to Sweden, but to conquer that kingdom; though policy required that he should in the mean time make use of Charles Gustavus as the instrument of his great projects. He had an army of thirty thousand men at his command; and it is probable that his ambitious schemes might have succeeded in part, had he not been too confident of success, and assured that his forces were irresistible. Gustavus advised him to penetrate into Poland by the palatinate of Bressici, and to wait there for the junction of the Swedish army. Had he followed this counsel, he would have at least avoided the disgrace of a signal defeat; in consequence of which he was forced to retire precipitately to Transylvania with the shattered remains of his forces (A).

State of Europe.

Happily for the republic, the king of Denmark and several other potentates took umbrage at the unprovoked attack on Poland, and grew jealous of the rapid success which attended the arms of Charles Gustavus. His Danish majesty was busied in making warlike preparations; the Russians made an irruption into Livonia, and were laying siege to Riga; the Dutch expressed some uneasiness at the conquests made in Prussia; and other powers gave Gustavus to understand, that they would not sit tame spectators of the ruin of Poland, and subversion of the ballance of power in the North. The sultan too seemed to favour Poland; he was so enraged at Ragotski's entering the republic's dominions against his express orders, that he enjoined the Transylvanians to elect another vaivode, sent forces against this

(A) Radzivil and his chief officers were taken prisoners in this action, which happened near Licca; but they were delivered by general Steinboek, who gained an advantage over the Poles in the neighbourhood of Philippowa.

unfortu-

unfortunate prince, who vainly implored the assistance of the emperor; and, after several bloody battles, established the rival of Ragotki, who died of the wounds he had received in the last engagement. But what afforded immediate relief to Poland was the open rupture between the courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen, and the consequent invasion of the island of Zealand, which not only drew the Swedish monarch, but the bulk of his army from the territories of the republic. A body of German auxiliaries had likewise joined the Polish army, by which means Casimir was enabled to lay siege to Cracow. The Swedish garrison was commanded by Wartz, who behaved with great gallantry; but finding he could expect no relief, was forced to capitulate, after he had filled the trenches with carnage by repeated desperate sallies. General Czarnecki too was dispatched with an army across the Oder, to make an irruption into Pomerania, which, after he had ravaged in a terrible manner, he evacuated, from an apprehension that the enemy would cut off his retreat, and shut him up in a country which he himself had desolated. An attempt was made on Riga, and other places in Livonia; but they proved equally unfortunate: however, the great inferiority of the Swedes, and the sudden change of measures at the court of Berlin (A), rendered it apparent that Charles Gustavus must soon be obliged to relinquish all his conquests in Poland. His troops were driven out of Courland, and Graudentz in Prussia was recovered by the Poles: in a word, every thing contributed to blast all the laurels which Charles had gathered in the pursuit of glory; when, happily perhaps for his reputation, for his people, and Europe in general, death cut short the designs of this enterprising monarch. This event produced the congress at Oliva,

A.D. 1657.

The Swedes driven out of Poland.

A.D. 1666.

(A) The elector of Brandenburg, finding that Charles Gustavus was not in a condition to procure for him the sovereignty of Ducal Prussia, as had been stipulated, and that he had even resolved to compound with the republic for eight hundred thousand dollars, resolved to close in with the Poles, advance that sum to Casimir, and unite his forces to those of the king, upon the

same terms he had stipulated with the Swedish monarch. The republic, glad of gaining such an ally, at the expence of her enemies, consented to the proposal, on condition that Ducal Prussia should revert to Poland, in case the elector died without male issue; and thus the two princes joined to drive out the Swedes (1).

(1) Puff. Rer. Brandenb. lib. viii. sect. lv. p. 508.

*Peace of
Oliva.*

where a peace was concluded between John Casimir and Charles XI. or rather the regency of Sweden, upon condition that the king of Poland should renounce all claim to the Swedish crown; and that the Swedes should restore all their conquests in Poland, Prussia, and Livonia, Riga and a few other places excepted. Thus, by parting with a vain ideal right, Casimir acquired the actual possession of all his dominions, and those vast territories, on the reduction of which the late king of Sweden had lavished the blood and treasure of his subjects with the utmost prodigality (B).

*Civil com-
motions and
a war with
Russia.*

The felicity occasioned by this astonishing change in the affairs of Casimir was soon disturbed, as some writers allege, by his ambition; while others freely censure the conduct of Lubomirski, the crown-general, on whom they lay the blame of all the ensuing misfortunes. According to the former, the king had hired thirty thousand Germans, under pretence of releasing certain noblemen who were detained prisoners by the Tartars, in contempt of treaties; but, in fact, with design to render himself despotic; a measure very opposite to the principles which he professed at his accession. Lubomirski penetrated into his most secret sentiments; and with great resolution and public spirit opposed himself as the protector of liberty, and guardian of the constitution. At first he used persuasion; but finding that Casimir, confident of his strength, refused to listen to his arguments, he levied forces, attacked the auxiliaries, defeated them, took their general prisoner, and obliged the king to dismiss the broken remains of the Germans; a circumstance which so chagrined Casimir, that he soon after abdicated the crown.

The account of this transaction, given by some other historians of perhaps greater credit, is to the following purport. During the war with Sweden, the Russians had made divers incursions into the Polish dominions, which Casimir now

(B) We must not omit a circumstance mentioned by some of the Polish writers, on which all the Swedish historians are silent. They attribute the war with Charles-Gustavus, and the invasion of the Polish dominions, to the resentment of the grand chancellor Radzewski. The

king had carried on an intrigue, it is said, with the wife of this senator; who, to gratify the dictates of revenge, formed a strong party against the court, and then invited the Swedes into Livonia and Courland, where they soon defeated the duke, and carried him off prisoner (1).

(1) Hartnoch, lib. i. Connor, tom. i. lib. iii.

determined to revenge. With this view an army was sent to the frontiers under general Czarneski and prince Sapieha, who were so fortunate as to cut off an army of twenty-six thousand Muscovites in the neighbourhood of Polanski. Another battle was soon after fought in the plains of Glembokia, in which the Russians were again defeated, with the slaughter of ten thousand of their best soldiers; upon which Casimir laid siege to Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, which had been taken by the enemy during the late war with Sweden. At the first onset the Poles carried the city; but the garrison defended the citadel, a place of considerable strength, with great obstinacy and valour. In vain was every stratagem of war put in practice: the Russians withstood all the efforts made by the Poles, until at last the enterprize proved almost fatal to the king and republic. Divisions arose between the king and some of the nobility, who aspired at more power, under the pretext of opposing the extension of the royal prerogative. The want of unanimity in the camp destroyed the vigour of the besiegers, exposed them to the sallies of the garrison, and produced a total languor and inactivity, that protracted the siege, and spun the war out to great length. At last the animosity betwixt the king and nobles rose so high, that the latter chose prince Lubomirski for their general, and determined to decide the difference by the sword. It was alleged, that the German levies were introduced to destroy the liberties of the republic, and not to recover her territories. Forces were raised on both sides, and the republic saw her own members ready to destroy her existence. A battle ensued; the royal party was defeated, and the conquerors threw themselves at the king's feet, to desire he would restore peace to his subjects, upon such conditions as should render their privileges secure. Their submission, however, was only a veil drawn over their ambition, in order to render their cause still more popular, and engage the king to dismiss the German levies. Casimir suspected as much; but he could not avoid sending home the levies, without incurring the hatred of all his subjects, and the odious name of tyrant. No sooner had he weakened himself by this compliance, than the discontented party threw off the mask, lost all respect for the person of the king, and raised so many vexations in his way, that he resigned the crown in disgust, and retired to France, where he died in the fifth year of his retreat. Before his abdication he assembled a diet at Leopold, to deliberate on measures for paying off the long arrears due to the army; and to effect this purpose, it was thought necessary to call in all the gold and silver of the kingdom to be re-coined.

A.D. 1668.

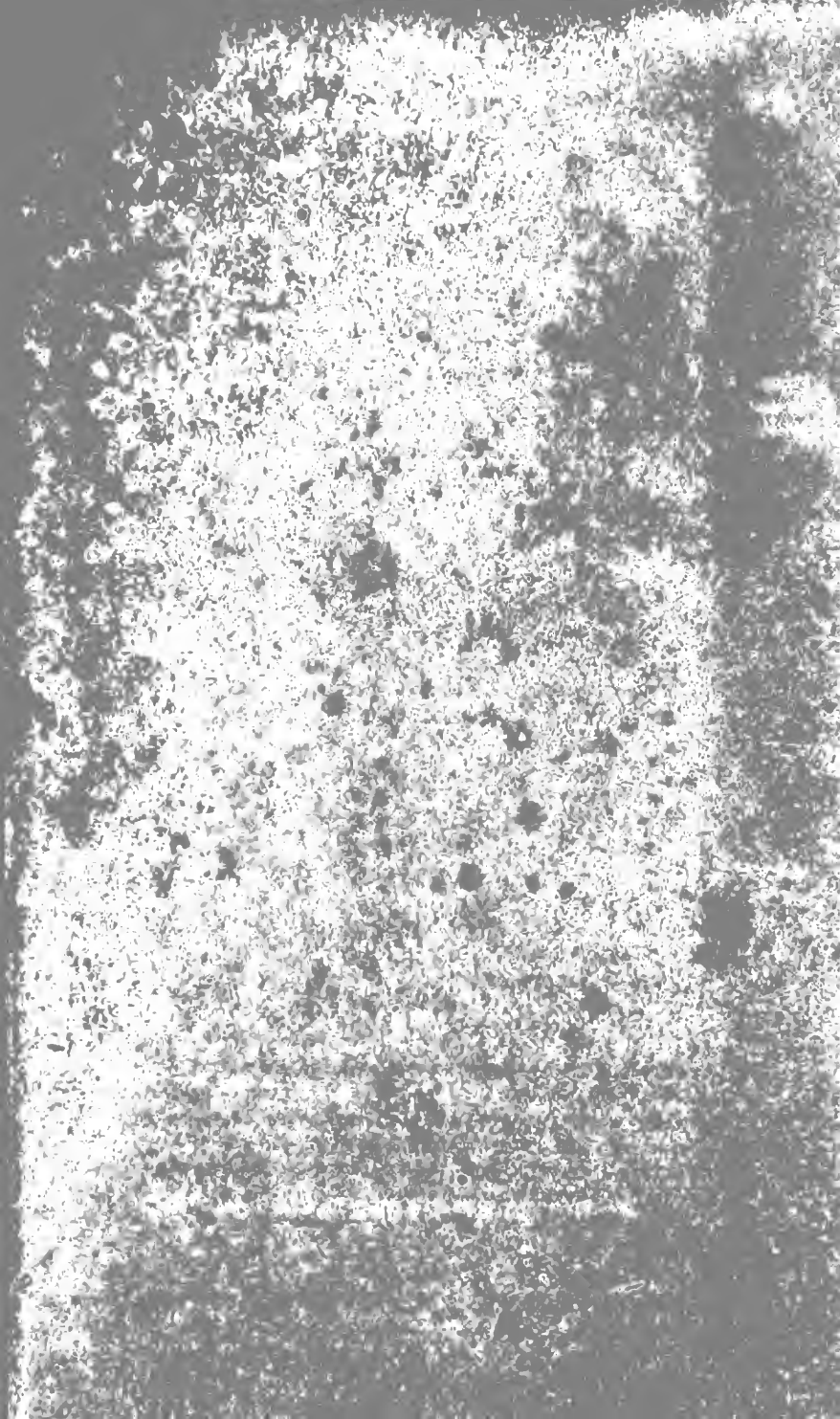
Casimir resigns the crown.

*Defence of
Casimir's
conduct.*

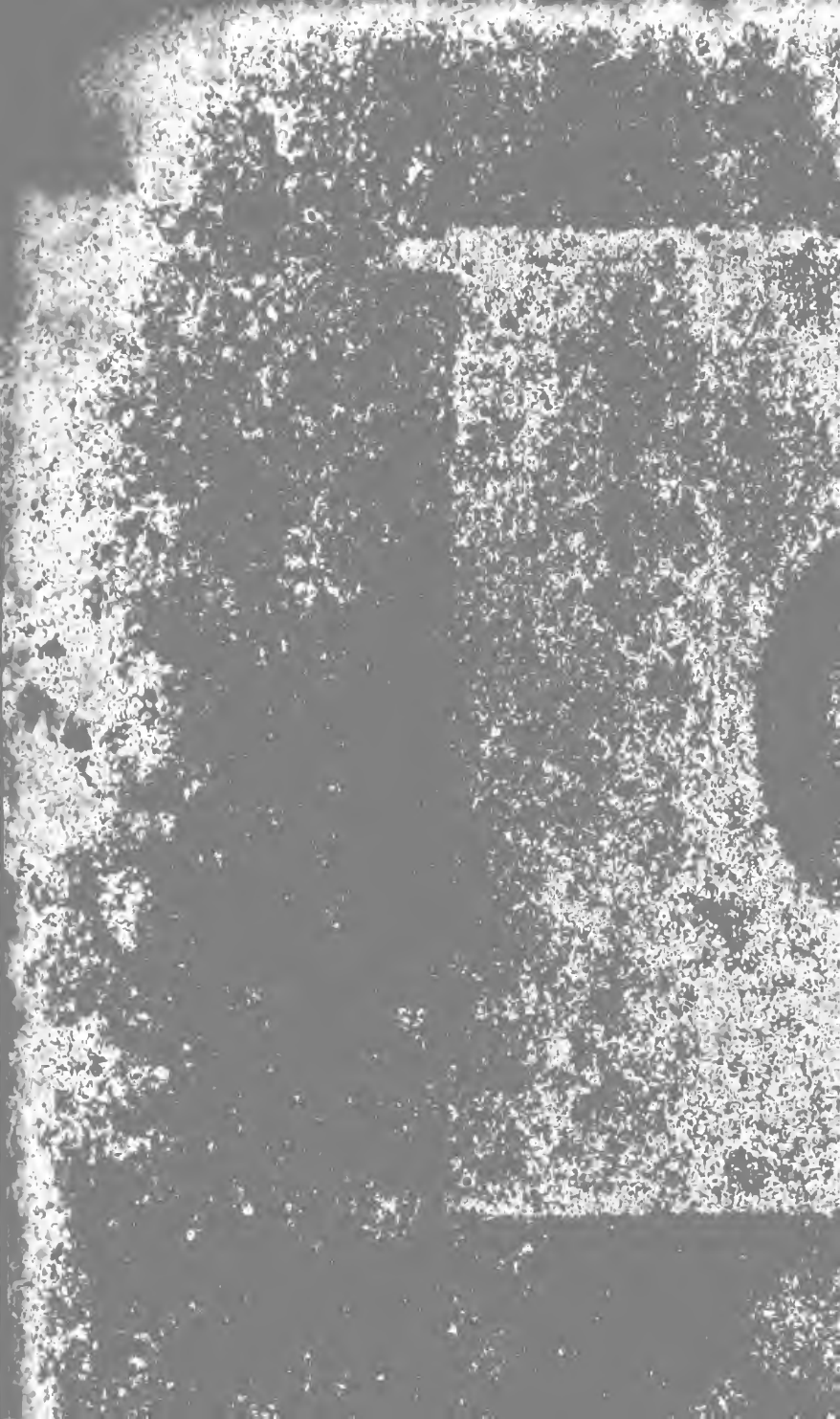
coined. This expedient being found insufficient, the states resolved upon an extraordinary coinage of copper, which was raised likewise to double its intrinsic value. It is affirmed, that Casimir had his secret designs at the time in this augmentation of the value of copper coin, with which he paid the army, remitting the gold and silver privately to France, in order to secure him a competency in his retirement. Yet it is probable, that the discontented were wholly the authors of these calumnies, in order to vindicate their own conduct. Certain it is, that they never forgave the king's aversion to the Cossack war, which might be deemed the remote cause of their rebellion, and of all the aspersions thrown upon the character of a prince, who had shewn himself mild, affable, humane, and generous in the beginning of his government, though almost always unfortunate. The Poles accuse Casimir of having favoured the rebellion of the Cossacks, merely to impoverish the nobility, and humble a set of men whom he regarded as spies upon the royal conduct^z. They go so far as to affirm, that he even invited the Cossack generals to invade Poland, as appears unquestionably from a letter of the king's to Kzmielniski, that was intercepted; but we have no authentic proofs that such a letter never existed, though Dr. Connor relates it as a point beyond all dispute. Nor did his enemies fail to stigmatize his abdication as either cowardly or treacherous, without reflecting that some of the greatest princes had taken the same step upon trifling disgusts, whereas he was driven by hard usage to this extremity.

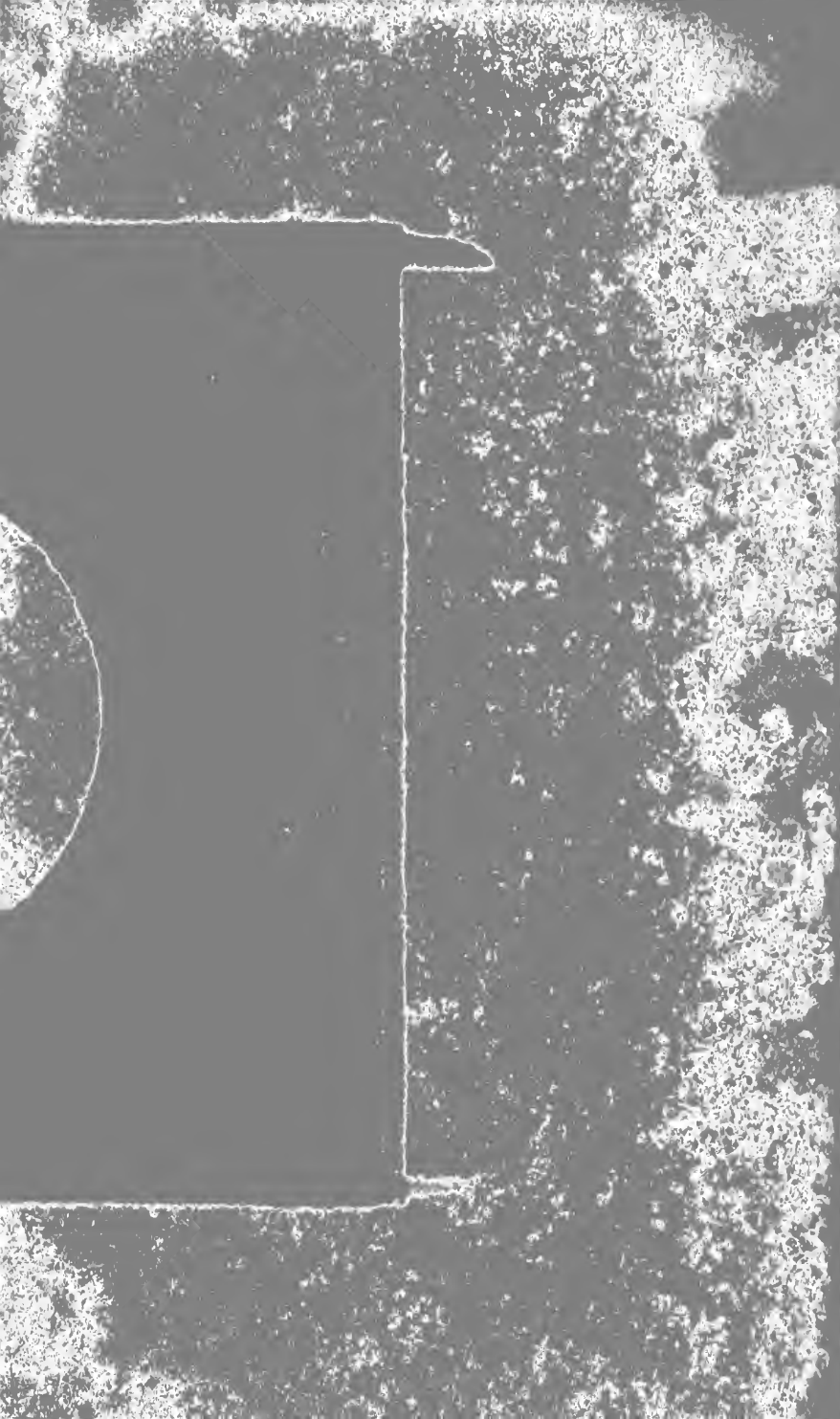
The truth is, Casimir had great reason to look upon his subjects as enemies. They were in open arms against him, while his prerogative was too limited to admit of his making any considerable resistance. His abdication is a proof of his sentiment, instead of being a reflection on his courage; it proved that he put no value on the dignity of sovereign of a people whom he despised.

^z Connor, lib. iii. vol. i.









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Author

Title Modern [part of an] universal history. Vol. 30.

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